# A HISTORY
## of the
# EARLY DYNASTIES OF ANDHRADESA
## C. 200—625 A. D.

(*With a map of Ancient Andhradesa and Dakṣiṇāpatha*)

BY

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*C.* 200—625 A. D.

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

TO

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# PREFACE.

An attempt has been made in this book to present to the reader in a detailed and comprehensive manner, the History of the Early Dynasties of Andhradēs'a, from the downfall of the Śātavāhanas, or Imperial Andhras as they are also called, to the establishment of the Eastern Cāḷukya dynasty: that is to say, from the beginning of the third century after Christ to the close of the first quarter of the seventh century. Here is put forward for the first time a frame-work of chronology covering not only the history of Andhradēs'a but also all the contemporary dynasties of Dakṣiṇāpatha and South India, known to epigraphy. The book deals with the rise and fall of the Imperial Ikṣvākus, the Pallava dominion in southern Andhradēs'a, the shortlived Bṛhatphalāyanas, the Ānandas, the Śālaṅkāyanas, the Imperial Viṣṇukuṇḍins, the Vāsiṣṭhas and the Māṭharas or Pitṛbhaktas; besides the Kadambas, the Jāhnavīyas, the Imperial Vākāṭakas, the Śailōdbhavas, the Eastern Gaṅgas, the Kings of Śarabhapura and several others. In this book I have used the name *Andhradēs'a* with the short vowel in the first syllable as I found it so in literature and in inscriptions from the time of the *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa* down to the fifteenth century. I consider the long vowel in the name to be an anachronism in the early period; and I hope that hereafter the name of the country will be pronounced as Andhradēs'a and *not* as Āndhradēs'a.

I have pursued historical research as a hobby, as a labour of love, for nearly two decades. I have read most of the works on the subject, and now I present this framework of dynastic annals and political vicissitudes of ancient Andhra in a fresh and original setting. I believe that the chronology of the Early Dynasties of Andhradēs'a cannot be studied in isolation but only with reference to the history of the well known contemporary dynasties of Dakṣiṇāpatha and South India. In doing so, I have had necessarily to differ from the conclusions

of my predecessors in the field, and I have shown adequate reasons for differing from them. The volume of the divergence of opinion throughout has been so great that I felt that a reconstruction of the early history of the Deccan and South India with particular reference to Andhra has been called for. I have however approached the subject without any prejudices or predilections; and I trust the book will be received with the attention it deserves at the hands of all scholars.

I am greatly indebted to *Bhāṣōddhāraka* Śrī VAVILLA VENKATESWARA SASTRULU garu, who has readily undertaken the publication of this book; and I wish to thank the Manager of the Vāvilla Press, for the unfailing courtesy and promptness with which he has executed the printing of this book. I am grateful to Rao Bahadur KASINATH NARAYAN DIKSHIT, M.A., F.R.A.S.B., Director-General of Archaeology in India, for his kind permission to reproduce the illustrations of the ancient monuments of Andhra that appear in this book. I also wish to express my indebtedness to Prof. N. R. KEDARI RAO of the Government Arts College, Rajahmundry, for his assistance in reading the proofs and for many valuable suggestions.

RAJAHMUNDRY,
*February*, 1942.

B. V. KRISHNA RAO.

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## Book V.

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ILLUSTRATIONS.

## Abbreviattions employed in the Book.

*Annals BORS*: Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

*ARSIE*: Annual Report of the Superintendent for South Indian Epigraphy, Madras.

*ASI*: Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi.

*ASSI*: Archaeological Survey of Southern India, Madras.

*ASWI*: Archaeological Survey of Western India.

*AHD*: Ancient History of the Deccan, by Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil.

*CAD*: Rapson, *E. J.*,: Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty and others, in the British Museum, London.

*CII*: *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III. Inscriptions of the Gupta Dynasty etc.

*DKA or PTDKA*: Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age, by F. E. Pargiter, Oxford University Press.

*DKD*: Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, by J. F. Fleet. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. II, Part I.

*EHI*: Early History of India by V. A. Smith. Fourth edn.

*EI*: *Epigraphia Indica*, New Delhi.

*EC*: *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Mysore.

*Ep. Colln*: Epigraphical Collection of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle.

*Ind. Ant. (IA)*: Indian Antiquary, Bombay.

*IHQ*: Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.

*JRAS*: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, etc., London.

*JAHRS*: Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.

*JBORS*: Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

*JBBRAS*: Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

*JIH* : Journal of Indian History, Madras.

*JOR*: Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.

*JASB* : Journal of the (Royal) Asiatic Society of Bengal.

*Mys. Arch. Rept*:. Annual Report of the Mysore Archeological Department, Mysore.

*QJMS*· Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.

*SII* : South Indian Inscriptions.

## *CORRECTIONS & ADDITIONS.*

Page 1 line 8 from bottom : *read* 'rivers is a long and'

„ 16 line 9 from top : *read* =' *ānvaya-nṛpāḥ* ' for ' *anvaya-nṛpaḥ* '

„ 17 line 3 from top : *read* ' Ābhīras ' for ' Abhiras '

„ 17 line 5 from top : *read* ' *Andhrāḥ* ' etc. for ' *Āndhrāḥ* '

„ 18 lines 3 & 7 para 1 : *read* ' Ābhīras ' for ' Abhiras '

, 24 last line : *read* 'of the Śātavāhanas' for 'of the Śātavāhas'

„ 25 line 11 from top : *read* ' During the reigns of Emperor ' for ' During the reigns of the Emperor '

„ 26 lines 12 & 25 : *read* ' Vāsiṣṭhīputra Cataraphaṇa ' for ' Vāsiṣṭhīputra Caṭaraphaṇa '

„ 27 & 28 wherever it occurs : *read* ' Vāsiṣṭhīputra Catara-pahaṇa. ' for 'Vāsiṣṭhīputra Caṭarapahaṇa'

„ 29 line 19 para 1 : *read* ' The dismemberment of ' for ' The dismemberement of '

„ line 9 from below : *read* 'The Ābhīras' for 'The Abhiras'

„ 32 line 10 from top : *read* ' in Andhradesa was probably ' adding ' *probably* ' after ' *was* '

„ 32 line 5 from bottom : *read* ' the Ikṣvākus ' for ' the Ikṣhvākus '

„ 34 last line of the para : *read* ' in Dakṣiṇāpatha ' for ' of Dakṣiṇāpatha '

„ 36 line 12 from bottom : *read* a full-stop after 'alone did' for a comma

„ 40 line 13 from bottom : *read* 'Aḍavi Śānti Śrī' for 'Adavi Śānti Śrī'

„ 41 lines 1, 11 and 21 : *delete* ' the ' before ' Emperor '

„ 67 line 19 from top : *read* 'Chaṭhisirinikā' for 'Chāṭhi-sirinikā'

„ 70 line 16 from top : *read* 'Aparāṁta' for 'Aparmāta'

„ 78 line 5 from top : *read* 'inscription at the second apsidal' for ' inscription second apsidal '

„ 83 line 9 from top : *read* ' even during ' for 'during even '

„ 84 line last one : *read* ' Cēzerla ' for 'Chēzerla'

„ 89 line 4 from top : *read* ' contiguous to ' for ' contiguous with '

page 89 line 5 from bottom: *read* 'dialectician' for 'dalectician'
" 93 line 7 from top : *delete* 'Śiva Śrī' before 'Caṭaraphaṇa'
" " " *read* Cataraphaṇa for 'Caṭaraphaṇa'
" 93 line 4 from bottom : *read* 'who' for 'wao'
" 103 line 4 from top : *read* 'worlds and,' for 'worlds-and'
" 125 line 18 from top: *read* '*Liṅgābhaṭṭīyam*' for '*Liṅgābhaṭṭīvam*'
" 126 line 11 from top : *read* 'It seems to be a veiled' for 'It seems to be veiled'
" 146 line 14 from bottom: *read* 'Śātavāhanas' for 'Śātavāhans'
" 152 line 2 footnote 1 : *read* '*padama*' for '*Padama*'
" 153 line 4 from top: *read* 'Khaṁdanāgasataka' for 'Khamdasāgasataka'
" 153 line 13 from top : *read* 'season' for 'seasn'
" 153 line 7 from below : *read* 'comprised of' for 'comprised'
" 157 line 19 from top : *delete* 'after' that comes after 'place'
" 158 lines 9-10, footnote 2: *read* 'comprise of the' for comprise the', and also *read* 'never of the *pūrṇimānta*' for 'never *pūrṇimānta*'
" 159 line 5 from bottom : *read* 'period' for 'eriodp'
" 169 line 10 from top : *read* 'Ānarta.' for 'Anarta'
" 173 line 9 from bottom : *read* 'Ānarta' for 'Anarta'
" 177 line 2 from above : *read* a comma after the word 'and'
" 1:5 line 1 from top : *delete* the words 'utterly confused'
" 185 line 5 para 1 : *read* 'synchronous' for 'synchronomous'
" 189 line 15 from top : *read* 'assumption' for 'idea'
" " " 16 from top : *read* 'hypothesis' for 'idea'
" 197 line 8 from above : *delete* comma after 'Suvarṇamukhi'
" 199 line 13 from bottom : *read* 'Kāñcīpura' for 'kāñcīpura'
" 201 line 3 from top : *read* 'dignity or' for 'dignity of'
" 203 line 4 from bottom : *read* 'must lie' for 'must be'
" 205 line 3 para : *read* 'remind' for 'reminds'
" 219 line 1 from top : *read* 'Kōḏūra' for 'Andhradesa'
" 219 line 11 from top : *read* 'Vanavāsa' for 'Vaijayantī'
" 220 line 3 from top : *delete* the comma after 'chief'
" 223 line 3 from bottom : *read* 'with the eastern provinces' for 'with the province'

page 233 line 11 from top: *read* '*satata-satya-vrata* 'for '*satata-satsa-vrata*'

„ 234 line 12 from top : *read* 'Karmarāṣṭra' for 'Kāmarāṣṭra'

„ 235 line 8 from above: *read* 'in Caitra' after 'of the sun'

„ 248 line 6 from below: *read* 'seen' for 'seem'

„ 249 line 17 from below: *read* 'Vijaya-Nandivarman III' for 'Vijaya-Nandivarman II'

„ 257 line 17 from above: *read* 'Mādhava I' for 'Bhagīratha'

„ 262 line 12 from above : *read* 'its end.' for 'it end'

„ 274 line 4 from above : *read* 'Ṣimōga' for 'ṣimōga'

„ 278 line 8 from above: *read* 'perpetuating' for 'perpetrating,

„ 293 line 9 from below : *read* 'historical' for 'historic'

„ 296 line 22 from above: *delete* 'which' after 'battles'

„ 306 line 3 from above: *read* 'Kandararāja' for 'Mahēndravarman'

„ 312 line 18 from above : *read* '*sañcārantakas*' for *añcārantakas*'

„ 330 line 10 middle para ; *read* '*aprамēya*' for '*apramēva.*'

„ 332 line 2 from above *read*: 'Andhra' for 'Āndhra'

„ 332 line 5 from above : *read* '*pādānudhyātasya*' for '*pādānudhāytasya*'

„ 336 line 10 from below : *read* 'nay' for 'may'

„ 336 last line from below: *read* 'who,' before 'therefore, may'

„ 345 line 5 from above: *read* 'Duvarāja' for 'Du(Yu)varāja'

„ 352 line 7 from above : *read* 'Elliot' for 'Eliot'

„ 355 line 6 from above : *read* 'Elliot's' for 'Eliot's'

„ 364 lines 8 & 9 from below : *read* 'comprised of roughly' *delete* 'the Jubbulpore and' and 's' in 'divisions'

„ 374 line 5 from below : *read* '*praśiddha*' for '*praśidha*'

„ 375 *Add* as foot-note 3 : 'It is possible to read the name as Kudrahāra also.'

„ 376 line 12 from top : *read* 'Elliot' for 'Eliot'

„ 379 line 24 from top : *read* 'Kantēru' for 'Kollēru'

„ „ line 25 *read* 'Guḍivāḍa taluk' for 'same taluk'

„ 381 line 17 from below: *delete* 'The' before 'Yuan Chwang'

„ 386 line 14 from above : *read* 'who seem' for 'who seems'

page 390 line 7 from below : *read* 'or devotion' for 'of devotion'
„ 397 last line footnote : *read* ' Kuḍopali ' for ' Kuḍoplai '
„ 431 line 4 from below : read 'Sālaṅkayya' for ' Sālaṅkāyya'
„ 431 lines 7 & 15 from top : *read* ' *Rāıasūya* ' for *Rājasūva*
„ 444 line 12 from above : *read* ' performs ' for ' perfroms '
„ 444 line 9 from below (text) : *read* '*Rājasūya*' for '*Rāja-sūva*'
„ 455 line 11 from below: *read* 'constituent' for 'comstituent'
„ 445 line 11 from above : *delete* 'all' before 'forms'
„ 445 lost line : *read* 'conversation' for 'converation'
„ 446 line 2 from above : *read* ' inhuman ' for ' in human '
„ 447 line 4 from top : *delete* ' had ' before ' performed it '
„ 447 line 6 from above : *read* ' been ' after 'have'
„ 448 line 8 from top : *read* ' performing ' for ' perfroming '
„ 449 last line (text): read '*asārvabhauma*' for 'a *sārvabhauma*'
„ 462 line 5 from below (text) : *read* ' there had grown ' for ' there have grown '
„ 468 line 2 in margin : *read* '*c.* 450—460 A. D.' for '*c.* 450—560 A. D.'
„ 476 line 13 from above : *read* ' that he reigned ' for ' that reigned '
„ 482 line 2 in the margin : *read* 'II Set ' for ' I Set '
„ 492 lines 2-3 (text) from below : *read* 'Nāgāvalī for 'Vaṁs'adhāra'
„ 507 line 19 from above : *read* a comma after ' to assist '
„ 518 line 6 from above : *read* (530-575 A. D.) for (535-580 A. D.)
„ „ last line in footnote : *read* '530-575' for '535-580'
„ 529 lines 11-12 from above : *delete* ' and his successor Indravarman (II) *after* 'Hastivarman' and ' two ' before ' Eastern' and *delete* also the last two lines in footnote 2.
„ 535 line 13 from above : *read* ' Talakkāḍ' for 'Talkkāḍ'
„ 589 line 2 in para 2 : *read* ' Bhūpēndravarman ' for "Rājēndravarman (II)"
„ 601 line 4 from below : *read* ' North Kalinga ' for 'Kalinga'

page 603 line 2 from above: *read* 'of Mahā-Sāmantavarman about the *Gaṅga Saṁvat*' for 'of about Sāmantavarman Mahā'

„ 604 line 8 from above: *read* 'Mādhavarāja I' for 'Mādhavarāja II.'

„ 605 line 11 from above: *delete* 'Of' before 'Trikalinga'

„ „ line 20 from above: *read* 'Mādhavarāja I' for 'Mādhavarāja II'

„ 606 line 6 from top: *read* 'Mādhavarāja I' for 'Mādhavarāja II'

„ 608 line 12 from below: *read* '*bhōgika* of' '*Bhōgika*'

„ „ line 4 from below: *read* Kālidāsa's for Kāliddāsa's

„ 612 line 5 from below: *read* 'identifies' for 'dientifies'

„ 614 line 7 from below (text): *read* 'Orissa' for 'Orisa'

„ 624 in the table· *read* '12 Raṇakṣōbha' for '12 Raṇkṣōbha'

„ 625 line 11 from below (text): *read* 'plates' for 'plate'

„ 636 line 16 from above: *read* 'Harisēna' 'Harisēna's'

„ 638 lines 12 & 29 from above: *read* 'Harāhā' for 'Hārāh'

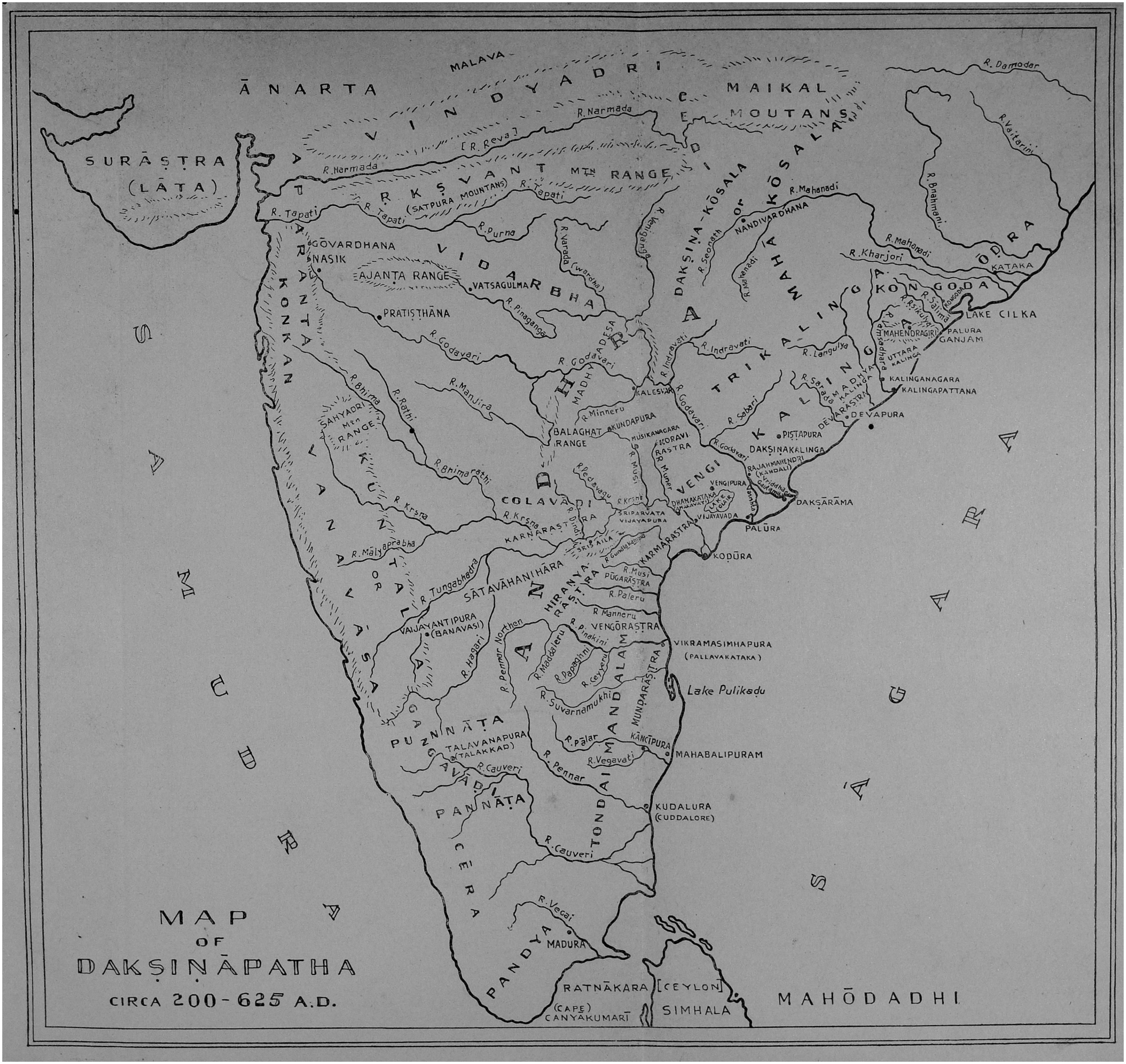
„ 639 whereever it occurs: *read* 'Mādhavarāja I' for 'Mādhavarāja II'

„ 642 line 4 from top: *read* Mādhavarāja I for 'Mādhavarāja II'

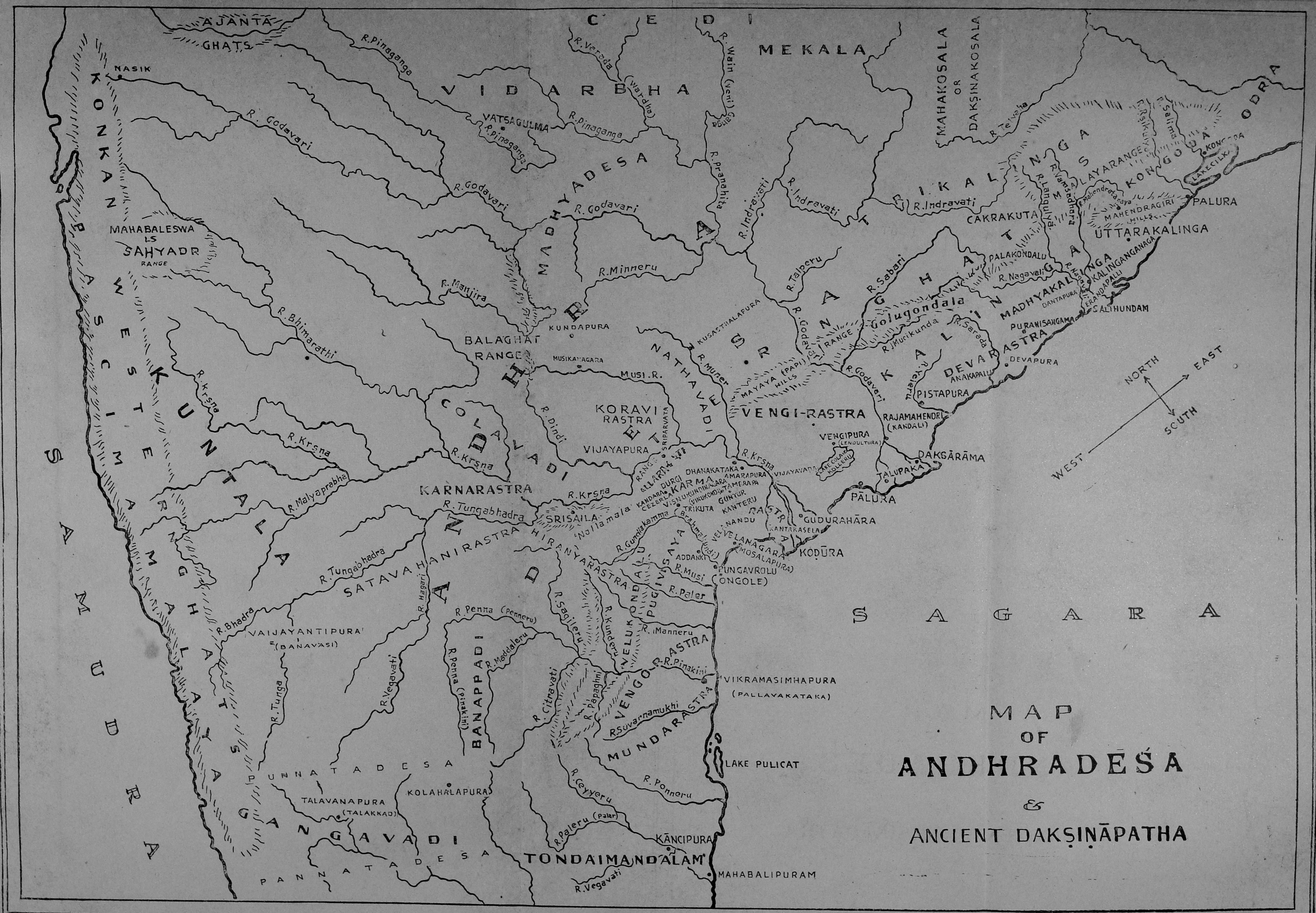
„ „ line 15 from above: *read* 'Raṇakṣōbha' for 'Raṇk ṣōbha'

„ 643-647 wherever it occurs: *read* 'Mādhāvarāja II' for 'Mādhavarāja III'

„ 646 line 5 from above: *read* 'south' for north.'




MAP OF DAKṢIṆĀPATHA CIRCA 200-625 A.D.




MAP OF ANDHRADEŚA & ANCIENT DAKṢIṆĀPATHA

# INTRODUCTORY

## ANDHRADESA

The object of this introductory chapter is to give a geographical description of Andhradesa, as the foundation for the historical chapters which follow. In this we shall make a brief topographical survey of the country, describe the people and their language and consider it as a whole in order to place the historical facts in proper perspective.

Andhradesa or Andhra simply is the ancient name of the eastern part of the Deccan plateau, the surface of which, from the foot of the Balaghat Range and the Ajanta Ghats, falls eastward to a long double range of mountains called Malai in the language of the country and the Eastern Ghats in modern usage, and thence to the sea coast. The table-land of Andhra is bounded by the river Manjīra on the west and by the Eastern Ghats on the east. Between the Eastern Ghats and the sea coast there is a belt of low fertile land, made rich by the deltas of the Gōdāvari and the Kṛṣṇa and other large rivers flowing through it. Thus the geography of Andhradesa is of a simple design. It consists of a long range of mountains, running with occasional breaks from north-east to south-west, and dividing the country into two distinct regions, the region of the tableland on the west and the region of the coast-strip on the east.

Andhradesa is a land of rivers that flow from the north-west to the south-east and flow into the Bay of Bengal. The most notable of them are the Gōdāvari on the north and the Kṛṣṇa on the south. The general course of these great rivers is long and fairly straight run from their sources in the Western Ghats down the eastward slope of the plateau, with a break in the Eastern Ghats and then a descending flow across the coast-strip to the sea, ending in fertile deltas. The first great tributary of the Gōdāvari is the river Manjīra, which flows into it on the right bank at a point where it emerges from the Balaghat Range. At the spot where it takes a south-eastward turn, the Gōdāvari receives on the left bank

another feeder, the Prāṇahita, itself a large river, made up of the waters of the Wainganga (Vēṇī-Ganga) from the north, the Wardha (Varadā) from the north-west and the Painganga (Pina-Ganga) from the west. A little below this point, the Indrāvati flows into the Gōdāvari from the north-east, rising somewhere in the Eastern Ghats on the western slopes of the Mahēndragiri Range. The last important feeder that comes into the Gōdāvari is the Śabarī. Thereafter, the river cuts through the Eastern Ghats, locally called Pāpi-koṇḍalu (Bison Hills), forcing a passage between them and penetrating by an almost precipitious gorge to the very heart of the range. The scenery of this gorge is famous for its magnificent beauty.

The Kṛṣṇa, too, rises in the Western Ghats, not far from the sea, and flows eastward across the Deccan plateau; except the first part of its run and near the point where it cuts the Eastern Ghats and where it crosses the coast-belt, its general course is southward. One of its large tributaries is the Bhīma or Bhīmarathi, which rises also in the Western Ghats and flows south-east to fall into it on the left bank at a place half-way across the plateau. The Tungabhadra is another large river which joins the Kṛṣṇa on the right bank a little farther down, carrying the drainage of the northern slopes of the Mysore uplands. Then come, in order from west to east, large streams, the Dinḍi, the Mūsi and the Muni, joining the Kṛṣṇa on the left bank. They rise somewhere in the uplands on the north and bring the drainage of the eastern slopes of the Deccan plateau. A little farther down the confluence of the Tungabhadra, the Kṛṣṇa penetrates through the forest clad ranges of the Eastern Ghats, locally called Erramala and Nallamala, and flows in a north-easterly direction to the point where it receives the feeder, the Mūsi. At Bezwada again the Kṛṣṇa breaks through the gorge in the Eastern Ghats and splits up into a number of branches forming the delta.

The other important rivers of the country, in order from south to north, are the Pinākini (Penna) or North Pennar, the Pāleru, the Mannēru, the Guṇḍlakamma or the Brahmakuṇḍi,

the Śārada, the Vamsadhāra, the Nāgāvali and lastly the Ṛṣikulya. All these rivers, except the Pinākini, rise on the high grounds of the Eastern Ghats, and flowing eastward fall into the Bay of Bengal. The Pinākini rises in the uplands of Mysore, flows down the northward slope and then taking abruptly an eastward course through the table-land of the Carnatic or the southern edge of the Deccan, breaks through a gap in the Eastern Ghats, locally called Vēli-koṇḍalu, and enters the sea at a point roughly a hundred and fifty miles to the south from the mouth of the Kṛṣṇa.

The deltas of the Gōdāvari and the Kṛṣṇa almost touch each other. Owing to the enormous volume of sand and silt, which the two large rivers bring from the table-land on the west, the deltas were formed. Flanked on either side by these deltas, lay the low ground which in course of long centuries became the bed of a huge lake. It is known as the Kolanu or Kolleru (Colair). It is of considerable importance, and well known in the early history of the Andhra country. It is about fifty square miles in extent and studded with numerous islands and fishing villages.

The Gōdāvari and the Kṛṣṇa are deeply trenched in the valleys between the bounding spurs of the Eastern Ghats. They have gradual descending courses as they flow eastward, which make them suitable for navigation for hundreds of miles, from their mouths into the interior. Along the great sea-coast of Andhra, which extends for about four hundred miles, there flourished rich sea-ports at the mouths of the large rivers and deep saltwater creeks, which encouraged navigation, colonisation and commercial enterprise, and bred a race of hardy and adventurous seamen. In ancient times, the Gōdāvari and the Kṛṣṇa and their great tributaries were navigable and afforded means of easy communication from the sea to the inland and between one part of the country and another.

The vast sloping table-land flanked by the Eastern Ghats, with its dry soil and little rainfall, with its majestic, large and ever flowing rivers and with extremes of climate in the hot and cold seasons, on the one side and, the fertile coast-strip, with its

large deltas and rich plain country on the other, formed the Andhra country in the eastern half of the Deccan, and played a great part in shaping the genius, character and destiny of the Andhras through the centuries. The physical features of the country, with their picturesque variety, moulded the inhabitants of this ancient land into a hardy and stalwart race, into a brave and adventurous people and into an intellectual and emotional community.

Andhradesa (Andhramaṇḍala, Andhrabhūmi, Andhraviṣaya, Andhrapatha or simply Andhra) is also called the Telugu country or the land of the Telugu speaking people in modern usage. Andhra is the ancient name of the Telugu people. Andhradesa was the original home of the Andhras in the earliest times as it is even to-day. From this region, after the fall of the Mauryan Empire, the Śātavāhanas or the Imperial Andhras as they are also called, extended their dominion into north, west and south, until, at one period, Andhradesa embraced a great portion of the Indian Peninsula. And to this region were confined such vestiges as remained of the Imperial Andhra power after its greatness and glory had passed away.[1] That Andhradesa or Andhra is another name for the Telugu country is borne out by the early inscriptions, by the Buddhist and Brahmanical literature and by the writings of foreign travellers. The Maidavolu Prakrit charter of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman[2] is the earliest record which not merely mentions the name, Andhrapatha, but enables us to locate it with certainty. Pali tradition contained in the Dīpavaṁs'a, Kathāvatthu Commentary and the Mahāvaṁs'a, preserves the names of some later schools of local origin, such as the Andhaka, comprising the Pubbaseliya and Avaraseliya. These schools go to indicate that they had their origin, and development in Andhradesa. Among the early foreign writers,

1. Rapson: *CAD. Introd.* p. lxxi. See also Rapson: *Camb. His. of India*, I. p. 598 f. Dr. L. D. Barnett *(Opi. cit.)* infers that the home of the ancient Andhra tribes included the modern Telingana, the provinces along the eastern coast between the deltas of the Gōdāvari and the Kṛṣṇa together with as much of the Northern Circars as they could get hold of against the rival kingdom of Kalinga on the north or north-east.

2. *EI.*, VII., p. 84 ff.

Megasthenes (300 B. C.) and Pliny the elder (77 A. D.) refer to the Andhras as a powerful tribe enjoying paramount sway over their land in the Deccan. The latter writer, probably quoting from Megasthenes, states that the Andarae, i. e., the Andhras, possessed numerous villages, thirty walled towns defended by moats and towers, and supplied their king with an immense army consisting of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants.[1] The Puranas mention the Śātavāhanas as Andhras apparently calling them after their homeland, Andhradesa in the Deccan. The Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa speaks of the Andhra country as adjoining Konkan and Kuntala on the east in Dakṣiṇāpatha. Vātsyāyana, in his *Kāmasūtra*, mentions the Andhras as a distinct nation. In his commentary *Jayamaṅgalā* on the *Kāmasūtra*[2], Śankarārya of about the sixth century A. D., defines Andhradesa as the country lying to the south of the Narmadā and to the east of Karnāṭa in the Deccan. Varāhamihira who lived about the early part of the sixth century A. D. mentions the Andhra country as lying to the south of Vidarabha, Vidēha and Cēdi in Dakṣināpatha.[3] Yuan Chwang, the Chinese Pilgrim, who visited this country in the early half of the seventh century calls it by the names, Andhra and Mah-Āndhra. The territory situated to the north of the Kṛṣṇa river is called Andhra and the territory lying to the south of that river is described by the name Mah-Āndhra.[4] Daṇḍin, in his *Das'akumāracaritra* speaks of the Andhra country as lying to the south-west of Kalinga, and calls its capital Vēngi by the name Andhranagarī.[5]

From the fall of the Śātavāhana Empire early in the third century A. D. till the overthrow of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty in the beginning of the seventh century, Andhradesa comprised

1. *I. A.* VI. p. 339.

2. *Sutra* No. 460 (11—5—28) "*Narmadāyāḥ - dakṣinēna dēs'ō Dakṣiṇāpathaḥ tatra Karṇāṭa - viṣayāt pūrvēṇa Andhraviṣayaḥ.*

3. Bṛhat Saṁhitā, Chapter XVI. (verse 11.) p. 309 "*Drāviḍa Vidēha-Andhra-As'maka bhāsāpara Kaunkanaḥ samantriṣikaḥ.*"

4. Beal: *Buddhist Records of the Western World.* Vol. II., p. 214 f. See also "*The Life of Hieun Tsang*" by the same author, p. 137 f.

5. Vavilla Press Edition. Chapter VII.

the entire eastern region of the Dakṣiṇāpatha.[1] It was bounded by the river Manjīra on the west, the river systems of the Gōdāvari and its tributaries on the north and the Pinākini on the south.[2] The boundaries of Andhra were, therefore, Mahārāṣṭra and Kuntala on the west, Vidarbha, Cēdi and Dakṣiṇa-Kōsala on the north, Kalinga on the north-east and Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam on the south.

From the ninth century onwards, the name Andhradesa gradually fell into disuse for, the Eastern Cālukyas called their entire Andhra kingdom by the name Vēngi, as it happened to be the most favourite of their provinces, and the 'cause of their rising splendour and glory.' In course of time, Vēngi, the titular capital of the Eastern Cālukya kingdom, lent its name to the entire province in which it lay. During the Eastern Cālukya epoch Vēngi became celebrated; and thus Vēngi became synonymous with Andhradesa. Though the Eastern Cālukyas called themselves the 'Lords of Vēngi,' meaning the Lords of Andhradesa, the neighbouring dynasties of Cēdi,[3] Kuntala,[4] Cōlamaṇḍala,[5] and some of the feudatory dynasties of the land,[6] referred to them frequently by the appellation 'Andhrapati,' 'the lord of Andhra.' As Vēngi, a

1. It is interesting to note that a copper-plate grant of Mummaḍi Nāyaka of the XIV Century (*EI*, XIV, p. 90, V. 5) describes the boundaries of Andhra apparently as they were in the days of the Imperial Andhras:

"*Paścāt-purastād-api-yasya dēsau khyātam Mahārāṣṭra Kaliṅga saṁjñau avāg-udak Pāṇḍyaka Kanyakubjau dēs'as-sa-tatr-āsti Triliṅganāmā.*"

Andhra was bounded by Mahārāṣṭra on the west, Kalinga on the east, Pāṇḍyaka on the south and Kanyakubja on the north.

2. The Andhras call the river Gōdāvari 'Ganga'; and therefore they gave the name *Pina* - Ganga or 'Junior Ganga' to its important northern tributary. The term *pina* in Telugu means 'small', 'junior.' Similarly Penna in the south would appear to have been known originally by the name Beṇṇa, but was sanskritised as Pinākini in order to distinguish it from the Beṇṇa in the north. Beṇṇa, it will be remembered, became soon Kṛṣṇa Beṇṇa (Skt. Kṛṣṇavēṇṇā or Kṛṣṇavēṇi) meaning Beṇṇa the black. The name Kṛṣṇa Beṇṇa appears in Prakrit as Kañha Bemna in the Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela, (*EI.*, XX., p. 71 f., see also *JBORS*. XIII., p. 221 f.; *Ibid.* XIV., p. 150 f.) And likewise appears another Prakrit form Kanhapenna in JATAKA stories. See Vol. V., Saṁkhapāla Jātaka. p. 84. For the form Kṛṣṇa Beṇṇa, see *SII.*, VI., No. 594.

3. *EI.*, XII., p. 205, text line 19 f. (v. 23)

4. *EI.*, VI., pp. 49, 50, 240.

5. *Ep. Colln.* No. 5 or 1895 (*ARSIE.*, 1895); *EC.*, Part I. p. 78, No. 140, text lines 1—7.

6. *EI.*, IV. p. 240.

province of Andhra lent its name to the entire country and for a time superseded the parent name during the Eastern Cālukya period, so in the early Buddhist epoch, some of the territories that became celebrated in far-off countries gave their name to the entire Andhra. Thus to the Greeks, Andhra was known by the name Massalia or Maisolia, a name by which the river Kṛṣṇa was called[1]; to the Buddhists of Simhala (Ceylon) Siam and Far East, it was known as Manjarika[2]; and to the compilers of the Puranas sometimes as Manjīradēs'a.[3] The name survives in Mājēru, a small fishing village on the arm of the sea called Manjīra, near the mouth of the Kṛṣṇa. The stream Manjīra, apparently lent during the Nāga Epoch, its name to the celebrated Nāga kingdom and to its capital referred to in the legends of the Buddha's Tooth-relic. None of these appellations was really the name of the entire Andhra country.

Andhradesa acquired the name Trilingabhūmi or Trilinga-dēs'a in a somewhat similar manner. The appellation Trilinga or Trailinga for Andhra would seem to have come into existence as a secondary name at the time when the Andhra country was under Brahmanical influence. It means the "Land of theThree Lingas," or "the phallic emblems of Śiva," from the existence of three celebrated lingas or places of Śiva worship in the land. They are in the south the Mallikārjuna-*liṅga* at Śrīs'ailam or Śrīgiri on the Kṛṣṇa in the Nallamalas of Kurnool district, in the east, Bhīmes'vara-*liṅga* at Dakṣārāma or modern Drākṣārāma in the East Godavari district, and in the north, Kālēs'vara-*liṅga* on the Gōdāvari at its confluence with its tributary Mannēru in the Mahadeopur taluk of the Karīmnagar district, in the Nizams Dominions. The new appellation Trilingabhūmi or Trilinga simply, became corrupt in course of time as Teluṅgu-bhūmi or Teluṅgu-nāḍu; and at last during the Mohammadan period it became further corrupt as Telingāna. Teluṅgu-nāḍu gradualy lent its name to the people and their

1. Schoff : *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. p. 47

2. Cunningham : *Geography of Ancient India*, pp. 536-9; Col. Low in *JASB.*, 1848, Part II. pp. 72-98, (87); Turnour : *Mahawamso*, p. 185.

3. *Matsya Purana, XXII.*

language as well, till in course of time the terms Andhra and Teluṅgu or Telugu became synonymous. And on account of dialectic variations Teluṅgu became gradually further corrupt as Tenuṅgu, Telugu and Tenugu.[1] Trilingabhūmi is, therefore, the same country as Andhradesa though the appellation is not presumably as ancient as the latter.

In the same manner the terms Trilinga, Trailinga or Teluṅgu gradually superseded the original names of the land, its people and their language. If to-day, there is no extant literature in the Andhra language of the Śātavāhana epoch, or even of the first six or seven centuries of the Christian era, it is presumably on account of the early language having undergone a slow and complete transformation with the fusion of tongues during the first five centuries after Christ. The linguistic fusion was due to the continual immigration of hordes of foreign tribes who spoke strange tongues and to race mixture from time to time that followed.

Slowly as a result of this transformation, the older speech became quite unintelligible and thus disappeared. And with it, all the early literature in the ancient language rapidly perished. At the same time, we must admit the scantiness of our information regarding the early speech in Andhradesa, despite the vast area concerned and the considerable movements of population into the land. Each immigration of population into the land must have excited rapid changes of speech forms and phonetic spelling and driven the poets and writers desirous of producing permanent literary works to despair for want of a satisfactory and standard medium of expression. Nevertheless, it is probable that the language of the Andhra country during the period of the Śātavāhana Empire was a form of Prakrit known to the Grammarians by the name Paiśāci. It was in that language that Guṇāḍhya, the titular minister of Śālivahāna

1. Teluṅgu or Telugu is also pronounced, as indicated above, as Tenuṅgu or Tenugu. The origin of the latter forms is uncertain. In the Telugu language the letters *l* and *n* are frequently interchangeable. Some scholars, however, derive the term from the Telugu word *tēne* 'honey', meaning that the language is as sweet as honey. Some derive the name from *ten* meaning the language of the South. Both these interpretations seem to be fanciful and misleading.

(Śātavāhana) the Andhra emperor, wrote the *Bṛhatkatha*, which had been completely lost some centuries ago. This indicates that the Pais'āci dialect was spoken and cultivated as a literary language in Andhradesa under the Imperial Andhras and, later, under their successors the Andhrabhṛtyas. It might be that the modern Andhra language, the formation of which commenced about the fourth century was an off-shoot of the dead ,Pais'āci dialect or the parent Andhra language, with the Nāga basis, enlarged and altered through centuries.[1] The Prakrit used in the inscriptions of Amarāvati reveals, in the opinion of some scholars, close affinity with the Pais'āci-Prakrit of the Grammarians and seems to support the ancient tradition about Guṇāḍhya, the Pais'āci dialect and the *Bṛhatkatha*.[2] There are however to be found, distinct traces of the beginnings of the modern Telugu language in the names of villages and officers of local administration from the fourth century onwards.[3] Through the stream of several centuries the ancient Andhra dialect had slowly and imperceptably altered and formed itself into a standard literary dialect, the earliest specimens of which were forthcoming from the seventh century onwards.[4] The Andhra language to-day occupies in many respects an independent position and, undoubtedly is the only descendant of the old parent Andhra dialect[5]. With the disappearance, in the rapid process of alteration, of the old dialect, which was perhaps the

1. See the remarks on "The unpublished inscriptions of Amaravati." by Mr. R. P Chanda, in *E I.*, XV., p. 258 f.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Some of the Sālaṅkāyana records contain, for instance, obscure Andhra terms like '*muluda*', '*munuda*' and certain words like '*ūru*', and '*cheruvu*', that have survived to the present day (*I. A.*, V., p. 175; and *EI.*, IX., p. 156.) The Telugu nominative plural form *Varṣaṁbul* meaning 'years' occurs in a Viṣṇukuṇḍin grant of the fifth century A. D. (*E I.*, IV., p. 193, text line 26).

4. *I. A.*, XIII. p. 186. Barring two other minor earlier records, this is the first inscription which contains some Telugu forms peculiar to the age in which it was composed. The suffixes in particular are not quite intelligible to the Telugus of to-day. There are divergent opinions about the age of this inscription, but it is admitted that it is doubtless prior to the ninth century A. D. In my opinion, however, this record belongs to the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana IV of the eighth century.

5. Vide Sir G. Grierson in *Ling. Surv. Ind.*, V. p. 285. As a matter of fact the Dravidian element is less prominent and the Sanskrit or the Pais'āci-Prakrit incorporation is more prominent in Telugu than in Kannaḍa, Malayalam or Tamil. Situated in the

Andhri of the Prakrit Grammarians, or the Paiśāci, all its literature too like the *Bṛhatkatha* became totally unintelligible and thus vanished.[1]

Andhradesa to-day covers, therefore, the entire area of the eastern half of the Deccan, extending from the Chanda district in the Central Provinces in the north, to Bangalore and Kolar in Mysore in the south. A straight line drawn from Madras to Bangalore, and thence in a northerly direction towards the point where the river Varadā (Wardha) joins the Prāṇahita, along the valley of the Manjīra and, then towards the east across the plateau to the Mahēndragiri and Ṛṣikulya in Ganjam and back to the sea, represents Andhradesa, the country of the Andhras. Thus situated between Lat. 13° and 19° in the Deccan, the Andhra country, with its south-eastward slope, looks like a waxing crescent moon. The ancient history of this crescent-shaped land, from the fall of the Imperial Andhras in the beginning of the third century A. D. till the establishment of the Eastern Cālukya Dynasty in the early decades of the seventh century, is studied in these pages. It is the political history of the numerous dynasties that held sway over this vast region, in succession to the Imperial Śātavāhanas, sometimes as a paramount power and sometimes as local rulers, for four centuries and odd, from the beginning of the third till the close of the second decade of the seventh century, that is traced in the following chapters.

middle part of the Indian Peninsula, where there was naturally a commingling of numerous tribes and tongues, the Andhras exhibit in varying proportions ethnic, somatic and linguistic features, common to Aryan, Dravidian and to Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian tribes. In these circumstances it is difficult to determine the exact origin of the Telugu (Andhra) language. It is not after all so Dravidian as it has been supposed to be.

1. *Ling. Surv. Ind.*, IV. p. 577.

## Book I

# THE IKṢVAKUS

## C. 200—260 A. D.

# THE IKṢVĀKUS

## CHAPTER I

In their Imperial organisation the Imperial Andhras or the Śātavāhanas established a number of subordinate dynasties to govern the various provinces of their vast empire in Dakṣiṇāpatha. According to the Puranas these subordinate dynasties survived the Imperial Andhras for a short period. The Puranas describe the various local dynasties that stepped into power after the fall of the Śātavāhana Empire. These feudatory families assumed independence even during the closing years of the Andhra Empire. One of them that stepped into the shoes of the Śātavahanas in Andhradēs'a would appear to have actually assumed the imperial dignity like the parent Andhra dynasty. It is, therefore, necessary to examine the statements of the Puranas and, reconstruct the history of the dynasty that succeeded or dispossessed the Imperial Śātavāhanas in Andhradēs'a.

Successors of the Imperial Andhras in Andhradēs'a.

In their dynastic accounts the Puranas are generally prophetic in their form and show two stages of termination.[1] The first stage is the period following the downfall of the Imperial Andhras and the local dynasties that survived them for a time. The *Matsya* Purana account ends here with the mere mention of the Kilakila kings. It brings the historical narrative down to about the middle of the third century A. D., and no further. The *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Viṣṇu* and the *Bhāgavata* Puranas carry the historical information on to the rise of the Guptas in the beginning of the fourth century A. D., and the reign of Chandragupta I. These accounts take no notice of Samudragupta's conquests, nor of the Gupta empire. These appear, therefore, to be versified chronicles which were first collected in a systematic fashion soon after the middle of

The Purāṇa Account and the Sriparvatiyas.

1 *DKA.*, Introd. p, xii, para 19.

the third century A. D. in the form found in the *Matsya Purāṇa*. In the second stage, they were supplemented with additional accounts up to the rise of the Gupta kingdom and that enlarged account is what is contained in the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* Puranas.[1]

Curiously enough though all the Puranas declare that they borrowed their accounts from the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, which might have existed in the second century A. D. but augmented down to the time when the Gupta Dynasty had aquired territories, there are slightly different variations in their narratives. The *Matsya* has usually one version which contains only the shorter or earlier compilation. The *Vāyu* generally has a different version containing the full account and the *Brahmāṇḍa* has also the full compilation resembling closely the Vāyu version. But the India Office Manuscript of the *Vāyu*, which seems to be an unrevised version, has a version sometimes different from the text of the printed editions: and where it differs from them, it often agrees with the *Matsya Purāṇa*. Thus it appears that this *Vāyu Purāṇa* Manuscript contains a text which is intermediate between the *Matsya* and all the other copies of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*. Hence it seems that the chronicle of the *Matsya* is the older version, older than the India Office Manuscript of the *Vāyu*, and that the other texts of the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Bhāgavata* Puranas are the revised versions.[2]

Bearing in mind the above, we shall examine the chronicles of the Purāṇas. The *Purāṇa* account of the local dynasties consists of three parts: the first part summarises the number of kings in each dynasty; the second states its duration and the third adds certain subsequent kings. In the first part, the *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa* agree generally, but in the second the *Matsya* has one version and the other two have another. The *Matsya Purāṇa* ends with the second part or the dynastic matter, while the others

1 *Opi. cit.* p. xiii, paras 20-21.

2 *Opi. cit*, para 22. Scholars generally do not share with Pargiter the above views regarding the literary history of the Purāṇas.

continue the account about the subsequent kings. There is, however, a general agreement between all the Purāṇas so far as the first part is concerned. In the second part while the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* mention the dynasties in the same manner or order that all these Puranas observe in the first part, the *Matsya Purāṇa* alone describes them in a disarranged fashion, though the source of account for all these Purāṇas is the same. While the *Matsya Purāṇa* would seem to have undergone a revision during the latter part of the third century A.D., when it was first compiled as preserved to-day, the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmaṇḍa* Purāṇas did not revise the periods or the duration of the various local dynasties after their original compilation. All these various local dynasties, however, are classed together as more or less contemporaneous.[1] But it must be remembered that the number of years assigned to them have to be considered according to the Prakrit usage of using the numerals and with reference to the political events in the middle of the third century A.D., when the account was first compiled as preserved in the *Matsya Purāṇa*.

Some manuscripts of the *Vāyu* and *Brahmaṇḍa* Purāṇas state that under the Imperial Andhras, there were established apparently in their empire in Dakṣiṇāpatha, *five* contemporaneous dynasties.

Vayu : *Andhrānāṁ saṁsthitāḥ pañca tēṣāṁ vaṁs'aḥ samāḥ punaḥ*[2].

Brahm. : *Andhrānāṁ saṁsthitāḥ pañca tēṣāṁ vaṁs'yās'ca yē punaḥ*[3].

The *Matsya Puraṇa*, however, which generally agrees with the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa* in the fashion the account of the dynasties is given and by which number of kings are summarised, does not mention at all *five* contemporary families[4]. On the other hand, the *Bhagāvata* and the *Viṣṇu*

1 *DKA.*, p. 44, notes 2, 3 and 4.

2 Vayu (*Bibl. Ind.* edn., Vol. II. p. 453) chap 37, v. 352.

3 Sri Venkatesvara edn. (Bombay) p. 186, chapt. 74, vv. 171—178.

4 *DKA.*, pp. 44-45., note 3.

*Purāṇa* and some recensions of the *Matsya* do not give the number *five* but describe only *three* dynasties, omitting apparently two minor feudatory families, the Mahārathis and the Muṇdas, Murundas, Mundanadas or the Mundiyas which ceased to exist early[1]. The Purāṇas give the duration and the succession of such dynasties that came down to the next Puranic epoch, the rise of the Kilakilas or the Vindhyakas. The *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa* have the following passage:—

*Andhrāṇām saṁsthitē rājyē tēṣāṁ bhṛty=anvaya nṛpaḥ.*

*Sapt=aiv=Āndhrā bhaviṣyanti das'=Ābhīrās=tathā nṛpāḥ* etc[2]. "When the kingdom of the Andhras *has come to an end*, there will be kings belonging to the lineage of their servants, Seven Andhras or Andhra-bhṛtyas and ten Ābhīras etc".[3] This translation is incorrect in view of the context here. There is another possible interpretation of this passage. "While the Andhras are still reigning, there have been established,-belonging to the lineage of their servants or kings sprung from their own family,—seven (generations) of them, and also ten Abhīras etc." Against this passage the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* has *Sapta=Ābhīr=Āndhrabhṛtya*, meaning "seven Abhīras and Andhrabhṛtyas". The Viṣnu purāṇa gives the succession in very much the same manner as *Andhrabhṛtyāḥ Sapt=Ābhīrāḥ*, "the Andhrabhṛtyas and seven Ābhīras"[4]

It is evident from these passages that though the *Matsya*, *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and the *Bhāgavata* Puranas do not describe the number of dynasties that were established by the Imperial Andhras, yet they do specify in clear terms the subordinate Andhras as the Andhrabhrtyas[5]. The *Matsya Purāṇa* being an

1 Rapson: *CAD*. pp. 57-60, Introd. p. xxii.; K. P. J. *Hist of Ind*. p. 161. According to other versions the other two dynasties appear to be the Gardabhinas or Gardabhilas and the Sakas. But the Purana accounts are so confused and corrupt that it is hardly possible until research will detect some discoveries to reconstruct the history of these ancient dynasties. See K. P, J. in the *JBORS*., XVI., pts. iii & iv, pp, 303—314.

2 Vidyasagara edn. p. 1160; 271—17—18.

3 This is the translation given by F. E. Pargiter (*DKA*.) p. 72.

4 Vidyasagara edn. p. 584; Book IV., ch. 24, v. 13.

5 There seems to be some confusion in the Purana Texts. The text may as well be interpreted as "Subordinate Andhras, Andhra-bhṛtyas and the Abhiras."

earlier compilation gives in a disarranged fashion, however, the name of one more family, of the subordinate Andhra or Andhrabhṛtya dynasties, apparently besides the Abhiras. This is exclusively its own information. Here is the passage :—

*Āndhrāḥ Śrīparvatiyās'ca te dvi (dve) pañcās'ataṁ samāḥ*[1]. It means, "The Āndhras and the Śrīparvatīyas, the two, will endure the earth together for 105 years." But the text may also mean that the Andhras and the Śrīparvatīyas, will each endure for fifty-two years and fifty-two years respectively." Against this statement of the *Matsya Purāṇa*, however, a majority of the manuscripts of the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* have the following passage :—

*Andhrā bhōkṣhyanti vasudhāṁ s'atē (s'ataṁ) dvēṣ ca s'ataṁ ca vai*, or *s'ataṁ dvē=arddha s'atas ca vai*[2]. It means, "The Andhras, the two dynasties, will enjoy the earth, for one-hundred years, and one hundred years respectively." It may also mean, "The two dynasties will enjoy the earth together for one hundred years, each for a half of 100 years, i. e., fifty years respectively." It is, therefore, clear from these two passages that so far as the number of dynasties are concerned, the Puranas include under the term 'Andhra' two dynasties, one subordinate Andhra or Andhrabhṛtya dynasty and another, the Śrīparvatīya family.

Then as regards the duration of these dynasties, the *Matsya* and the other two Puranas, the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa* do not agree. The version of the latter two Puranas is corrupt on this point and should be corrected. For, the *Matsya* revised its periods, the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa* did not revise the periods of their dynasties. And it should be noted that these subordinate Andhra dynasties were more or less classed as contemporaneous; and, therefore, the number of years assigned to them must be considered with reference to their contemporaneity and to the political events of the middle of the third century. The *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa*

1 *DKA*. p. 46, note 32.

2 *Opi. cit.* p. 46 and note 34.

*Purāṇa* texts, therefore must be interpreted, as regards the duration of the Andhrabhṛtya and the Śrīparvatīya dynasties, as meaning that both of them as contemporaneous kings reigned for one hundred or one hundred and two years [1]. If this explanation is tenable, then the duration of each dynasty would be 50 or 52 years respectively, after the fall of the Imperial Andhras.

Conclusion: The Abhiras, Andhra-bhṛtyas and the Śriparvatiyas.

It would appear, therefore, from the above considerations that after the fall of the Imperial Andhras, there sprang up three paramount dynasties in Dakṣiṇāpatha, namely, the Abhīras, the Andhra-bhṛtyas or the subordinate Andhras or the 'Junior' Andhras, who bore the imperial title *Śātakarṇi* and the Andhras or the Śrīparvatīyas. The Abhīras were perhaps not directly established by the Śātavāhanas in their imperial organisation, but they rose under them and acquired importance almost simulataneously with the decline of the imperial power. The Andhrabhṛtyas and the Śrīparvatīyas, however, were directly established by the imperial dynasty. They rose to power and entered upon a new phase of activity on the fall of their overlords. Both of them, apparently seven successions in all, reigned for fifty-two years each, the total duration of their period not exceeding one hundred and five years. Thus after the fall of the Śātavāhanas, three or four successions of Śrīparvatīya-Andhras and similarly two or three successions of the Andhrabhṛtya-Andhras reigned for fifty two years each in their respective kingdoms in Dakṣiṇāpatha. The chronology of these dynasties and of the political events of the Deccan, after the disruption of the Andhra Empire agree admirably, as we shall presently see, with the accounts of the Puranas.

The history of the Ābhīras is, however, outside the scope of the present study; but it will be noticed in outline only in the proper place with reference to the contemporaneous events in Andhradesa. The history of the Andhrabhṛtyas and the

1 *Opi. cit.* p. 44.

Śrīparvatīya-Andhras forms the subject of the present enquiry. It would appear that both these dynasties were established by the Śātavāhanas to protect the extensive sea-coast of their vast empire in Dakṣiṇāpatha, on the west and on the east. The Andhrabhṛtyas are called Andhras by the Puranas. For, they bear the imperial title *Śātakarṇi* like the parent Śātavāhana dynasty. But they are well known by the name Cuṭu-*kula* or the Cutus; and their records are found in the caves of Kanheri in Konkan, in the temples of Banavāsi in North Kanara district and in Mālavalli in the Shimoga district, Mysore. The area over which these inscriptions are distributed proves the vast extent of their kingdom. It extends from Konkan, from the region where the Bhīmarathi rises, in the north to the Vēgavatī in Mysore in the south. It was known by the name Kuntala, and also as Vanavāsa or Vaijayanti after the name of its metropolis, in ancient times. Vanavāsa or Vaijayanti has been identified with the modern Banavāsi in the North Kanara district to the north of Mysore. The inscriptions of the Andhrabhṛtyas of Vanavāsa are in Prakrit language and written in archaic script. On palaeographical grounds they have been assigned to the third century A.D. The terms Cuṭu or Cuṭu-*kula* denote that the Andhrabhṛtyas were a subordinate or 'junior' family with reference to the 'older' and Imperial Andhra Dynasty[1]. The history of this family will be dealt with at length in the Chapter on the orign and rise of the Pallavas of Kañci.

The Andhrabhṛtyas and the Śriparvatiyas.

The identity of the Śrīparvatīya-Andhras or the Śrīparvatīyas has long been a mystery. Fortunately, recent dicoveries of extensive archaeological antiquities and numerous Prakrit inscriptions in archaic script in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley on the Kṛṣṇa river in Guntur district, have brought to light the name of an illustrious dynasty known as the Ikṣvākus, and placed the identity of the Śrīparvatīyas beyond doubt[2]. The Ikṣvāku kings reigned over Andhradesa

The identity of the Śriparvatiyas with the Ikṣvākus.

1 K. P. J. *History of India*, p. 165.

2 *A. S. I.*, See Dr. Hirananda Sastri in 1926—27, pp. 156 ff. and pp. 184—189.

and territories beyond; their capital was Vijayapurī on the Kṛṣṇa, situated in the valley of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. They came to be known as the Śrīparvatiyas to the compilers of the Puranas because the celebrated hill Śrīparvata lay near the eastern side of Vijayapurī. Both Śrīparvata and Vijayapurī are referred to in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions[1]. Both the localities are situated in the heart of the Andhra country. Vijayapurī is mentioned also in the Amarāvati Prakrit inscriptions and, therefore, must have existed long before the Ikṣvākus rose to sovereignty[2]. The Ikṣvākus, therefore, were the Śrīparvatīyas or the Śrīparvatīya-Andhras mentioned in the Puranas. This identification is also supported by the *Purāṇa* statement, namely that one of the subordinate Andhra dynasties "will enjoy the earth", meaning apparently that they will reign over the land as an imperial power like the parent dynasty. The Cuṭu-*kula* kings or the Andhrabhṛtyas of Vanavāsa did not rise to imperial dignity; while as a matter of fact the Śrīparvatīyas or the Ikṣvākus actually assumed the imperial role.

The identity of the Śrīparvatīyas with the Ikṣvākus is also proved by another fact. The Ikṣvāku kings linked their personal names with matronymic appellations such as Vāsiṣṭhiputra, Māṭharīputra and others. This was a practice borrowed apparently from the Imperial Śātavāhanas, who super-added the matronymic epithets to their personal names. Strangely enough this practice was not followed by the later dynasties that replaced the Ikṣvākus in the Andhra country and the Cuṭus in Vanavāsa. The practice came to an end with the Andhrabhṛtyas and the Ikṣvākus. The Pallavas who succeeded the Cuṭus and the Ikṣvakus in the sovereignty of the South did not adopt this system. They introduced a new style, calling themselves by their personal names, referring to their patronymic *gōtra* and mentioning their family name. They called themselves Bhāradvājas or the Bhāradvāja-Pallavas in the formal preambles of their family charters. The Bṛhatphalāyanas, the Anandas and the Śālaṅkāyanas of the

1 *E. I.*, XX., p. 22, Ins. No. F.

2 *E. I.*, X. (Luders List : No. 1255); *A S S I.*, I., p. 85.

Andhra country also followed a somewhat similar practice. They mentioned their personal names in their family charters; they adopted their patronymic *gōtra*-name as their family appellation. These facts, therefore, conclusively show that the Ikṣvākus were the immediate successors of the Śātavāhanas in Andhradesa. They also prove that the Ikṣvākus were directly established in the Andhra country or at any rate that they were closely connected with the parent dynasty by ties of blood. They copied minutely the political and religious traditions of the Śātavāhana Empire. They were known to the compilers of the Puranas as the Śrīparvatīyas.

The Ikṣvākus would appear to have been an earlier dynasty which acquired rulership of the land in the heart of Andhra long before the Śātavāhanas established their empire in Dakṣiṇāpatha. There is an old and common saying in Andhradesa, "This is as old as the Ikṣvākus." This saying seems to refer to the great antiquity of the Ikṣvākus of Andhra which has not been penetrated by the memory of man. It has existed even before the inscriptions of the Ikṣvākus have been found in Andhra. It is indeed remarkable that the memory of this illustrious dynasty whose early connection with Andhradesa was not even known or suspected till a few decades ago should have lingered long in the Andhra country where they had left an indelible impression of their sway, which had been veiled only by the cob-webs of time. The adage further suggests that the Ikṣvākus were not merely an ancient family, but an earlier dynasty than the Imperial Śātavāhanas who were the most glorious and powerful family that ever reigned over the entire Dakṣiṇāpatha and even beyond. The Śātavahanas, after they had imposed their imperial suzerainty over the kingdoms of the Deccan, had probably entrusted the government of the home provinces to the subdued Ikṣvākus who were already rulers of a small territory in the Andhra country. Thus probably the Ikṣvākus came to be remembered dearly by the Andhras.

The Ikṣvākus: one of the earliest known dynasties in Andhra.

The Ikṣvākus of Andhradesa were originally immigrants from the north; and they were perhaps the earliest dynasty

that penetrated to the South and established themselves as rulers. The name Ikṣvāku is of great antiquity. Ikṣvāku as the name of a hero occurs once in the Ṛg Veda (x. 60, 4); In the *Atharva Veda*. (xiv. 39, 9) also the name is found only in one passage, where it is uncertain whether a descendant of Ikṣvāku or Ikṣvāku himself is referred to; in either case he seems to be regarded as an ancient king. The connection of Trasadasyu with Ikṣvākus is confirmed by the fact that Purukutsa was an Aikṣvāku, according to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xiii. 5, 4, 5.). Thus the Ikṣvākus were connected with the Purus or the Pauravas[1]. Their original abode is not clearly known. Zimmer places them on the upper Indus region[2], but according to Macdonnel and Kieth, they may well have been somewhat further east[3]. The name Ikṣvāku carries back our memory to the glorious days of the illustrious Solar dynasty of Raghu and Sri Rāmachandra. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Puranas the royal family or Kōsala or Ayōdhya is represented as having descended from a king named Ikṣvāku. Several branches of the Ikṣvāku family are mentioned as ruling at Vis'ala or Vais'āli[4], at Mithilā[5], and at Kusinagara[6]. According to the *Viṣṇu Purāna*, of the one hundred sons of Ikṣvāku, forty-eight ruled in Dakṣina or South. This is confirmed by the *Vāyu Purāṇa*. The Puranas give a list of kings of the Aikṣvāku dynasty, from Bṛhadbala to Prasēnajit, the Pasenadi of the Buddhist literature, a contemporary of the Buddha and king Bimbisāra of Magadha. Some of the later princes of the Puranic list, for instance, Śākya, Śuddhōdana, Siddhārtha, Rājula and Prasēnajit appear also in the Buddhist texts. It is interesting that even the name of Siddhārtha, afterwards the Buddha, is also included in the Puranic list. One of the Ikṣvāku inscriptions of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa also describes the tradition of the Buddha having descended

1 Vedic Index, I, p. 75.

2 *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 104, 130.

3 Vedic Index, I, p. 75.

4 *Ramayana*, I, 47, 11, 12.

5 *Vāyu Purāṇa*, (Bibl. Ind.) 89-3.

6 *Kuṣa Jātaka*, (No. 531)

from the illustrious Ikṣvāku. The Blessed Lord Buddha himself is represented as *Ikhāku-rāja-pavara-risi-sata-pabhava-vaṁsa-saṁbhavassa*, " born of a race which is sprung from hundreds of sages and excellent kings of the Ikhāku (Ikṣvāku) lineage."[1]

The Purāṇas state that forty eight sons of the race of Ikṣvāku ruled in the Dakṣina, meaning the Deccan.[2] The Ikṣvākus of Andhradesa, probably a branch of them, must have moved southwards at some unknown period. This is confirmed by the *Vāyu Purāṇa* which traces the foundation of the Kingdoms of As'maka and Mulaka to the Ikṣvākus.[3] These two regions lay contiguous to each other on the Godavari. According to the *Suttanipāta*, the capital of Mulaka was Paiṭhan or the ancient Pratishṭhāna. According to the same authority it appears that Bāvari, a Brāhman from Kōsala, settled in As'maka which was watered by the Godavari and which lay adjacent to Mulaka. He sent his pupils northwards first to Paiṭhan in Mulaka and next to Māhiṣmatī and Ujjaini in the north. Mulaka and As'maka lay therefore directly in the northern part of Andhradesa. These two territories may therefore be located roughly in the Aurangabad and Nizamabad districts of the Nizam's Dominions. The Ikṣvāku migration to the South would have taken place about the sixth century B. C. when the kingdom of Kōsala sank into insignificance on account of the rise of Magadha under Bimbisāra. The existence of the kingdom of Mahā-Kōsala or Dakṣiṇa-Kōsala in the Deccan is a strong proof of the Ikṣvāku expansion or migration to the South. According to the Puranas, while Lava ruled Uttara-Kōsala from Śrāvastī and became the founder of the dynasty

The Ikṣvākus: immigrants into Andhradesa from North.

1 *E. I.*, XX., p. 22, text line 1.

2 *Vāyu 88*. 81, 20, 24; *Brahmāṇḍa* iii, *63*, 8-11, 21-25; *Brahma* 7 45-48, 51; *Harivaṁs'ā II*, 661-4, 667 and *Siva Purāṇa*. vii. *60*, 33-35, 37; Collated *Viṣṇu iv*. 2, 3, agrees.

3 *Bibl. Ind.* edn. Chapt. *88*, VI., vv. 177-78. A Southern counterpart of Mulaka seems to be Mulakanāḍu or Mulikināḍu which comprises the region of the Kurnool district in the lower Kṛṣṇa valley. The names Muliki-nāḍu, Mulki or Mulkiviṣaya occur frequently in the Telugu literature. The term Muliki-nāḍu is still current in the Southern Andhra country and East Mysore. A certain sub-sect of Brāhmaṇas of the Andhra country are known by the name Mulkināṭis, meaning 'of Mulkināḍu' or Mulki district. *Suttanipāta*: (Pali Text Society.) V. Pārāyaṇavagga, verses 976-977 and 1010-1011.

of which Sumitra was the last king, Kus'a founded the city of Kus'asthalipura[1] after his name at the foot of the Vindhyas, married a Nāga princess and reigned over Dakṣiṇa-Kōsala. The last of Kus'a's descendants known to the Puranas was Bṛhadbala, who was killed on the battlefield of Kurukṣētra, but there are reasons to believe that the dynasty of Kus'a did not end with the beginning of the *Kali Age* as the Puranas would make us understand. The recent discovery of the Ikṣvāku inscriptions at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa has given the lie direct to the Puranic tradition that the Ikṣvāku rule become extinct in the centuries before Christ. On the other hand it shows that the Ikṣvākus moved southwards into Andhradesa and acquired sovereignty, and flourished long in the third century of the Christian era.

The Ikṣvākus of Andhradesa.

The Prakrit inscriptions of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Jaggayyapēṭa and Rāmireḍḍipalli,[2] do not tell us anything about the political events that led to the rise of the Ikṣvāku dynasty in Andhradesa or their origin. Nevertheless they are important and extremely interesting because they refer to a line of powerful kings called the Ikṣvākus who held paramount sway over the Andhra country for over a half a century in the wake of the downfall of the Imperial Andhras, in the third century.

The Ikṣvākus of Andhradesa suddenly emerge from obscurity for the first time as an imperial power after the extinction of the Śātavāhana dynasty. They fill the gap in the history of Dakṣiṇāpatha and Andhradesa of the Post-Śātavāhana epoch. The Ikṣvākus resemble the parent Śātavāhana dynasty as no others do. They took up the threads of imperial sovereignty of the Śātavāhas and added lustre and glory to the land.

1 *Padmapurāṇa*, 6th Kanda, 271 vv. 54, 55. Anandās'rama series.

2 For Nāgarjunakoṇḍa inscriptions, see *E. I.*, XX, pp. 1-37 and *E. I.*, XX, PP. 61-62. They are about 41 in number and have been carefully edited by Dr. J. Ph, Vogel, Ph. D, Leiden. For the inscriptions at Jaggayyapēṭa, see *A, S, S, I.*, I, p. 110. For the inscription of Rāmireḍḍipalli, see *A. S. I. Anual. Rept.*, 1930-34, Part I., p. 238.

## CHAPTER II

### *Decline and fall of the Andhra Empire.*

The dawn of the third century of the Christian era witnessed the disruption of the Andhra Empire[1]. Already for more than a century forces of disruption were at work. Several hordes of foreigners like the Scythians (Śakas), Tukhāras, Yavanas and the Pahlavas (Pārthians) forced their way into Dakṣiṇāpatha during the centuries before Christ and after. Thereafter they slowly established themselves in small principalities all over the land. They were gradually absorbed by the indigenous population and soon lost their alien character. They adopted the religion, habits and mode of living of the earlier inhabitants of Dakṣiṇāpatha. During the reigns of the Emperor Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi c. 97—116 A. D. and his son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Svāmi Śrī Pulumāvi II, c. 116—144 A. D., the Andhras engaged in conflicts the foreign tribes which had formed settlements and carved out kingdoms in Western India and threatened to imperil the suzerainty of their house. These foreign ruling families were subordinate at first to the Indo-Pārthians and, subsequently transferred their allegiance to the Kuṣāṇa sovereigns. Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi is stated to have "destroyed the casteless foreigners, the Scythians, Yavanas and Pahlavas, rooted out the Khakarāṭa race, re-established the *varṇās'rama dharma*, 'the proper *dharma* of the social order of the castes' and restored the glory of the Imperial Śātavāhana family."[2] During the reigns of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Srī Pulumavi's successors, conflicts between the Andhra Emperors and the alien chiefs frequently recurred. And the first blow to the integrity of the Empire was dealt by the Śaka king *Mahākṣatrapa* Rudradāman of Ujjaini about the middle of the

1 It is the common belief among historians that the Andhra Empire lasted till about 238 A. D. (See K. P. J, in *JBORS*, XVI, p. 279 f.) But V. A. Smith (in his *E. H. I.*, 4th edn., p. 233) holds the view that the empire ended in 225 A. D. Neither of these two views can now be regarded as correct.

2 *E. I.* VIII, p. 60, No. 2.

second century A. D. But soon after, the Empire recovered; and for a quarter of a century or more flourished again gloriously. But the disintegrating forces had already been at work. Almost within the first decade of the third century it broke up into three divisions and quickly disappeared.

The last of the great Śātavāhana emperors was Gautamīputra Svāmi Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi[1]. From the testimony of the inscriptions and coins of his time found all over the Deccan, Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi would seem to have reigned over the entire Śātavāhana family dominions in Dakṣiṇāpatha, extending from the sea on the east to Surāṣṭra and Lāṭadēs'a on the west[2]. He was probably the son of Vāṣiṣṭhīputra Caṭarapaṇa Śātakarṇi[3], and perhaps a grandson of Vasiṣṭhīputra Svāmi Śri Pulumāvi II [4]. According to the *Matsya Purāna* Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi's accession took place fourteen years after the death of Śrī Pulumāvi II.[5] During this period two kings, Śiva Śrī and Śivaskandha Śātakarṇi, probably of collateral branches, would appear to have ruled for seven and three years respectively. But according to the testimony of inscriptions, the interval was the troubled period of Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi's father, probably Vāsiṣṭhīputra Caṭarapaṇa Śātakarṇi. According to the Junagadh inscription, the 'Lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha' was twice defeated by *Mahākṣatrapa* Rudradāman, but on account of the nearness of connection was not destroyed[6]. The Lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha would then be no other than Caṭarapaṇa Śātakarṇi. The Junagadh inscription is dated the year 72 which is equated

1 Scholars generally write the name of this king as Yajña S'rī S'ātakarṇi on the authority of the Puranas. (*Vāyu*, 99, v. 55) But in the inscriptions and on coins his name occurs as Siri Yaṇa Satakaṁni, (S'ri Yajña S'ātakarṇi) Vide *Luder's List* Nos. 1024, 1146, 1340. See also Rapson : *C.A.D.* and *JRAS*. 1934, January p. 560.

2 V. A. Smith : *E. H. I.* 4th edn. pp. 232-233.

3 Rapson : *C. A. D.* Introd. p. xci. Rapson doubts the correctness of this view and identification. But See Jayaswal in *Hist. of Ind.* pp. 277-280; and *I. H. Q.*, VII, pp. 122—3.

4 Rapson : *C. A. D.*, Introd. p. xli. Rapson does not agree with Pandit Bhagwanlāl Indrāji who holds this view. See *J. B. Br, A S.*, XV, p. 314.

5 K. P. J. in *J. B. O. R. S.* XVI. p. 279 calls Pulumāvi II, a Gautamīputra which is clearly wrong.

6 *E. I.*, VIII, pp. 36 ff. text line 12.

to 150 A. D. By that date Caṭarapaṇa Śātakarṇi had been already twice defeated[1]. He must have therefore succeeded his father at least five or six years prior to that date. Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Pulumāvi II's reign consequently would have ended about 144 A. D.[2] As Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Caṭarapaṇa Śātakarni's reign evidently lasted fourteen years[3], the period of his successor, Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi, would fall roughly between 157 and 186 A. D. But as stated above, Caṭarapaṇa Śātakarṇi's reign was not peaceful. It was interrupted twice. The Puranas do not mention Caṭarapaṇa Śātakarṇi but give two other names, Śiva Śrī Pulumavi (III) and Śivaskandha Śātakarṇi between Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Pulumāvi II and Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi.[4] They do not specify the relationship of these kings either to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Pulumāvi II or to Śri Yajña Śātakarṇi. It is quite probable that they were usurpers; and the Puranic statement denotes confusion about the dynastic succession. The insertion of these two names in a confused manner confirms the veiw that there was a dynastic feud during the reign of Caṭarapaṇa Śātakarṇi, the exact nature of which, however, is not clear. The dynastic feud and consequent confusion offered a splendid opportunity to *Mahākṣatrapa* Rudradāman to throw off the yoke of the Imperial Śātavāhanas. Caṭarapaṇa Śātakarṇi was not strong enough to subdue the two foes simultaneously. He was on the other hand defeated by Rudradāman twice. He could not therefore, subjugate the usurpers, Śiva Śrī Pulumavi III and Śivaskandha Śātakarṇi. When Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi came to the throne, his rivals found in him a stronger and more resolute foe than they had previously encountered. Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi asserted his superior position and overthrew his

1 *JBORS*., XVI, p. 280. Several scholars assume that Rudradāman's son-in-law was Pulumāvi II. (V. A. Smith : *E. H. I.*, 4th edn. p 222.) This assumption is incompatible with the Chronology of the Imperial Andhras. See *I. H. Q.*, VIII. p. 117 ff,

2 *JBORS*., XVI. p. 279. See *I. H. Q.*, VII, p. 117, See *E. H. I.* 4th edn. p. 232.

3 *E. I.* X. *Luder's List*, No. 1120, *Nānāghat Cistern Inscription.* See also *J. B. Br. A. S.*, XV. p. 313.

4 *DKA*. p. 42, text lines : 29—30. *Sivas'rīr-vai Pulōma tu sapt-aiva bhavitā nṛpāḥ Sivaskandhaḥ S'ātakarṇir bhavit-āsy-ātmajāḥ samāḥ.*

opponents. He ably retrieved the sunken prestige of his family by conquering back the provinces which *Mahākṣatrapa* Rudradāman annexed during the reign of Caṭarapaṇa Śātakarni.

Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi was able to rehabilitate the Śātavahana Empire partly on account of the enfeebling of the Mahākṣatrapa Kingdom after the death of Rudradāman. The Mahākṣatrapa was succeeded by his son Damajada Śrī (Damaghasada), c. 160 to 178 A. D. Dāmajada Śrī would appear to be a weak prince who was unable to oppose the aggressive imperialism of the Sātavahana revival under Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi. His reign must have been either brief or disturbed on account of dynastic disputes. He had a younger brother, Rudrasimha I, whose dated coins show that he had a reign of about eighteen or twenty years between 180 and 197 A. D.[1] Damajada Śrī left two sons, Jīvadāman (c 178—198 A. D.) and Satyadāman (c. 197—98 A. D.) who on account of their rivalries aggravated the disputes for succession in the Mahākṣatrapa Dominions. It is not however clear whether this state of affairs was brought about by the intervention of Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi himself, though it would appear that he took full advantage of the troubled conditions in the Mahākṣatrapa Kingdom and re-asserted the dominating position of his house. Gautamīputra's ascendancy in Dakṣiṇāpatha almost synchronised with the last days of the Kuṣāṇas in the North; and the decline and fall of the Kuṣāṇa Empire weakened also the Mahākṣatrapa power. And the testimony of the dated inscriptions of Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi proves that the rehabilitation of the Empire was complete by the sixteenth year of his reign, which would fall roughly about 173 A. D. [2] According to the

Restoration of the glory of the S'ātavāhana Dynasty by Gautamiputra S'ri Yajña Sātakarṇi.

1 Rapson : *C. A. D.* Introduction p. cxxiii. A genealogical chart with the chronology of the Mahākṣatrapa Dynasty is appended at the end for easy reference.

2 Luder's List No, 1024, Kanheri Buddh. Cave Inscription in *J B Br A S.*, XV., p. 312. *A S W I.*, V. p. 79 f. See the chronological charts at the end.

Puranas, Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi reigned for twenty-nine years; but the dated inscriptions do not carry beyond the twenty-seventh year. Nevertheless, it is probable that his reign lasted 29 years, from c. 157 to 186 A. D.

Soon after the death of Gautamīputra, *Mahākṣatrapa* Rudrasiṁha I, another son of Rudradāman, would appear to have asserted his independence and shaken off the yoke of the Śātavāhana dynasty once more. The successors of Śri Yajña Śātakarṇi were too weak to put down the Mahākṣatrapa expansion. They would seem also to have been occupied in their dynastic disputes and the political storm that was brewing in the Deccan, particularly in their own homeland. The last three Śātavāhana Emperors were Vijaya, Candra Śrī and Pulumāvi (IV.) They apparently lacked the energy that was necessary to knit together the Empire that was fast crumbling. The domestic feuds, revolutions and counter-revolutions for dynastic successions sowed the seeds of decline. On account of the dynastic disputes the great feudatory families which were formerly the mainstay of the Empire revolted, threw off the imperial yoke and assumed independence in their respective territories. The dismemberement of the Śatavāhana Empire, therefore, can be as clearly traced in Andhradesa as in Vanavāsa, Mahārāṣtra or Aparānta. Apparently the success of Rudrasimha I in Ujjaini encouraged the Andhrabhṛtyas or the Cuṭu-*kula* kings of Vanavāsa and the Śrīparvatīyas or Ikṣvākus of Andhradesa to emulate the example of the Mahākṣatrapa. The Abhīras, too, about the same time revolted, though their history is somewhat obscure. The internecine wars and dynastic disputes in the Andhra Empire ultimately helped the powerful feudatory families to destroy the last of the Śātavahanas, and hasten the fall of the Empire. The Cuṭus of Vanavāsa and the Ikṣvākus of Andhradesa quickly overpowered their overlords and immediately severed their connection with the Empire. The Ābhīras in Aparānta and the Scythian Mahākṣatrapas in Mālava swallowed up the Śātavāhana

Successors of S'ri Yajña S'ātakarṇi and Decline of the Andhra Empire.

dominions in the north-west. Thus disappeared the great Andhra Empire of the Śātavāhanas[1].

About Vijaya Śātakarṇi, Candra Śrī and Pulumāvi IV, nothing is known except their names. The Puranas do not mention any events concerning their reigns. It is probable that they were nominal sovereigns in the Empire which came to be confined practically to the eastern provinces in the Deccan[2]. The Puranas state that Vijaya Śrī and Candra Śrī Śātakarṇi reigned for six and ten years successively and that thereafter another member of their family (*anyas-tēṣām*) called Pulumāvi IV succeeded and reigned for seven years and, that with him the glorious Śātavāhana dynasty came to an end. The names of these kings except that of Candra Śrī are not confirmed either by inscriptions or coins[3]. On the other hand, the names of two other kings, Śrī Rudra and Śrī Kṛṣṇa, apparently of the Śātavāhana dynasty, are furnished by the discovery of some coins in the Andhra country and in the Canda District of the Central Provinces; but their names are not found in the Puranas[4]. Their period therefore cannot be determined. Perhaps they were contemporaries and rivals of Candra Śrī Śātakarṇi and were members of the Imperial Śātavāhana family, who were placed in charge of the northern provinces like Kōsala, Vidarbha, Mulaka and As'maka. They struck coins in their own name and probably attempted to usurp the sovereignty of the imperial family.

Vijaya S'rī, Candra S'rī S'ātakarṇi and Pulumāvi IV.

The *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* call Candra Śrī by the name Daṇḍa S'rī and give him a reign of three years. The reason for this discrepancy is inexplicable. Probably Candra

1 K. P. J., *History of India*. p. 163,

2 V. A. Smith : *E. H. I.*, 4th edn. p. 223.

3 Rapson refers to the coins of Vāsiṭhīputra Candra Sri : See *C. A. D.* pp. 30—33. A rock cut inscription of the 2nd year of Candra S'ri is found at Koḍavali in Piṭhāpuram taluk, East Godavari district. For the coins, only lead ones are found. See Rapson, *C.A.D.* Introd. p. lxvii and *D K A* p. 43 note 22.

4 Rapson : *C. A. D.* pp. 46—48. Strictly speaking a major portion of the Canda district forms part of Andhradesa. So also the southern portion of the adjoining feudatory state of Bastar where the language of the people is Telugu.

Śrī's reign was interrupted after the third year by the usurpers, Śrī Rudra and Śrī Kṛṣna. The *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* compilers were probably not aware of the subsequent events. It is quite possible that after sometime Candra Śrī retrieved his position and reigned for seven years more. For, it will be remembered that the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* Puranas did not revise their periods like the *Matsya* and, therefore, the accounts of the former should be taken into consideration with reference to the political events of the period when they were first compiled. According to the *Matsya Purāṇa*, therefore, it would appear that, though in the beginning Candra Śrī's reign was interrupted, in the end the usurpers were overpowered and conquered and that his reign lasted ten years. The Koḍavali rock-cut Prakrit inscription is dated the second year of Candra Śrī[1]. This circumstance no doubt supports the statement of the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* Puranas. Further, there are no records of the later years of this king. It might be, therefore, that in the later years of Candra Śrī, the rival kinsmen, Śrī Rudra and Śrī Kṛṣṇa or possibly Pulumāvi IV attempted to overthrow him and usurp his sovereignty. This view is partly suggested by the Purāṇa text that Pulumāvi (IV), a scion of the Śātavāhana family, called 'another of them,' succeeded Candra Śrī on the throne. The details of these dynastic wars during the closing years of Candra Śrī and then of his successor are not available to us from any other source. But there is no doubt that the disturbed reigns of Vijaya Śātakarṇi and Candra Śrī caused and even hastened the downfall of the Śātavāhana Empire.

The last days of the Empire.

The events of the last three reigns of the Śātavāhana dynasty strongly suggest that the decline and fall of the Empire commenced shortly after the death of Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi. According to the revised chronology of the Śātavāhanas the Andhra Empire came to an end in the dawn of the third century with the reign of Pulumāvi IV. Śri Yajña Śātakarni's reign came to a close about 186 A. D. The three reigns of his successors,

1 The Koḍavali rock cut inscription of Candra S'ri. *E. I.*, XVIII, p. 316.

6 years of Vijaya (c. 186-191 A. D.) 10 years of Candra Śrī (191-201 A. D.) and 7 years of Pulumāvi IV (c. 200-1—207-8 A. D.) did not altogether occupy even a quarter of a century. Thus within these decades after the death of Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi, the great Andhra Empire crumbled to pieces and disappeared. Pulumavi IV, the last of the Andhras, was defeated and overthrown by a subordinate Ikṣvāku prince. The event may be placed about 208. A. D. The great Ikṣvāku prince who destroyed the last of the Śātavāhanas and assumed independence in Andhradesa was (Prakrit: Vaseṭhiputa siri Cāṁtamūla) Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śāntamūla.

What became of the descendants of the Śātavahana dynasty after the fall of Pulumāvi IV, history does not speak. Some of the princelings of the Imperial family would seem to have sunk to the position of local rulers in Kōsala, Kalinga and Northern Andhra, while the others were destroyed. The existence of some kings with matronymic appellations attached to their names after the fashion of the Imperial Andhras and the Ikṣhvākus, like Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śaktivarman of the Māṭhara-*kula*[1], for instance, shows that some remote descendants of the Śātavāhana dynasty survived in Kalinga and Northern Andhra and Kōsala for sometime and disappeared finally about the middle of the fourth century A. D.

1 *E. I.*, XII. p. 1 f. His family name was wrongly assumed to Māgadha-*kula* by Dr. Hultzch and others. It is now correctly restored to Māṭhara-*kula*.

## CHAPTER III

## *The rise of the Ikṣvāku Dynasty*

### 1. Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śāntamūla the Great, c. 200—218 A.D.

The disturbed condition of the Andhra Empire during the period of the weak successors of Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi apparently gave the opportunity to the powerful Ikṣvāku prince, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śāntamūla, to put an end to the degenerate rule of the weak and warring kings and establish his paramount sway in the land. The last king or kings of the Śātavāhana dynasty, having been completely weakened by their domestic conflicts and other disintegrating causes, became an easy prey to the powerful Ikṣvāku king at this period. It was an easy task for Śrī Śāntamūla to strike effectively at the root of the Śātavāhana Empire. For, it would appear that he had the support of the other feudatory families in this task. The imperial capital, Dhānyakaṭaka or Dhanakaṭaka, lay within a short distance from his own seat at Vijayapuri and he could, therefore, fall upon it at any time. It was this circumstance presumably that enabled Śrī Śāntamūla to usurp the sovereignty of the Śātavāhanas, consolidate his power and extend his dominion by a policy of vigorous conquest and annexation.

It is probable that the ancestors of Śrī Śāntamūla were rulers of provinces in the Andhra Empire and possibly of a large territory in the heart of the Andhra country itself, and that by slow degrees they rose to great power and influence. It is also probable that they were related to the Imperial family by ties of blood. For, in the surnames or matronymic epithets one may perceive a hidden relationship between the Ikṣvākus and the Śātavāhanas. The rulership of the home provinces of the Śātavāhanas and the close relationship with the Imperial dynasty as well as the course of political events in the last quarter of the second century A. D. were probably the

Rise of Mahārāja Vāsiṣṭhiputra S'ri S'āntamūla the Great: c. 200 A.D.

causes that enhanced the prestige and military strength of the Ikṣvākus, while they slowly undermined the integrity and paved the way for the rapid decline and fall of the Andhra Empire in the dawn of the third century. According to the Puranas, Candra Śrī would seem to be the last of the Śātavāhanas in the direct male line and, that his successor Pulumāvi IV, who is called 'another of them' was evidently a usurper. The usurpation or the accession of Pulumāvi IV was probably the opportunity for the ambitious prince of the Ikṣvāku family to aim at the imperial throne. It is difficult to trace the precise manner by which Pulumāvi IV was overthrown or destroyed by the Ikṣvāku king. But one fact remains prominent: Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śāntamūla, the lord of Ikṣvāku family, became the paramount sovereign of Andhradesa on the fall of the Andhra Empire. The Ikṣvāku monarch attained to this dignity early in the third century by the force of his arms and his unimpeded aggression. He carved out a mighty empire; thereafter he celebrated the As'vamēdha and Vājapēya sacrifices, which were apparently in abeyance for over a century. The offering of the As'vamēdha rite involved a *digvijaya*, or 'conquest of all quarters' and none who had not celebrated *digvijaya* could offer the great and famous *Kratu*. By performing the As'vamēdha, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śāntamūla became the paramount overlord, the *cakravartin* of Dakṣiṇāpatha.

The extent of the empire of Vāsiṣṭhiputra S'ri S'āntamūla.

Śrī Śāntamūla's empire would seem to have embraced, as stated elsewhere, the entire eastern half of the Deccan including Dakṣiṇa-Kosala. History is, however, silent about the kingdoms and dynasties which he had brought under his imperial sway. The unknown Ābhīra king of Gōvardhana in Aparānta and the Mahākṣatrapa of Ujjaini probably came within the zone of his political influence as subordinate allies though not as feudatories. The Mahākṣatrapa contemporary of Emperor Śrī Śāntamūla was Rudrasēna I, eldest son of Rudrasiṁha I, whose dated coins would show that he

reigned from about 199 to 222 A. D.[1] Evidently it was his daughter, Rudradhara Bhaṭṭārikā, called 'the Mahārāja's daughter from Ujjaini' (*Ujjenika-Mahārāja-bālikā*), in one of the *āyaka* pillar inscriptions at the *Mahācaitya* on the Śrīparvata, was married to Māṭharīputra Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta, the son and successor of the emperor, Śrī Śāntamūla[2]. This dynastic alliance enhanced the political importance and prestige of the Ikṣvāku dynasty in the Deccan. The Cuṭus or the Andhrabhṛtyas of Vanavāsa were in all probability connected with the Ikṣvākus and consequently received considerable help from the latter in shaking off the yoke of the last of the Imperial Śātavāhanas. The first paramount king of the Cuṭu dynasty would appear to be Hārītiputra Viṣṇuskanda-Cuṭu-kulānanda Śātakarṇi[3]. Thus the Cuṭus of Vanavāsa, too, would appear to have come under the influence of the Imperial Ikṣvākus.

Sources of information.

The sources of information for the reconstruction of the history of the Ikṣvākus of Andhradesa are primarily the Prakrit inscriptions of the family found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and other contemporary records found at Jaggayyapēṭa and elsewhere. All the inscriptions of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa are either votive or commemorative records, set up exclusively by the princesses of the royal blood and sometimes by ladies of rank also. They do not tell us about the origin of the Ikṣvāku dynasty of Andhradesa or the events and exploits connected with the line of kings mentioned in them. Nevertheless, they yield to the student of history a rich material with which to reconstruct not merely the political history of the country but also the religious activity of the people during the second and third centuries after Christ. They are written in beautiful characters; and curiously enough though they were intended to be perpetual records of pious foundations, they betray an astonishingly careless manner and lack of precision in their execution. For purposes of our study these Prakrit

1 See Appendix: Genealogical Table A ; See also Rapson : *CAD*, Introd., pp cliv-clv.

2 *E. I.*, XX., p. 19, No. B-5.

3 Rapson : *CAD.*, Introd. p. iv.

inscriptions may be classified into four groups. They are the inscriptions on the *Āyaka*-pillars of the *Mahācaitya*, the *Caityagṛha* inscriptions, those on detached pillars and lastly inscriptions on sculptures.

1. Vāsiṣṭhiputra S'rī S'āntamūla.

The Prakrit inscriptions of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa furnish to us the names of three generations of the Ikṣvāku kings. The first king of that family appears to be Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śāntamūla. He is called *Ikhākus-sāmi* (Skt. *Ikṣvāku-svāmi*), 'the king of the Ikṣvāku family,' after the manner of the Imperial Śātavāhanas[1]. There are, however, no inscriptions of his period, and all that is known about him is only from the records of the reigns of his son and grandson. The numerous extolling epithets that are attached to his name indicate plainly that he was the most powerful monarch of the day in Dakṣiṇāpatha. They also show that he was regarded as the *samrāṭ* or emperor in Dakṣiṇāpatha both by his contemporaries and descendants. This conjecture is confirmed by the fact that none of his contemporaries, the Cuṭu-*kula* Śātakarṇis, the Ābhīras or even the Mahākṣatrapas of Mālava, claimed the imperial dignity which he alone did. In a passage which occurs in almost all the inscriptions the Mahārāja, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śāntamūla, is described as (*savathēsu apatihata saṁkapasa*) 'a man of unconquerable will, and of unimpeded purpose; one whose desires were never unfulfilled.' He is called *agihota-agiṭhoma-vājapeya-asamedhayājisa*, 'the offeror of Agnihōtra, Agniṣṭōma, Vājapēya and As'vamēdha,' (*hiraṇa-kōṭi go-sata-sahasa hala-sata-sahasa-padāyisa*) 'the giver of many crores of gold, hundred-thousands of cows and hundred thousand plough-shares of land.' And he is also mentioned as *Virūpakhapati-Mahāsena-parigahatasa* 'having been absolved by Mahāsēna, the lord of the Virūpākṣas,' (serpents)[2]. The epithet probably means that Vāsiṣṭhīputra

1 *E. I.*, XXI, pp. 63-64, No-L.

1 E. I., XX, C-3, pp. 3-4. The term Virūpakha (Skt. Virūpākṣa) indicating a class of snakes, occurs in an ancient snake charm. (See *Vināya Piṭakam* Ed. Goldenberg *S. B. E.*, Vol. XX, p. 76.)

Śrī Śantamūla was a votary of god Mahāsēna and a worshipper of Mahēśvara. The offering of the Agniṣṭōma and Agnihōtra and the worship of Mahāsēna seem to imply that the Ikṣvāku monarch was a follower of Vedic Brahmanism. The inscriptions state that he was the only member of his family who performed these Vedic rites. It would, therefore, appear that Śrī Śāntamūla revived these Vedic rites and Vedic religion after a long interval of abeyance. His matronymic appellation Vāsiṣṭhīputra and his marriage to a Brāhman lady born in the Māṭhari-*gotra* signify that Śrī Śāntamūla was a Brāhman like the Śātavāhanas.

Some scholars however are of the opinion that the Ikṣvākus were not Brāhmans. Dr. Bhandarkar, for instance, believes that the Ikṣvākus of Andhradesa were Kṣatriyas of the Solar race because they traced their descent from the well known hero Ikṣvāku[1]. But his arguments are not convincing.

Caste of the Ikṣvākus of Andhradesa.

Dr. Bhandarkar's belief is based upon the presumption that in the early period ranging from the second century before Christ to the third century after, there were many inter-caste marriages, which were not merely *anulōma* but also *pratilōma* unions. These are certainly wrong presumptions; and they unnecessarily complicate the question. The Prakrit inscriptions of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa do not bear testimony to the contention that the Ikṣvāku kings were Sūtas or the off-spring of *pratilōma* marriages between Kṣatriya fathers and Brāhman mothers. On the contrary, they show that the Ikṣvākus were full-blooded Brāhmans, having matrimonial alliances with Brāhman ruling families, and therefore, were neither Kṣatriyas nor Sūtas. It appears that among the descendants of Ikṣvāku there were also reputed Brāhmans like Harita and Viṣṇuvṛddha who were themselves founders of two well known Brahmanic *gōtras*. The *pravaras* of the Harita *gōtra* are Āṅgīrasa, Āmbarīṣa and Yauvanāśva, while those of the Viṣṇuvṛddha *gōtra* are Āṅgirasa, Paurukutsa and Trasadasya[2]. All of them except Āṅgirasa are well known names in the Ikṣvāku lineage. The descendants

1 *E. I.*, XXII, pp. 31-33 and 36.

2 *Gōtra-pravara-nibandha-kadambam*. (Mys. Oriental Series,) Introduction, p. xii.

of Harita[1] and Viṣṇuvṛddha[2] who had been Kṣatriyas became Brāhmans and attached themselves to the family of Aṅgiras. The Ikṣvākus, therefore, like the Śātavāhanas, were Brāhmans. They copied the Śātavāhanas in every respect; they called themselves after their illustrious ancestor Ikṣvāku, like the Śātavāhanas, rather than by their patronymic *gōtra* name.

The Brahmanic matronymics of the Ikṣvāku kings seem to point further to the prevalence of polygamy in the royal families of Dakṣiṇāpatha in the ancient period. They show that the Ikṣvāku kings usually had, after the fashion of their predecessors, the Śātavāhanas, matrimonial connections with more than one Brāhman family. The Prakrit inscriptions of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa corroborate this conjecture. But against this view a question may be raised as to why the patronymic *gōtra* name is omitted in the inscriptions of the Ikṣvāku kings. The answer is simple and clear. The most important reason for the omission seems to be that as none of the Ikṣvāku inscriptions of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Jaggayyapēṭa and elsewhere are directly the records of the Ikṣvāku sovereigns themselves but of the royal ladies, princesses and citizens of rank, there was no need for the patronymic *gōtra* name to be mentioned. Till now we have not come across the formal *praśasti* of the Ikṣvāku kings in their charters. It is just possible that the patronymic *gōtra* name of the Ikṣvākus was too well known in those days to be mentioned in the votive records of other persons. But it was necessary to distinguish the sons of one queen from those of another and thus the matronymic prefixes were superadded to the personal names of the monarchs in those records. There may be another explanation. The Ikṣvākus were perhaps *anārṣēya* Brāhmans mentioned in the *Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa* of the Atharva Veda who had no *gōtra*, and consequently assumed the matronymic *gōtra*. This, too, is not convincing. The probability seems to be that the Ikṣvākus of Andhradesa who

1 *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Amsa iv, *Adhyaya* 3.

2 *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Amsa iv, *Adhyāya* 2; *Viṣṇucittiya* and *Liṅga Purāṇa. Adhyāya* xii, 65.

rose immediately on the fall of the Imperial Andhras, were Brāhmans, possibly of the Harita *gōtra.* The Kilakilas or the Vindhyakas who were ancestors of the Vākaṭakas, who also rose in Central India on the break-up of the Imperial Andhra power, would appear to be Brāhmans of the Viṣṇuvṛddha *gōtra.* The Kadambas with whom, the Ikṣvākus had matrimonial alliances were Brāhmans of the Mānavyasa-*gōtra* and called themselves Hāritīputras or the sons of Hārīti. The Cuṭus of Vanavāsa were also Hārītiputras; and it is possible to believe that the last Cuṭu monarch, Viṣṇuskanda Cuṭu-kula-ānanda, who was a Hāritiputra, was related to the Hārīti-*gōtra* Ikṣvākus of Andhradesa. Even apart from the above discussion, the performance of Agniṣṭōma and Agnihōtra was still a Brahmanic privilege in the ancient period. When Agniṣṭoma was performed by a Kṣatriya, it ceased to be called as such but Jyōtiṣṭōma. The Ikṣvakus were, therefore, Brāhmans beyond doubt.

The offering of the As'vamēdha implies formidable military strength, prowess and splendour for the sovereign. It involves further the conquest of all quarters, subjugation of a circle of hostile kings and levying tribute from the subdued rulers.

Vāsiṣthiputra S'ri S'āntamūla's As'vamēdha.

Though it is not precisely known whom Śrī Śāntamūla had conquered and subjugated before he rose to be the supreme overlord in the Deccan, it is probable that his dominion extended over As'mka, Mulaka Kōsala and Kalinga on the north, and that he subjugated several local rulers like Gardhabhilas, Muruṇḍas or Muṇḍas, Tukhāras, Śakas and Yavanas whom the Puranas mention as having succeeded the Imperial Andhras in the rulership of provinces. It is probable that the Ābhīras and the Śaka-Mahākṣatrapas on the north-west and the Andhrabhṛtyas on the west acknowledged his overlordship and readily obeyed his commands. Above all, Śri Śāntamūla destroyed the Andhra Empire, defeated and slew Pulumāvi IV, the last of the Śātavāhanas and thereby attained to a position by which he eclipsed the glory of every other power in the Deccan. Therefore it would appear that there was sufficient justification for the Ikṣvāku monarch to claim imperial suzerainty over the dynasties

ruling in Dakṣiṇāpatha and offer the Vājapēya and As'vamēdha sacrifices.

The ancestors of Śrī Śantamūla are not known from the inscriptions. It is probable that they were feudatory chieftains or vassal kings of the Imperial Andhras and, that may account for the omission of their names. According to the inscriptions of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa it appears that Śrī Śāntamūla was the first king who founded his illustrious dynasty on the throne of Andhradesa immediately on the fall of the Śātavāhanas. The inscriptions reveal to us the names of his children, his sisters and his other kinsmen who played a glorious part in the history of the Andhra country, roughly seventeen hundred years ago. Śrī Śāntamūla's son was Māṭharīputra Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta (Pkt. Māḍharīputa Siri Virapurisadata) which occurs in almost all the inscriptions. His daughter was the princess *Mahātalavari* Adavi Śānti Śrī[1]. She was the wife of the prince *Mahātalavara-Mahāsēnāpati-Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Skanda Vis'ākha Nāga (Pkt. Khaṁdavisākhaṁṇaka) of the Dhanaka family. He was apparently the foremost nobleman of the realm and the appellation *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* to his name would probably denote that he was the Generalissimo of the Imperial forces. Śrī Śāntamūla had two uterine sisters. One was *Mahāsēnāpatnī-Mahādānapatni* Śānti Śri (Chāṁti siri), the wife of *Mahāsēnāpati Mahātalavara* Mahā Skanda Śrī (Mahā Khaṁdasiri) of the Pūgīya family[2]. She had a son named *Mahātalavara* Skandasāgara Nāga (Pkt: Khaṁdasāgaraṁnaka)[3] and a daughter whose name was lost and who became a queen of Śri Vīrapuruṣadatta[4]. Another

Emperor S'ri S'āntamūla the Great and his children.

1 *E. I.* XX., p. 18, Insc. B-2.

2 *E. I.* XX, p. 16, C-3. I have adopted the variant *Pūgīya* in preference to *Pūkīya* which also occurs in the inscriptions as it sounds obscene to the Andhra readers. Both are Prakrit words and mean 'arecanut'. In Telugu 'pūga' or 'pūka' assumed the form 'pōka'. There are many in Andhra both among Brāhmans and other castes who bear the surname '*Pōkala.*' meaning "of the Pōka family."

3 *E. I.*, XX, p. 16, Insc. C-3. It is not quite clear whether the name endings '*nika*' (Feminine) and '*naka*' (masculine) are honorifics used exclusively for the members of the Royal family or denote the Prakrit forms of '*Nāga*' in masculine and feminine forms.

4 *E. I.*, XX, p 17, Insc. B-1. and Insc. E. p. 21

sister of the Emperor Śrī Śāntamūla was Haṁmasiri (Sanskrit: Brahma Śrī or Brāhmī Śri)[1]. Her husband's name and her family name are not mentioned in the inscriptions; but it is probable that she was also married like her sister into a powerful feudatory family.

Śrī Śāntamūla had apparently more wives than one and similarly more sisters than the two uterine sisters mentioned above. His father married more wives than one and accordingly Śrī Śāntamūla had more than one step-mother. This fact is borne out by an inscription which records the names of the sisters, mothers, and wives of the Emperor Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śāntamūla in an unspecified manner, which makes it difficult for the reader to distinguish them. The inscription is engraved on a carved stone pillar which has got a rounded top and which is found underground near the isolated *Stūpa* No. 9 adjoining the fortified hill which stands on the southern side of the valley, not far from the river or the wharf[2]. The inscription records that the carved stone pillar, containing five panels of sculptures one above the other representing some important event of the twentieth year of the reign Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta, was set up by the sisters, mothers and wives of the Emperor Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śāntamūla, on that spot. The names of the ladies which occupy nearly eight lines are thirty in number and form interesting reading. The ladies' names are recorded probably in the order of sisters, mothers and wives. Here they are: Suniti Siri, Khaṁdasiri, Vijhaṭavisiri (Vindhyāṭavi Śrī) Misasiri (Mis'ra Śri) Samusiri, Nāgavasusiri, Nāgasiri, Khaṁdakoṭisiri, Mahisarasiri, Ratumatisiri, Mūlasiri, Ayakoṭisiri, Maduvisiri, Nāgasiri, Rāmasiri, Golasiri, Velisiri, Budhisiri, Khaṁdasiri, Satilisiri, Parajatisiri, Paṁḍitasiri, Sivanāgasiri, Bāpisiri, Nadisiri, Ayasiri, Raṁtusiri, and Sivanāgasiri. Besides these, two other women Sarasika and Kusumalata, called *Śubhatārikas*, are also mentioned at the end[3].

1 *E. I.*, XX, Inscs. C-2 and C-4.

2 *E. I.*, XXI, p. 66, Insc. L.

3 The term '*s'ubhatārikā*' seems to be a compound of Sanskrit and Pais'āci (or Andhra) words, *s'ubha* and *tārikā*. To Dr. Vogel this word is a term of uncertain meaning.

The titles *Mahāsēnāpati* and *Mahātalavara* which appear in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions are interesting. They are inexplicable to some writers ; at any rate their exact meaning or true import is not quite clear to them. It is indeed interesting that even ladies according to the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions enjoyed the titles of their husbands and called themselves by the feminine forms of the titles such as *Mahāsēnāpatini* and *Mahātalavari*[1]. The epithet *Mahāsēnāpati* occurs in the Jungligunḍu Prakrit inscription near Mekadoni of the time of the Śātavāhana Emperor Pulumāvi II[2]. Though the title means literally 'the Great Chief of the Army', it seems to signify here a feudatory chieftain or ruler in charge of a *rāṣṭra* or province in the Andhra Empire. The epithet, therefore, seems to represent the medieval titles *Mahāsāmantādhipati* and *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, which can best be rendered into English by the term 'Duke'. The terms *Mahāsēnāpati* and *Mahāsēnāpatini* occur also in the Nasik cave inscriptions[3]. *Sēnāpati* is mentioned as a class of rulers in a passage of the *Anguttara-nikāya* and, therefore, the *Mahāsēnāpati* must be taken to denote a feudatory ruler like *Mahārathi* or *Mahābhōja*[4]. *Sēnāpatis* and *Mahāsēnāpatis* were originally commanders of armies who afterwards made themselves semi-independent and hereditary rulers of the provinces under their rule. It would appear accordingly that while the *Mahārathi* and *Mahābhōja* were the titles of feudatory chieftains in the western provinces of the Andhra Empire, the *Mahāsēnāpati* and *Mahātalavara* were the titles of subordinate rulers of the Southern and

But it may be explained in the following manner. The term *tārika* seems to be a noun form of root '*taruvu*' which means in the Telugu language "that which has been given or obtained by compulsion". Hence '*taruvu-katte*' meaning 'a slave girl' is derived. *S'ubhatārikā*, therefore, may be interpreted as to mean 'a female royal slave' or 'handmaid' of the royal ladies.

1 *E. I.*, XX, pp. 18-19, Insc. B.5, text line 5, and Insc. B-2., text line 4 and B-4, text line 5.

2 *E. I.*, XX, p. 6.

3 *E. I.*, VIII., p. 94.

4 The passage from the *Anguttara-nikāya* (IV-76 and 306) is as follows:—
*Yassa kassaci mahānāma kulaputtassa pañca dhama samavajjaṁti*
*.........yadi va Rathikassa Peṭṭanikassa yadi va Senāya Senāpatikassa.*

eastern provinces. The Ikṣvākus who were the immediate political successors of the Imperial Andhras and who copied them in every respect retained their imperial organisation and titles of vassal chieftains.

The second title, *Mahātalavara*, has been given fanciful interpretations by some writers. Dr. Vogel thinks that "this curious term must likewise denote a high dignitary whose exact function is not clear." He writes further, "The second member of the compound is not a Sanskrit word but seems to be a term borrowed from some Dravidian language." Evidently it penetrated into Northern India according to Dr. Vogel who suspects the term *talavara* to be identical with the word *taravara*, which coupled with *Mahāpratīhāra* "a great chamberlain," is found in the legend of one of the clay sealings excavated at the ancient site of Vais'ālī[1]. There is no doubt that, while the origin and the meaning of the term *talavara* has become somewhat obscure in Tamil and Kanarese languages, Telugu alone retains it in the same form and probably in the original sense. The term is often met with in Telugu literature. *Talavara* or *Talavari* meant originally in Telugu the magistrate or judge of a village or township, district or province, but it has to-day degenerated into signifying a menial servant of the village. The compound *Mahātalavara* may, therefore, denote the high dignitary, like 'the lord Chief Justice' or the highest judicial functionary of the province[2]. The term *talavara* or *talavari* has also been explained as 'a city guard,' 'kotwal', and a 'village revenue officer.' The term also occurs in the Ardhamāgadhi literature of the Jains; and the Sanskrit commentary *Subōdhikā* on the *Kalpataru*, explains the term as a *rājasthānīya*, 'a rich householder or an officer of the king, wearing on his forehead a gold medal studded with jewels which is presented by the king'[3]. But the

1 *E. I.*, XX. p. 7 note 2. *A. S.* 1903—04, p. 108, No. 16, plate XL, 6.

2 There are many families in Andhradesa among high class S'ūdras who have the surname 'Talāri' (Talavari); and this fact signifies that the ancestors of these families were high dignitaries of state in ancient period.

3 *E. I.*, XX, p. 7, note 1. This is the pasage which explains the term *Talavaraḥ*: *tushṭa-bhūpāla-pradatta-paṭṭabandha-vibhūṣita-rājasthānīyaḥ*.

term *rājasthāniya* does not clearly signify the functions of the rich householder. The term *Mahātalavara* apparently with a slight variation occurs as *Mahātagivara* in the Koṇḍamudi grant of the Bṛhatphalāyana king Jayavarman[1]. Dr. Hultzsch suspected *Mahātagi* to be the name of the family of the officer who engraved the grant, but even then felt a doubt as to the correctness of his interpretation. On the strength of the reading of the term as *Mahātalavara* in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions, Dr. Vogel sought to correct the compound *Mahātagivara* into *Mahātalavara* on the ground that it might be due to the mistake of the engraver and, on the analogy of the term *Mahātalavara* occuring in the fragmentary Prakrit inscription from Allūru in Nandigāma taluk, Kristna district[2]. Dr. Hultzsch who published the Bṛhatphalāyana grant did not know the meaning of the word *tagivara* and therefore hesitatingly translated the entire compound *Mahātagivarena* as 'the best of the *Mahātagi* family'. Dr. Vogel did not consult any Telugu Dictionary even though all these terms occurred in the inscriptions of the Telugu country and, was not apparently aware of the Telugu word *tagavari* or its meaning. The titles *Mahātalavara*, *Mahātagivara* or *Mahātagavara* are, therefore, compounds of the Sanskrit and ancient Pais'āci or Andhra words and, must be translated as 'the Great Chief Justice' of the province. Thus these *Mahāsēnāpatis*, *Mahātalavaras* or *Mahātagivaras* or *Mahātagavaras* and *Mahādaṇḍanāyakas* were members of the nobility or the high functionaries of state who were also hereditary rulers of provinces. They were also powerful tributaries and mainstays of the realm; and as the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions show they married into the royal family and took to wives either the sisters or the daughters of the reigning monarch or other descendants of the royal family.

1 *E. I.*, VI. pp. 315 ff. There does not seem to be any difference in the meaning of the terms '*tagivara*' or '*tagavari*' and '*talavari*'. These words meant originally the same officer, the Judge or Magistrate.

2 *ARSIE.*, 1924, p. 97 ; *A.S.I.* 1923-24, p. 93.

It is not known into how many provinces or *rāṣṭras* the empire of Śri Śāntamūla was divided. The inscriptions refer to four feudatory families who held the titles *Mahāsēnāpati* and *Mahātalavara* and who were therefore rulers of provinces. But there were probably more provinces than those referred to in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions. We have referred to *Mahāsēnāpati-Mahātalavara* Mahā Skanda Śrī and his son *Mahātalavara* Skanda Vis'ākha Nāga of the family of the Pūgīyas. But Mahā Skanda Sri had another son, by a second wife, whose name was *Mahāsēnāpati Mahātalavara* Viṣṇu Śrī[1]. The term *Pūgīya* or *Pūkīya* as a family name would seem to represent the district or province which was the home of the ruling house. The Pūgīyas or Pūkīyas probably therefore acquired their family name like the Hiraṁñakas (Hiraṇyakas) from the province over which they ruled. The region from which the Pūgīyas came or over which they held sway would appear to have been called Pūga-*viṣaya* or Pūgi-*nāḍu*. In a record of the Reḍḍi king Vēma of the fourteenth century, Pūgi-*nāṇḍu* or Pūṅgi-*viṣaya* is said to have extended from the eastern slopes of Śrīgiri or Śris'ailam in the Nallamala Range in the Kurnool district on the west, to the sea on the east, and lain on either side of the river Kuṇḍī, Kuṇḍiprabhā or the Guṇḍlakamma[2]. This region covers roughly the southern half of the Guntur district, Podili division of Nellore and Nandikoṭkūr taluk of the Kurnool district. The capital of Pūṅgināṇḍu or Pūgināḍu was probably called Pūṅga-vrōlu, which may be identified with Oṁgōlu, the modern Ongole[3]. Pūṅgi or Pūgi and Pūṅga or Pūga would seem to be corrupt forms of the Sanskrit word *Pūga* meaning, 'areca-nut,' which is also found as *pūka* in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions. Its another name is Kramuka-rāṣṭra (Prakrit: Kaṁmakaraṭha.) It is said that in ancient period this region was famous for extensive areca-nut plantations. Even so it is to-day to a

Identification of some of the provinces of the Ikṣvāku Empire.

1 *E. I.*, XX, p. 20, No. C-5.

2 *E. I.*, VIII, p. 9. v. 14. *Nel. Ins.* No. 18 C. P. grant. Ibid. No. 23 K.

3 Oṁgōlu seems to be a Prakrit or Pais'āci variant of the archaic name Pūṅgavrōlu, which had become corrupt as Oṁgōḍu, Oṁgēru and finally Oṁgōlu.

limited extent, and it is famous for its numerous varieties. It is, therefore, probable that it acquired the name Pūgi or Pūga-viṣaya, meaning the "land of the areca-nut."[1] In course of time the hard guttural *ga* yielded place to the soft *ka* and thus *Pūgi*-viṣaya became Pūki-viṣaya or Pūkināḍu. But as these terms in later times apparently acquired an obscene meaning in Telugu they became further corrupt into *Pōṅka*, *pōka* or *pāka*, the medial *ū* changing into either *ā* or ō. In the Telugu language *pūga* and *pōka* or *Pōṅka* have the same meaning, 'areca-nut'[2]. Gradually Pōkanāḍu became further corrupt as Pākanāḍu, and both the names became the appellations for the region known originally as Pūga, Pūṅga or Pūṅginānḍu[3]. Pākanāḍu had been foolishly Sanskritised as Prāṅg-nāḍu, an irregular compound by itself, without any reference to its historical antecedents. Thus Pōkanāḍu, Pākanāḍu, Pūgināḍu or Pūganādu, all of them were the names for the region Pūgi-viṣaya, which lay on either side of the river Guṇḍlakamma extending from the sea on the east to the Nallamala Range on the west.

Another *Mahāsēnapati* was a chief of the Hiraṁñakas (Hiraṇyakas) known by the name *Mahāsēnāpati Mahātalavara* Skanda Caliki-ranaka (Prakrit: Khaṁdacelikireṁmṇaka). He married princess Kṣudra Śānti Śrī (Cula Cātisirinika) daughter of a Kulahaka chief, who is not referred to by the proper name[4]. The Hiraṇyakas would seem to have derived their family name from the territory over which they ruled, namely, Hiraṇyarāṣṭra. From the inscriptions found in Cuddapah district, it appears that Hiraṇyaraṣṭra was the ancient name for Rēnāḍu *Seven Thousand* District which comprised the northern part of the Cuddapah and the southern half of the

1 In Telugu the medial ō also becomes *ā*: thus for instance, Kōsala-nāḍu becomes Kāsala-nāḍu. So Pōkanadu becomes Pākanāḍu.

2 *E. I.*, XX., p. 16, No. C-3.

3 In Old Telugu the *anunāsikā* sound was generally frequent before the final hard consonant. In later times, however, it gave place to *anusvāra* and still later to the *ardhānusvāra*. At the present day the tendency is to drop out even the *ardhānusvāra* sound. For example *mūṇḍu*, 'three' is writen as *mūḍu*, though the orthodox grammarians insist upon the conventional writing with an *ardhānusvāra* sign in it.

4 *E. I.*, XX., p. 18, Insc. B.

Kurnool districts[1]. The Hiraṇyaka chief, Skanda Caliki raṇaka, was a Vāsiṣṭhīputra like the Ikṣvāku monarch. The province over which he ruled and his personal name Caliki-raṇaka would suggest that Hiraṇya-rāṣṭra was the original home of the Cāḷukyas and that Skanda Caliki-raṇaka was probably a remote or perhaps the eponymous ancestor of the Cāḷukyas[2]. The Eastern Cāḷukya tradition recorded in the eleventh century grant corroborates this conjecture. It speaks of the *agrahāra* of Muḍivēmu which lay in Hiraṇyarāṣṭra as the original home of the founder of the Cāḷukya dynasty[3]. The Hiraṇyakas therefore would appear to be the rulers of Hiraṇya-rāṣṭra or Rēnāḍu *Seven Thousand* Province.

Similarly, the Kulahakas, might perhaps be identical with Kulapakas, the letter *pa* resembling and interchangeable with *ha*, and, therefore, represent the descendants of the Pahlava Kulaipa, refered to in the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman[4]. If this view is correct, then it may be assumed that, Kulapakas or Kulahakas were descendants of Suvis'ākha, ruler of Anarta,

1 *E. I.*, XI, p. 337 f. A. R. S. I. E., 1205, Para 5, p. 40.

2 Dr. Sten Konow attempts to explain the meaning of the proper name Calikiremmṇaka. (*E. I.*, XX., p. 25.) While the inscriptions are from the heart of Andhradesa and the language spoken there is Telugu, Dr. Sten Konow tries to find a Kanarese substratum for explaining the suffixes and the names. According to him *Khaṁda Calikiremmṇaka* is compound of Kanarese words. The word *khaṁda* is Kanarese *kanda* which means 'a child', *cali* means 'chill', and the, compound Caliki-reṁmṇaka or Khaṁdacalikireṁmṇaka means, therefore, the moon, literally the 'cool-rayed'. This manner of splitting this particular name alone and trying to interpret it as a Dravidian compound seems to my mind to be wrong and far-fetched. The entire name Khaṁdacalikireṁmṇaka is no doubt a compound of three words, *khaṁda*, *Caliki* and *reṁmṇaka*, Sanskrit or Prakrit words and proper names. *Khaṁda* is the Prakrit form of Skanda which means Kumārasvāmin, or Mahāsēna. *Caliki* seems to be the original proper name and *reṁmṇaka* may be restored to the Sanskrit term *raṇaka*, a title of rank or nobility. *Khaṁda* becomes as in Kanarese *kanda* or *kandu* in Telugu and means 'tender', 'red' and a 'child'. *Skanda* is merely linked to the proper name *Caliki* according to the fashion that was in vogue during the early centuries of the Christian era in Dakṣiṇāpatha and Andhradesa. Thus several noblemen mentioned in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions have the prefix *Khaṁda* to their names. Further *Caliki* seems to be the earliest form of the dynastic name of the Calukyas. It occurs in that form in the eighth century in a copper-plate grant of the Eastern Caḷukya prince Kokkili Maharaja. (C. P. No. 11 of 1908-09.) Crude Sanskrit forms of the term like *Caḷkya*, *Calikya* and *Caḷikya* appear in the early records of the Western Cāḷukyas. (*D.K.D.*, p. 336, n. 3.)

3 *E. I.*, VI., p. 347 ff.

4 *E. I.*, VIII, p. 36 f. text line 19.

Surāṣṭra and Konkan under the Mahākṣatrapa. The Kulapakas might have migrated to the South and settled somewhere on the eastern borders of Kuntala, in the north-east of Mysore. But the nearness of time between the Ikṣvākus and Kulaipa's son Suvis'ākha is strongly in favour of this conjecture. The fourth and probably the most powerful feudatory family in the realm would appear to be that of the Dhanakas, whose chief *Mahāsēnāpati Mahātalvara*, *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Skanda Vis'ākha Nāga had married the emperor's only daughter Aḍavi Śānti Sri. The Dhanakas cannot be identified and likewise the territory over which they held sway.

Besides those mentioned in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions there were probably many more feudatory families in the empire whose names are not recorded anywhere. Among them, however, may be mentioned the Bṛhatphalāyanas of Kūdūru and the Śālaṅkāyanas of Vēṅgi. It was with the help of these feudatory chieftains, of the Kulahaka, Dhanaka, Hiraṇyaka, Pūgīya and other families, that Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śāntamūla could destroy the last of the Śātavāhanas, assume the imperial dignity, acquire a large empire which embraced Kōsala and Kalinga and perform the *As'vamēdha* which was in abeyance since the days of Emperor Śātakarṇi the Great, who offered it twice[1].

There are sufficient materials for determining the period of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śāntamūla the Great, with reasonable certainty. It is pointed out that the Puranas give the period of the Śrīparvatīyas as fifty or fifty two years. The inscriptions of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Jaggayyapēṭa show that Māṭharīputra Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta, the son and successor of Śrī Śāntamūla reigned for twenty years or a little more. His successor was his son Vāsishṭhīputra Śrī Bahubala Śāntamūla. Inscriptions of his period show that he reigned for about twelve years and that he was the last king of the dynasty. The two reigns of Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta and his son occupy thirty-two years and there remains a period of about twenty years which may be

1 *I. A.*, XLVII, (1918) p. 71 E. I., XX, p. 71. For the inscriptions of S'ātakarṇi who offered the *As'vamēdha* twice, see Luder's List Nos. 345, 346, 1112, and 1114. (*E. I.*, X.)

reasonably assigned to Vāsisṭhīputra Śrī Śāntamūla the Great. He was the first prince who raised the banner of revolt against the Śātavāhana suzerainty. He was also the first paramount king of his family who founded a dynasty. He conquered a vast empire, celebrated the Vājapēya and As'vamēdha, and thereby assumed the imperial role of the Śātavāhanas. For these reasons therefore, a period of eighteen or twenty years may be reasonably allotted to him. The last of the Śātavāhanas is assigned to the first decade on the third century, c. 200–208 A. D. It is probable that Śrī Śāntamūla rose even during the reign of Pulumāvi IV, defeated and slew him and seized the sovereignty of his erstwhile overlords. Pulumāvi's death may be placed about 208 A. D. if not earlier, and the overthrow of every other scion of the Śātavāhana family or rival may have quickly followed the death of Pulumāvi IV. It is probable that the period of Pulumāvi and that of his predecessor whom he had displaced were disturbed. Consequently the last years of Candra Śrī and the period of the usurper Pulumāvi IV may have synchronised with the rise of the Ikṣvāku monarch. Accordingly Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śāntamūla's reign may have lasted roughly twenty years, from about 200 to 218 A. D. And his memorable Agnihōtra, Agniṣṭōma, Vājapēya and the As'vamēdha sacrifices may have been performed about the year 210 A. D., sometime after the destruction of the Śātavāhana power.

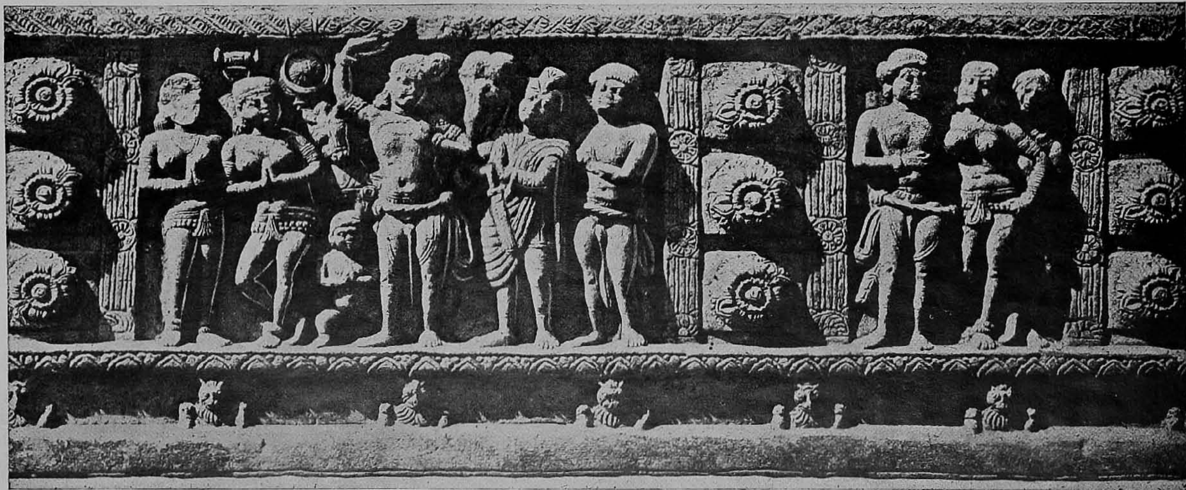
The reign of Vāsiṣthiputra S'rī S'āntamūla the Great c. 200--218 A. D.

The reign of King Śrī Śāntamūla was a very remarkable one. His great exploits inspired profound veneration for his name in the hearts of his subjects as well as of his own descendants for a long time afterwards. His revival of the vedic rites, his offering of the celebrated As'vamēdha, probably with added splendour and ritual, were glorious events of his remarkable reign, which lingered long in the memory of his people. His reign witnessed, nay, was responsible for, a great wave of immigration, particularly of Brāhmaṇa settlers in Andhradesa, from the north and north-west. The

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immigrants came, in all probability, at the invitation of the Emperor Vasiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śāntamūla, for he was the first sovereign in Dakṣiṇāpatha, who, after a lapse of more than a century, revived the vedic sacrifices and particularly, the celebrated Vājapēya and As'vamedha. It was a triumph for Brahamanism and, it was celebrated in a fitting and memorable manner by the Ikṣvāku monarch who acquired the celebrity of being a man unimpeded purpose in all his designs. The various epithets attached to his name in all the Prakrit inscriptions of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, clearly show that Śrī Śāntamūla granted innumerable free-hold *agrahāra* villages and free-hold tenures of large areas of cultivable lands throughout his dominions to those hordes of immigrants of Brāhmaṇa householders. This naturally involved the reclamation of vast areas of forests everywhere and converting them to habitable villages and arable lands. It was therefore a great exploit. Thus new villages were founded and Brāhmaṇa settlements established. This memorable feature of Śrī Śāntamūla's reign was remembered till the eleventh year of the reign of his grandson Śrī Bahubala Śāntamūla[1]. The manner in which the emperor is described as the giver of gold, kine and ploughs of land in all the inscriptions fully justifies the above consclusion. The *Makādānas*, Hiraṇyakōṭi, Gō-Śata-sahasra, and Hala-s'ata-sahasra, which are somewhat elaborately described in the *Matsya Purāṇa* plainly signify that Śrī Śāntamūla was a powerful sovereign who acquired immense riches and conquered an extensive empire by performing *dig-vijaya* 'conquest of the quarters' and who crowned his glorious achievements by an As'vamēdha sacrifice. His reign was prosperous, peaceful and glorious. The glory of the Ikṣvākus which reached the zenith in the reign of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śāntamūla continued thereafter uninterruptedly for two and half decades, during the reigns of his successors.

1 See *E. I.*, XX, p.124, ins. II. The correct reading of the King's name is not Ehuvuḷa but Bahubala. See note 1 on p. 55 below.



A *Cakravartin* ( identified as Emperor Madhariputa siri Viripurisadata
*Skt.* Māṭharīputra Śrī Vīrapruruṣadatta ) surrounded by seven jewels

From a frieze recovered from Stupa No. 9, Vijayapuri, Nagarjunikonda.

*By the kind courtesy of the Archl. Surv. of India.*

## *Genealogy of the Ikṣvākus or the Śrīparvatīyas of Vijayapuri.*

Ikṣvāku.

- *Mahāsēnāpati* *Mahātalavara* Mahā Skanda S'rī of the Pūgiyas (*married*) *Mahāsēnapatni* *Mahādānapatni* *Mahātalavari* S'ānti S'rī. (Cāṁtisiri)
  - by another wife: *Mahāsēnapati* *Mahātalavara* Viṣṇu S'rī.
  - *Mahāsēnāpati* Skandasagaṟa Nāga.
  - *Mahādēvī* Cāṁti siri (c)
- ... Haṁma siri (Brahma sri or Brāhmi S'ri).
  - *Mahādēvī* Bāpi siri. (a)
  - *Mahādēvī* Chāṭi siri (Saṣṭhi S'rī) (b)
- 1. Maharaja' (*Ikṣvāku-svāmin*) Vāsiṣṭhīputra S'rī S'āntamūla the Great c. 200–218 A. D.
  - 2. Mahārāja Māṭharīputra S'rī Vīrapuruṣadatta. c. 218—239 A. D. Q. Mahādēvī Bhaṭidēvā.
    - 3. Mahārāja Vāsiṣṭhīputra S'rī Bahubala S'āntamūla. c. 239—252 A. D.
    - *Mahādēvī* Kodabali siri (Kundavalli S'rī) Q. of the Mahārāja of Vanavāsa.
  - *Mahātalavari* Caṁti siri (S'ānti S'rī) married *Mahāsēnāpati* *Mahātalavara* *Mahadaṇḍanāyaka* Skanda Vis'ākhanāga of the Dhanakas.

## Queens of the Mahārāja Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta according to the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions.

Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta

*married*

- Mahādēvī Vāsiṣṭhī Bhaṭṭidēvā. (mother of Bahubala S'rī S'āntamūla.)
- Rudradhara bhaṭṭārikā d. of King of Ujjaini.
- Bāpisiri d. of Haṁma siri.
- Saṣṭhi S'rī d. of Haṁma siri.
- Cāṁti siri. d. of S'ānti S'rī.

## CHAPTER IV

### *Glorious period of Buddhism in Andhradesa.*

### 2. Māṭharīputra Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta: c. 218—c. 239-A. D.

I

2. Māṭhrīputra S'rī Vīrapurṣadatta. (Ikṣvākusvāmin) c. 218-239 A. D.

On the death of the Emperor Śrī Śāntamūla, his son Māṭharīputra Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta succeeded to the throne of a vast, well settled and powerful empire in Dakṣiṇāpatha. The event may be placed with certainty about 218 A. D. Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta was presumably in the prime of youth or on the threshold of manhood at his accession and, therefore, enjoyed a long, peaceful and prosperous reign of twenty years or a little more. He was undoubtedly the most powerful sovereign of the day in the Deccan. His reign was eventful and marked the zenith of the glorious period of Buddhism in Andhradesa. It was remniscent of the prosperous days of the old Andhra Empire under the illustrious Śātakarṇis, Gautamīputra and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi II. Numerous inscriptions found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and elsewhere and, dated in the sixth, fourteenth, fifteenth, eighteenth and twentieth years of his reign attest to the uninterrupted prosperity and glory of his long period. They also show that the Ikṣvākus rose to imperial dignity and that Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta was regarded, like his illustrious father, as the emperor (*Cakravartin*) of Dakṣiṇāpatha. Almost all the inscriptions found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, with the exception of two or three and those found at Jaggayyapēṭa and Rāmireḍḍipalli on the other side of the Kṛṣṇa river refer to the glorious epoch of the Buddhist Church in Andhradesa, under the patronage of the Imperial Ikṣvākus, particularly of the Emperor Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta and his son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Bahubala Śāntamūla. These records furnish very interesting and valuable information about the pious benefactions

which the Buddhist Church enjoyed through the munificence of the ladies of the royal family and others.

The inscriptions of the Ikṣvākus are not found, like those of the Imperial Andhras, all over the Deccan. The Ikṣvāku dominion, therefore, would appear to have been confined to the eastern half of the Deccan. It extended over Andhradesa, Kalinga and Kosala, and from the banks of the Penna or Pinākinī on the south to the foot of Mēkala range on the north. It was probably bounded by the dominions of the Mahākṣatrapas of Ujjaini on the north, the Ābhīras of Trikūṭa on the north-west and was contiguous with the Andhrabhṛtya kingdom of Vanvāsa on the west.

Extent of the Ikṣvaku Empire under King Sri Virapuruṣadatta.

During the reign of Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta the Andhra country and dominions beyond prospered in peace. Though no new territories were conquered and no new dynasties subdued during his reign, the vast empire bequeathed by his illustrious father was well organised and administered and, therefore, remained as powerful as ever. Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta added greater prestige and power to the empire, for the fame of Andhradesa as the glorious land of Buddhism spread far and wide. Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta would seem to have followed the foreign policy of his father, and thereby brought new powers and adjacent kingdoms into the zone of his imperial organisation and influence by entering into matrimonial alliances with them. He married Mahādēvī Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā, daughter of the Mahākṣatrapa of Ujjaini. In his own turn he gave his only daughter, Kodabali siri (Skt. Kundavalli Śrī) to the Mahārāja of Vanavāsa. In her own record dated the eleventh year of her brother, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Bahubala Śāntamūla, Kodabali siri called herself, the Queen (*Mahādēvī*) of the Mahārāja of Vanavāsa[1]. The Mahārāja of Vanavāsa, who was apparently well known at that time was not mentioned by name in the inscription. We are therefore led to speculate for the present. We have identified him elsewhere with *Dharmamahārājadhirāja*

1 *E. I.*, XX, p. 24, Insc. H.

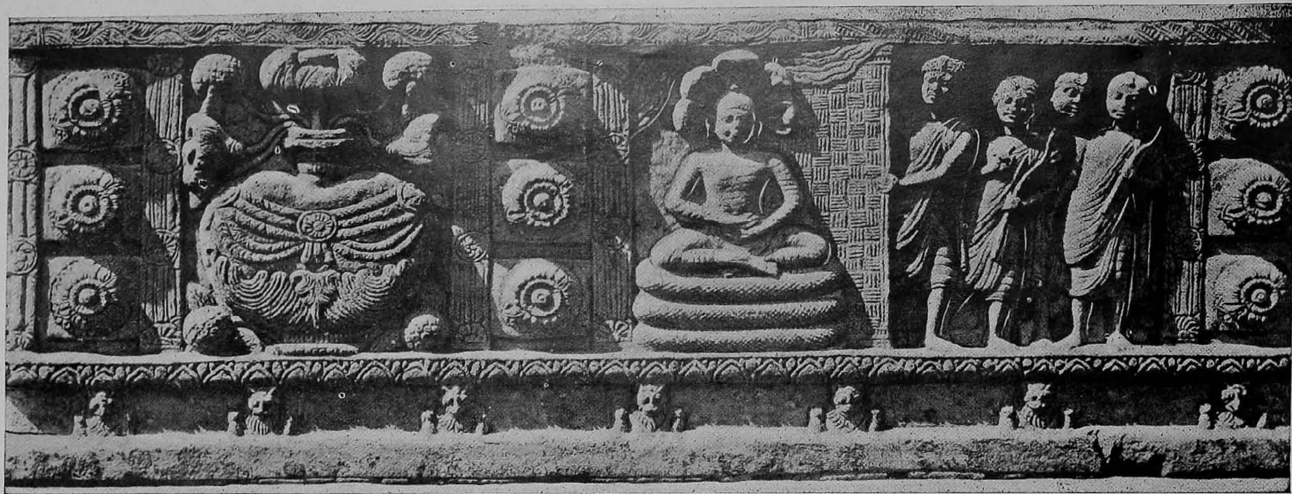
Śivaskandavarman of the Kadamba family, the Lord of Vaijayanti, who was on the throne of Vanavāsa from c. 240 to 255 A. D.[1] The Śaka-Mahākṣatrapa of Ujjaini was apparently still an ally of the lord of Andhradesa. The nearness of relationship alone was not the cause of the friendliness of the Mahākṣatrapa. Probably the political condition of the North-western Deccan was such that the Mahākṣatrapa needed a strong ally on the south and south-east against the Ābhīra aggression. Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta's contemporaries in Ujjaini were Saṁghadāman (c. 222—223 A. D.) and Dāmasēna (c. 223—236 A. D.), younger brothers of his own father-in-law Rudrasēna I[2]. It was towards the close of the reign of Dāmasēna that the Ābhīra, Īs'varadatta, rose to power, usurped the sovereignty of Ujjaini and assumed the title Mahākṣatrapa for a time. The Ikṣvāku monarch for fear of a dynastic revolution or perhaps usurpation by a possible rival strengthened his position by marriage alliances with the powerful feudatory families of his empire. Thus while he gave his own sister in marriage to the *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Skanda Vis'ākhanāga of the Dhanaka family, the Genaralissimo of the imperial forces, he himself took to wives the daughters of his own paternal aunts Haṁma siri and Cāṁti siri. His paternal aunts, it will be remembered, were married to powerful *Mahāsēnāpatis* belonging to great feudatory families. Thus Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta knitted together the Ikṣvāku Empire by ties of marriages. It is no wonder, therefore, that in later times several royal families of the South like the Kēkayas, Cōḷas and others claimed descent in or marriage alliances with the illustrious Ikṣvāku dynasty[3].

According to the inscriptions of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Māṭharīputra Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta had five queens. The chief of them was *Mahādēvī* Bhaṭṭidēvā, apparently a Vasiṣṭhi princess. She was the mother of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Bahubala Śāntamūla, the son

1 See below: Book II, Chapters II, and III; *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 264

2 *JRAS*, 1890, p. 65; See also Rapson; *C.A.D.*, Introd. p. cxxxiii.

3 *E. C.*, XI., Dg. 161. A Kekaya record.



From Stupa No. 9. From a frieze: (1) Vase symbol. (2) The Buddha protected by the Nāga Mucilinda. (3) The pilgrims are identified tentatively as the Ikṣvāku monarch Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta and his attendents.

*By the kind courtesy of the Archl. Surv. of India.*

successor of Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta[1]. It is also probable that she was the mother of *Mahādēvī* Kodabali siri (Kundavalli Śrī), queen of the King of Vanavāsa. Another queen was *Mahādēvī* Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā (*Ujenikā mahārāja-bālikā*), daughter of the Mahārāja of Ujjaini[2]. She was probably the daughter of Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasēna I, (c. 199—222 A. D.), the lord of Ujjaini. The remaining three queens were Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta's own cousins, daughters of his father's uterine sisters. One of them was Cāṁtisiri (Śānti Sri), a princess of the Pūgīya family. She was the daughter of *Mahāsēnāpati Mahātalavara* Mahā Skanda Śrī and Princess Śānti Śrī, and was the sister of *Mahāsēnāpati* Skandasāgara Nāga. Princess Śānti Śrī (Cāṁti siri), it will remembered, was *pituchā*, of Mahārāja Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta[3]. The marriage took place evidently between the sixth and eighteenth years of Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta's reign, because Princess Śānti Śrī (Cāṁtisirinikā) who styled herself as merely *pituchā*, 'paternal aunt' in the earlier record, proudly described herself as the mother-in-law of the King in the later inscription[4]. The remaining two queens were *Mahādēvī* Caṭisiri (Ṣaṣṭhi Śrī) and *Mahādēvī* Bāpisiri, daughters of Princess Haṁmasiri (Brahma Sri or Brāhmī Sri), another paternal aunt of the king[5]. The practice of marrying father's sister's daughter, no doubt prevails in the Andhra country even to this day, but unlike a union with mother's brother's daughter which is called *mēnarikam*, it is looked on slightly with disfavour. Baudhāyana accepted these customs as perfectly valid. They are also traces of the prevalence of this custom during the Ṛg Vedic period[6]. Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta's marriage with his own

Śri Virapuruṣadatta's Queens.

1 To me Dr. Vogel's reading of the Prakrit name of the king as Ehuvala does not seem to be correct. The name appears variously as Bahuvuḷa (G) Bahuvula (G 2) Bahuvala (H) in the inscriptions. This variance in the orthography of the name is due to the lack of care on the part of the engraver. Nevertheless the name seems to be the Prakrit from of the Sanskrit Bahubala.

2 *E. I.*, XX., p. 18. No. B 2.

3 *E. I.*, XX., p. 19. No. B 5; p. 16: No. C 3; *Ibid.* p. 21, No. E.

4 *E. I.*, XX., p. 16 No. C 3 and p, 21, No. E.

5 *E. I.*, XX., p. 20 (Saṣṭhi S'ri) No. C 4; p. 19, No. C 2 (Bāpisiri)

6 VII. 55. 8. Khila. See also Nirukta Pariṣiṣṭa 14. 31. by Lakshmana Sarup, p. 241.

cousins, however, would seem to have been actuated by motives of political exigency.

Besides the names of these relations of the king, the names of several other kinsmen and their wives also appear in the Prakrit inscriptions of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Among them may be mentioned *Mahāsēnāpatini* Cula Cāṁiti sirinikā (Kṣudra Śānti Śrī), daughter of the Kulahaka chief and wife of the *Mahāsēnāpati Mahātalavara* Vāsiṣṭhīputra Skanda-Caliki-raṇaka of the Hiraṁñaka (Hiraṇyaka) family[1]. The inscriptions do not specify the relationship between the Kulahaka family and the Imperial Ikṣvākus, but it is probable that they were related together by ties of marriage. Another lady, apparently a wife of *Mahāsēnāpati Mahātalavara* Mahāskanda Śrī of the Pūgīya family and the mother of *Mahāsēnapati Mahātalavara* Viṣṇu Śrī, is mentioned in the inscriptions[2]. But by mistake her name is omitted by the scribe. She was a co-wife of Śānti Śrī, mother-in-law and paternal aunt of Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta.

The Prakrit inscriptions of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa do not furnish us with as many facts about the politcial condition of the Deccan during the third century A. D. as they give striking details about the state of Buddhism and the extent of royal patronage it enjoyed under the aegis of the Ikṣvāku dynasty. The inscriptions refer to Śrīparvata, the most celebrated and sacred spot for Buddhism in Andhradesa and Dakṣiṇāpatha and to Vijayapurī the seat of the illustrious Ikṣvāku dynasty. It is stated in the inscriptions that Śrīparvata lay on the east of Vijayapuri,—in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley on the right bank of the Kṛṣṇa or Kṛṣṇa-Beṇṇā. The inscriptions refer to the various lofty beautiful edifices of the Buddhist Church that once adorned the great city, Vijayapuri and the celebrated hill Śrīparvata. They refer to the monasteries which were inhabited by hundreds and thousands of Buddhist monks and nuns that came from far off countries like Ceylon, Malaya Peninsula, China and Eastern Archipelago as well as from distant countries of the north and west. The inscriptions mention various

1 *E. I.*, XX., p. 18, No. B 4. In Telugu *Cula* becomes *Çina* and means 'junior.'
2 *Opi. Cit.* p. 20, No. C 5.

schools of the Buddhist Church that flourished in Andhradesa and the numerous benefactions they enjoyed under the royal patronage and private munificence during the reigns of Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta and his son.

The most striking feature of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions is that there is not a single pious benefaction to the Buddhist Church of Śrīparvata by the Ikṣvāku kings. Almost all the personages who patronised the Buddhist religion and its institutions were only ladies of the royal family or those connected with them. This curious circumstance has led some of our scholars to infer that while the Ikṣvāku kings remained strictly Brahmanical in their religion, they were tolerant of the Buddhism and, therefore, allowed their ladies, including their sisters and daughters, to follow their own faith. This reason might be partly true. But a more probable reason would seem to be that Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta and his son Śrī Bahubala Śāntamūla were possibly Buddhists themselves unlike Śrī Śāntamūla the Great, and supplied funds in a munificent manner for the maintenance of the religious institutions founded by the ladies of the royal family and others in numerous ways not recorded anywhere in the inscriptions.

Māṭhariputra S'ri Viraprușa-datta : originally a Brāhmaṇa, but later a convert to Buddhism.

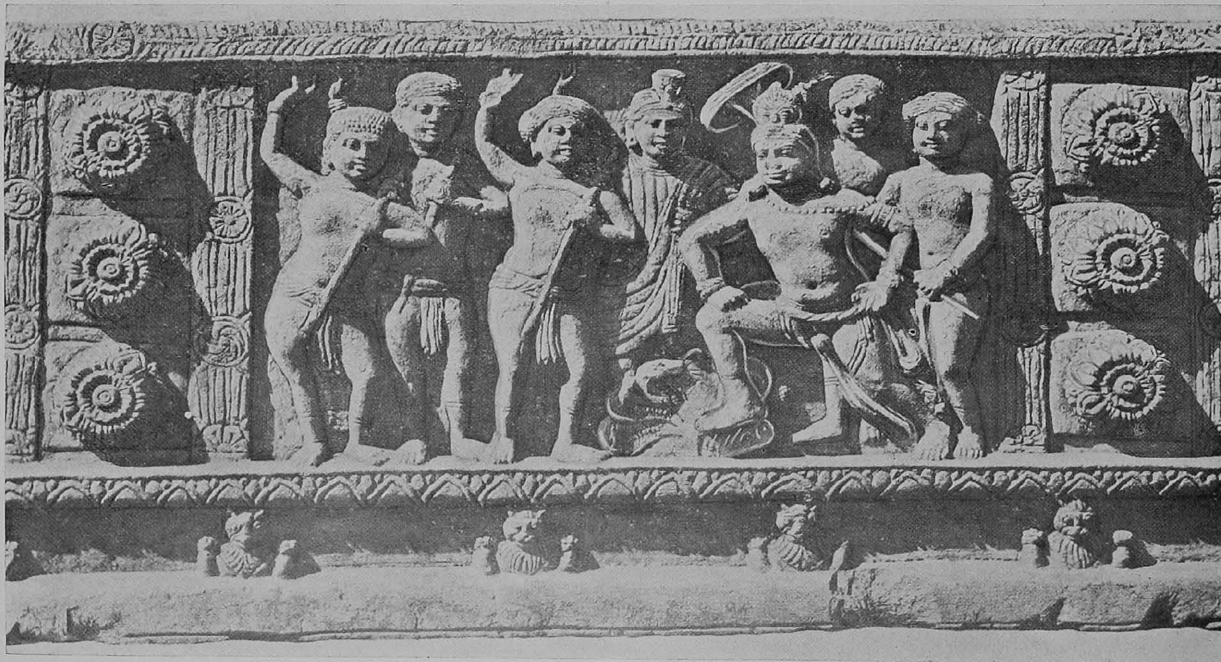
It would appear from the inscriptions and the sculptural representations of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa that Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta was originally a Brāhmaṇa, a worshipper of Mahēs'vara and a staunch follower of Vēdic Brāhmanism like his father, but that sometime after he ascended the throne, he came under the influence of the Buddha's Teachings and became a convert to the Buddhist faith and patronised it with great zeal and devotion like Emperor Asoka of old. Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta's conversion would seem to have taken place about the sixth year of his reign. This conjecture is based upon the fact that no less than sixteen inscriptions of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, dated the sixth year of Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta's reign, mention the re-erection and dedication of the *Mahācaitya* on the Śrīparvata which had evidently fallen into ruins. They also speak of the erection of the *Mahāvihāras*,

*Caitya-gṛhas*, *Catuśśālas*, *maṇṭapas* and numerous other monastic buildings of the Buddhist Church for the use and habitation of the monks and nuns that came from far off countries to visit the sacred spot.

This re-erection and dedication of the *Mahācaitya* was by a lady of the royal family, a paternal aunt of the king, who was perhaps responsible for the conversion of the monarch. According to these inscriptions at the *Mahācaitya* of the *Mahāvihāra* on Śrīparvata it appears that the re-erection and dedication of these two edifices together with other numerous foundations, took place on the 10th day of the 6th fortnight of the rainy season in the sixth year of Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta. These edifices were consecrated for the benefit of the *ācāryas* (Masters) of the Aparaseliya (Aparaśailīya) sect of the Buddhist Church, residing at Vijayapuri. It was a memorable event of the reign of the Ikṣvāku monarch because almost all the members of the royal family were present at the consecration ceremony; and they dedicated their pious benefactions to the Buddhist Church.

The Ikṣvāku king who was till then a follower of Vedic Brahmanism and a worshipper of Śiva in the form of a *linga* (phallic symbol), renounced his faith and became a true and bigoted convert to Buddhism. These and other memorable events of the early period of Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta are clearly represented in the beautiful sculptures that adorned the buildings of the Buddhist Church of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley. During the recent explorations on the site near the ancient royal palace, there have been found remarkable stone beams which vary 10 to 12 feet in length and about 1 foot in thickness which contain carvings on the front face only. Originally they formed the long cornice stones of the altar-like platforms of the more important *stūpas*. The face of each beam is divided into a series of bas-relief scenes, separated from each other by small vertical panels. Some of these sculptures do not depict scenes from the life of the Buddha but a story which is unique in

Sculptural evidence of Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta's conversion to Buddhism and renouncing Brahmanism.



From Stupa No. 9. A king (identified as Madhariputa Siri Viripurisadata) stamping out Brahmanism symbolised in the form of *linga* with Naga hood.

*By the kind courtesy of the Archl. Surv. of India.*

Buddhist iconography and not met with before in any part of India. The story perhaps indicates some local event as opined by the veteran Archaeologist, Mr. A. H. Longhurst, which occurred in the capital of the Ikṣvākus and which was a memorable event for the Andhra country. In many respects the story depicted here is similar to the story of the conversion of the great emperor Asoka from Brahmanism to Buddhism. In this panel there is a representation of a monarch crushing with his right heel a stone *linga*, which is encircled by a many headed serpent. The *linga* and the serpent apparently symbolise Brahmanism and the worship of Mahēs'vara. And Brahmanism is denounced by the king in the presence of his ministers and other high dignitaries of state. In the centre, in Roman-like dress with a loose upper garment and a jewelled turban, stands the commander-in-chief with the prime minister and two other state officials beside him, while on the right behind the king are two palace attendants, one of them holding *chatra* (royal umbrella) over the monarch's head. The king's face and features bear a striking resemblance to the somewhat corpulent figure depicted on the panels of the inscribed, carved stone-pillar, found under-ground near *Stūpa* No. 9 to the due west of Śrīparvata, not far from the river and near the southern foot of the fortified hill Nāgārjunakoṇḍa[1]. It is extremely likely that the incident illustrated here relates to the conversion of the Ikṣvāku monarch, Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta. In fact Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta appears to us as the southern counterpart of the great emperor As'ōka of the North, who revived and continued the missionary work after a lapse of roughly four centuries. These sculptures seem to reveal another fact. They seem to portray not only the conversion of Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta but also illustrate the religious bigotry and the intolerance of Brahmanism of the new convert and fanatic. It is probable that Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta attempted to crush the tide of Brahmanism which received great impetus and revived under the aegis of his illustrious father Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śāntamūla the Great, only two decades ago.

1 *E. I.*, XXI, p. 63, Insc. No. L.

Two more sculptures of Śrīparvata found near *Stūpa* No. 9 illustrate the same story and confirm our conjecture. So the event must have been well known and perhaps a popular one in Andhradesa during the third century A. D. In one of the panels, there are two scenes which represent the early events in the story of the King's conversion to Buddhism. On the right the Buddha is seen seated on a throne under a canopy. A tiny elephant descends from the left top corner and seems to represent the Buddha's miraculous birth, while below is a *nāga*, or a serpent figure. On the left the king armed with a spear in the left hand is shown approaching the Buddha in a hostile manner, while two ladies from either side are depicted as trying to restrain him. These two ladies may be assumed to be *Mahāsēnāpatni* Cāṁti siri and Haṁma siri, the two paternal aunts of the monarch. These ladies succeed in restraining the king, apparently Śrī Virapuruṣadatta. Next the king is shown sitting humbly with clasped hands at the feet of the Buddha's throne, while the queen stands in the back ground[1]. The other panel is to the left of the one we now described. It illustrates an ante chamber where stand a queen with her two children, a son and a daughter, evidently watching the King's conversion to Buddhism. It is probable that this illustration depicts the scene in which Mahādēvī Bhaṭṭidēvā, her son Śrī Bahubala Śāntamūla and her daughter princess Kundavalli Śrī watch the King changing his religion from Brahmanism to Buddhism. This is interesting; and we may draw the inference from this illustration that Queen Bhaṭṭidēvā did not become a convert to Buddhism and make benefactions to the Buddhist Church until sometime after her son had ascended the throne[2].

There are two more panels on another beam found on the same spot, which illustrate the renouncing of the kingdom by the king. In the first panel the king is depicted with his consort; and on the left, the king is portrayed as a *Cakravartin*,

1 Mr. A. H. Longhurst thinks that this panel illustrates the conversion of the Yakṣa Ālavaka. I think the interpretation is not correct. See *Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, plate XXXI.
2 *E. I.*, XX, p. 23 Insc. No. G.



A king (identified as Mathariputra Sri Virapurusadatta) stamping out Brahmanism, symbolised in the phallic emblem of Siva covered with the hood of seven headed Naga.
From Stupa No. 2.

*By the kind courtesy of the Archl. Surv. of India.*

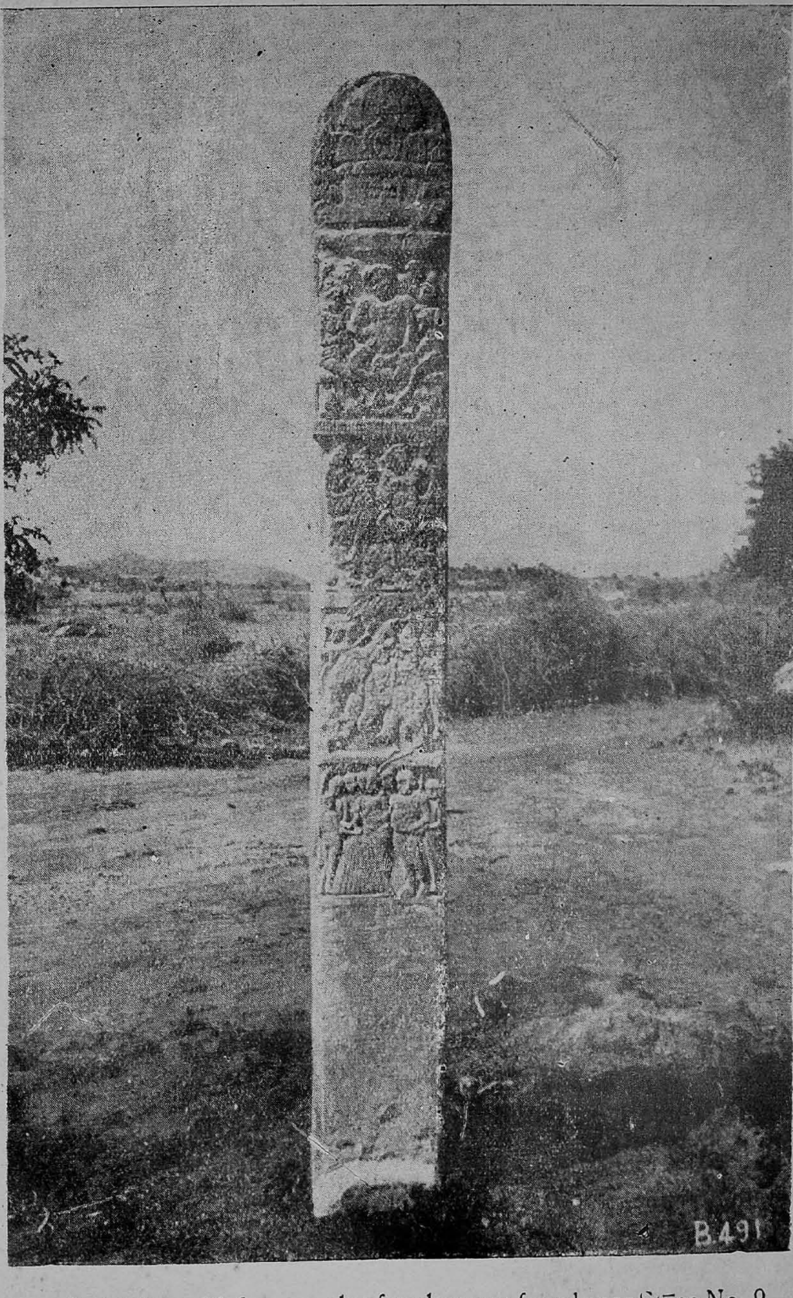
'a universal monarch' surrounded by the 'seven jewels,' (*Sapta-ratnāni*) and is represented as renouncing or dedicating his kingdom. The seven jewels or attributes of a universal monarch are the wheel, elephant, war-horse, woman, pearl, general and minister. The second panel is divided into two scenes by simulated screen. On the left there is a representation of Mucilinda, the great Nāga who protected the Buddha from rain at Buddha-Gaya (Bodhgaya), while on the right there are the king, queen and two other members of the royal family, dressed in the robes of disciples (*upāsakas*) of the Buddha. The king is shown with his left hand holding the edge of the screen and gazing at the Buddha, while the queen and other male members stand next to him, holding in their right hands small sticks or twigs. These twigs or sticks may be meant to represent cuttings from the Bodhi tree and, the artist seems to take some pains to make it clear that the episode of the king's visit followed by his queen and others to Buddha-Gaya is portrayed here. It is possible to believe that Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta, renounced his kingdom, in the twentieth year of his reign, placed his son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Bahubala Śāntamūla on the throne and went on pilgrimage to Buddha-Gaya and that the event is depicted in the panels mentioned above. These sculptures apparently portray events connected with Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta's conversion to Buddhism and religious life, and are, therefore, interesting evidence of those memorable episodes.

There is still another interesting sculpture which deserves mention in this connection. It seems to record, rather represent an elaborate ceremonial of an important event that took place in the twentieth year of Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta. Curiously enough this sculpture also is found near the same spot where the panels mentioned above are found. Evidently that spot which contains a *Stūpa*, monastery and other adjuncts of Buddhism and which is situated not far from the site of the ancient royal palace, seems to be connected with some memorable events in the religious life, conversion and other facts concerning the reign of Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta. To the west of the ancient palace site on a hill locally called *Kottaṁpalugubōḍu* lies the interesting monument.

It is a pillar with a rounded top and containing five carved panels one above the other[1]. The carvings do not relate to any of the *Jātakas* or the Buddha legends. The upper-most panel contains a domed building, evidently a representation of a *caitya*. The next one represents a corpulent male person, probably a king, seated in the midst of four ladies, one of whom holds a *cāmara* (fly-whisks). The ladies appear to be his queens. In the third panel, too, there is apparently the same royal personage, attended by five ladies probably his queens, of whom three are seated on the floor and seem to be making music. The fourth panel has an elephant mounted by two persons and surrounded by four marching attendants. The man seated on the neck of the elephant seems to be a king as the man behind him holds a parasol (*chatra*) over his head. The king is going out somewhere on his elephant, surrounded by his attendants. The scene on the fifth is most curious and interesting of all. It represents a group of eight men. Most prominent among them is the same corpulent royal personage, who appears to wear a fillet on his head and hold a bow on the left hand[2]. His right hand is extended as if to make a gift. He wears sandals and for the rest, his dress is remarkably simple. He seems to be a king, for behind him, one of the attendants holds the parasol, the symbol of royalty, over his head. On his right there is another attendant holding a vessel in both his hands. The other persons in the group appear to be Buddhist monks. In their midst, rather in front of them, there is a representation which looks like a heap of money. To the right of the heap stands a young man who seems to stretch out his hand and join in making the gift like the corpulent royal personage on the other side, who may be his father. Below the last panel there is an inscription in thirteen lines, dated the 2nd day of the first fortnight of the rainy season in the 20th year of the reign of King Māṭharīputra Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta. The inscription is already refered to elsewhere: it records that the monument was set up by the sisters, mothers, and consorts of Vāsiṣṭhīputra

1 *A.S.I.*, 1929—30, pp. 149-151. *E.I.*, XX, p. 61.

2 *E.I.*, XXI, p. 63, Ins. L. It does not look like a staff as Dr. Vogel believes it to be.




Inscribed Pillar with four panels of sculptures; found near Stūpa No. 9.

*By courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.*

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Śrī Śāntamūla, the offeror of the Aśvamēdha, about thirty-one in number, all specified by their names[1]. These female members of the royal family are extremely proud of their having been related to the emperor, Śrī Śāntamūla the Great. The purpose for which this pillar was erected is not mentioned in the inscription. But Dr. Vogel thinks that this pillar might be a monument erected in memory of the deceased king Śrī Śāntamūla, probably on the spot of his cremation or burial[2]. This is not convincing; there is nothing in the record or in the sculptures of the pillar to connect the erecting of the memorial in the twentieth year of Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta's reign with the death of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śāntamūla. The setting up of the pillar and the events illustrated in the five panels thereon seem to record an important event connected with the reign of King Māṭharīputra himself. The corpulent royal personage depicted in all the five panels may be identified with King Māṭharīputra Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta himself in whose reign and honour the monument was set up. We have aleardy referred to an illustration in one of the panels on a beam found near the ruined *Stūpa* No 9. That illustration depicts the renouncing of the kingdom by the monarch, Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta himself. Another panel in the same place seems to depict the same king and two members of his royal family dressed as *Bauddha bhikṣus* (Buddhist monks) worshipping the Bodhi tree at Buddha-Gaya. The pillar near the ancient site of the palace, therefore, seems to represent a memorial set up by the royal ladies exclusively, out of deep veneration and affection for King Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta, in commemoration of his renouncing the kingdom. For, it may be seen that in the fifth panel, the king and his son, who may be identified with Māṭharīputra Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta and Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śrī Bahubala Śāntamūla, join together in the performance of the renunciation ceremony; while the king renounces the kingdom, the heir-apparent pours out the libation in the hands of his father, the king. The heap symbol in front of them evidently seems to represent the kingdom.

1 *Opi. Cit.*
2 *Opi. Cit.*

II

## *Benefactors and Buildings of the Buddhist Church.*

The principal founder of the innumerable institutions at Śrīparvata was the Princess *Mahātalavari Mahāsenāpatni Mahādānapatni* Śānti Sri, a paternal aunt and mother-in-law of King Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta. She is praised for her munificence in a passage which recurs in several *āyaka-khaṁba* inscriptions at the *Mahācaitya* on the Śrīparvata. The *Āyaka khaṁba* (pillars) are in groups of five placed at the four cardinal directions of the *Mahācaitya*. The religious significance of these *Āyaka-khāṁbas* is not clearly known. In one of the *Āyaka-khaṁba* inscriptions Princess Śānti Śrī's great charitable disposition, nobility and broad-mindedness are described in great detail. "She, out of compassion for *Śramaṇas*, *Brāhmaṇas* and those that are miserable, poor and destitute, is wont to bestow on them a matchless and ceaseless flow of *Velāmic* gifts[1]. "She is the great mistress of munificence, devoted to all the virtuous; she has great regard for the past, present and future members of both the houses to which she belongs. She is eager for the attainment of welfare and happiness in both the worlds and to attain for herself the bliss of *Nirvāna* and to secure welfare and happiness for all the world." In one of the *āyaka khaṁba* inscriptions, it is distinctly stated that in the sixth year of the reign of Māṭharīputra Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta, she re-erected the *Mahācaitya* (Great Stūpa) and the *Mahāvihāra* (Great Monastery) on Śrīparvata; and set up *āyaka khaṁbas* in each of the four cardinal directions[2]. It is stated in another inscription, that while the re-erection of the *Mahācaitya* was undertaken by the pious lady Śānti Śrī (Cāṁti siri) the construction was directed by the Monk-architect, the illustrious *Bhadanta*, *Ācārya* Ananda, who knew the *Digha* and *Majjhima Nikāyas* by heart and who was a disciple of the *Ācāryas* of the *Ayira Haṁgha*

*Mahādānapatni Mahātalavari-Mahāsenāpatni* S'ānti S'ri (Cāṁti siri) of the Pūgiya family.

1 The meaning of the words '*velamika-dāna*' is not clear.

2 *E. I.*, XX., Ins. C 1. C 2 and B 5 (p. 19.)

(*Ārya Saṁgha*), who were residents in Paṁnagāma and the preceptors and preachers of the *Dīgha* and *Majjhima Nikāyas* and of the Pañcamātukas[1]. In an inscription on an *āyaka khaṁbha* on the south side of the *Mahācaitya* on Śrīparvata, it is said that while the *Mahācaitya* of the *Maha-Vihāra* (Monastery) was being raised by the lady *Mahātalavari* Cāṁtisirinika (Śānti Śrī Nāga) of the Pūgīya family, *Mahādēvī* Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā, a Maharaja's daughter from Ujjeni (Ujjaini) contributed 170 *dinārī māsakas* for the construction and raised a pillar 'for the attainment of welfare, happiness and *Nirvāṇa* by herself'[2].

From the inscriptions it appears however, that princess Śānti Śrī gave the most munificent gifts to the Buddhist Church at Vijayapuri. She erected *Caitya-gṛhas* (apsidal temples), *Vihāras* (monasteries), *Śilāmaṇṭapas* (Stone halls), *Catus'sālas* (cloisters) for the benefit of the *ācāryas* of the Buddhist Church of Śrīparvata, all in the sixth year of her nephew's reign. Roughly nine years later, she erected a *Śilāmaṇṭapa* or a stone hall at the foot (*pāda-mūla*) of the *Mahācaitya* and dedicated it to the *Ācāryas* of the Aparamahāvinaseliya sect or the Aparas'ailīyas. The date of the foundation is preserved in the combined fragments of an inscription engraved on one of the *āyaka* pillars. The exact date, however, is obliterated; but it was in the 8th fortnight of the rainy season in the fifteenth year of Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta[3]. Three years later, the pious princess erected an apsidal temple (*Caitya-gṛha*) (Temple No. 1) to the west of the stone paved hall (*Śilāmaṇṭapa*) at the foot of Śrīparvata and opposite the principal or eastern side of the *Mahācaitya* (Great Stūpa). This fact is recorded in a long inscription, cut on the floor of the building[4]. It is dated the 5th day in the 6th fortnight of winter in the 18th year. It is stated therein that princess Śānti Śrī erected the

1 *Opi. Cit.* Insc. C 1 p. 17 (Additional passage in C 1.)

2 *E. I.*, XX, p. 19, B 5. Dr. Vogel's interpretation is correct. It was queen Rudradharabhaṭṭārika who contributed gold for the purpose along with princess S'ānti S'rī.

3 *E. I.*, XXI, pp. 64–66, Insc. Nos M 3 and M 4.

4 *E. I.*, XX, pp. 21–22, Insc. No. E.

*Śilāmaṇṭapa*, *caitya-gṛha* surrounded by a *catus'sāla* at the foot of the *Mahācaitya* and provided it with everything for the benefit of the *ācāryas* belonging to the Aparamahāvinaseliyas. It is further stated therein that she erected that pious foundation "for the longevity and victory of her son-in-law, King Māṭharīputra Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta, and for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness in both the worlds and of *Nirvāṇa*, having due regard to the past, future and present bliss of the great community of Buddhist monks consisting of all the holy men who have renounced the world and who have penetrated into various countries, and of both the houses to which she belongs." Both on the date of dedicating the fully equipped charitable endowment of a pillared hall (*Śilā-maṇṭapa*) with a *catus'sāla* surrounding it, for the benefit of the monks of the *Mahābhikṣusaṁgha* of the Aparamahāvinaselaiya sect in the rainy season of the 15th year as well as on the occasion of consecrating the *caitya-gṛha* in the winter season of the 18th year of King Māṭhariputra Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta, *Mahāsēnāpatni Mahātalavari* Śānti Śrī would appear to be very anxious about the welfare of her son-in-law. For, in all the records it is stated that the pious benefactions were made for the longevity and victory (*ayuvadhanike vejayike ca*) of the king, her son-in-law. Perhaps during that period, between the fifteenth and eighteenth years of his reign, c. 232–235 A. D., the Ikṣvāku monarch was engaged in a war with a hostile power and the victory despite three or four years of protracted fighting was still undecided. Both the pious benefactions mentioned in the inscriptions were intended for the use of the *Mahā-bhikṣu-saṁgha* 'the Great Community of Monks', of the Apara-mahā-vina-seliya sect. This fact would indicate that princess Śānti Śrī was a disciple of the *Ācaryas* of the Aparamahāvinaseliya sect. Of the three edifices the *Caitya-gṛha*, *Śilā-maṇṭapa* and the *Catus'sāla* the first two only are discovered. A number of stone pillars belonging to the *Śilā maṇṭapa* are still extant, all in broken condition. The pillars are adorned with figures of two recumbent animals, probably lions turned sideways. One of the broken fragments

on the mutilated pillars contains an inscription which indicates that the pillars belonged to the *Śilā maṇṭapa* mentioned in the inscriptions. The *Catus'sāla* must have surrounded it, though no traces of it are visible to-day. Probably it was a wooden structure and was destroyed.

Other ladies of the royal family too contributed to the erection and glorification of the *Mahācaitya* of Śrīparvata, for the attainment by themselves, of happiness and the bliss of *Nirvāṇa*. Among them may be mentioned first in the order of importance, *Mahātalavari* Aḍavi Cāṁti siri (Śānti Śrī), daughter of Emperor Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śāntamūla and the uterine sister of the King Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta. She erected an *āyaka-khaṁbha* " for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness in both the worlds." It was the second pillar on the south side of the *Mahācaitya*. In the same place *Mahāsēnāpatni* Cula Cātisirinika (*Skt.* Kṣudra Śānti Śrī nāga), the Kulahaka princess and wife of the *Mahāsēnāpati* Vāsiṣṭhīputra Skandacalikiraṇaka of the house of the Hiraṇyakas, set up an *āyaka khaṁbha*. *Mahādēvī* Bāpi Śrī and *Mahādēvī* Chāṭhisirinika (Shaṣṭhi Śrī Nāga), daughters of princess Haṁma siri and queens of King Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta erected two *āyaka khaṁbhas* on the western side of the *Mahācaitya*, " for the attainment by themselves of the bliss of *Nirvāṇa*." Another lady, a co-wife of the *Mahātalavari* Śānti Śrī of the Pūgīyas, and the mother of the *Mahāsēnapati Mahātalavara* Viṣṇu Śrī, made a gift of an *āyaka* pillar on the western side. Thus the *āyaka* pillar inscriptions of the sixth year of Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta's reign refer not only to the notable ladies of the royal family and those connected with them, but speak of the pious re-erection of the *Mahācaitya* of the *Mahāvihāra* on Śrīparvata. The inscriptions clearly state that all the ladies of the royal family led by princess Śānti Śrī contributed munificently for the re-erection of the *Mahācaitya* which had apparently fallen into ruin for some years past. It is probable that Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta had also his own share in the re-erection of the *Mahācaitya* though there are no epigraphical records in proof of that.

There was another pious lady, not a member of the royal family, who far outshone the rest in her munificence and religious benefactions to the Buddhist Church. She was *Upāsika* Bodhi siri (*Skt.* Bōdhi Śrı), a pious inhabitant of Vijayapurī. She was an Andhra, a lady of rank; and one of her kinsmen, probably a maternal uncle, was the royal treasurer of the Ikṣvākus. His name is mentioned in the inscription as Bhada (*Skt.* Bhadra). *Upāsika* Bōdhi Śrī would seem to be a Brāhmaṇa lady, for one of her maternal uncles is mentioned as Bōdhisaṁma (*Skt.* Bōdhis'arman). Her long record cut on the floor of the second *Caitya-gṛha* (apsidal shrine) on Śrīparvata consisiting of three long lines, 18 feet 4 inches to 19 feet in length, and a fourth short line of 1 foot 9 inches and *akṣaras* of an average size of $\frac{3}{4}$ inch roughly, gives a beautiful glimpse of the glorious period of Buddhism under the Ikṣvāku dynasty[1]. After a lengthy invocation of the Buddha, which is peculiar and interesting, it records the foundation of a *cetiya-ghara* (Skt. *caitya-gṛha*) and of various other religious edifices, for the benefit of the fraternities (*theriya*) of monks who had converted people of a number of countries to the Buddhist faith. The charities founded by *upāsika* Bōdhi Śrī are indeed numerous and interesting and indicate that she must have been a rich lady herself to be able to establish numerous pious foundations for the Buddhist Church in several places. In the 14th year of Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta, who is referred to here by the matronymic appellation Māṭhariputra, on the 13th day, in the 6th fortnight of winter, *upāsika* Bōdhi Śrī recorded her benefactions to the Buddhist Church at Śrīparvata. For the benefit of the venerable masters (*ācaryas*) and of the fraternities of monks of Tāṁbraparṇṇa (Taṁbapaṁna) or Ceylon, Kās'mīra, Gāndhāra, Cīna, Cilāṭa, (Kirāṭa), Tosali, Avarāṁta (Aparānta), Vaṅga, Vanavāsa, Yavana, Damila, Pālūra and others, she erected and dedicated at Siripavata (*Skt.* Śrīparvata), on the east side of Vijayapurī, at the convent (*vihara*) on the Cula-Dhaṁmagiri (Kṣudra

1 *E I.* XX, p. 22f. Insc. No. F. See 'Notes on Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Inscriptions' by Dr. Nalināksha Dutt (*I. H. Q.*, VII, pp. 633-53) Dr. Dutt makes a strange suggestion that Bodhi siri might be a Ceylonese lady.

Dharmagiri) a *caitya* hall with a flooring of slabs with a *Caitya* shrine and provided them with all necessaries. She erected and dedicated this *caitya-gṛha* and *caitya* at the *vihāra* for the merit of her own husband Budhiṁnaka, of his father the *gahapati* (house-holder) Rēvata residing at Govagāma, of his mother Budhaṁnikā and of his brothers Caṁdamukhana, Karuṁbudhina, and Haṁghana and of his sister Rēvatiṁnikā and of his brothers's sons Mahā-Caṁdamukha and Cula-Caṁdamukha and of his sister's sons Mahā-Mūla and Cula-Mūla, and for the merit of her own grandfather Mūlavāniya and of her grandmother Budhavānikinā and of her maternal uncles, the *Kōṭhakārika* Bhadra, Bodhisaṁma (Bodhis'arman), Caṁda (Chandra) and Bodhika, and of her maternal grandmother......[1] Bodhi and of her own father Budhivāniya and of her mother, of her brother Mūla, of her sisters Budhaṁnikā, Mūlaṁnika, and Nāgabodhinikā, of her daughter Vīraṁnikā, of her sons Nāgaṁna and Vīraṁna and of her daughters-in-law Bhadasiri (Bhadra Śrī) and Misi (Misri)[2]. She also built likewise a *caitya-gṛha* at the Kulaha-*vihāra*, a shrine for the Bodhi-tree (*Bōdhi-vṛkṣa-prāsāda*) at the Sihala (Siṁhala) *vihāra*, one cell (*ovaraka*) at the Mahā Dharmagiri, a *maṇḍava-khaṁbha* (maṇḍava-pillar) at the *Mahavihāra*, a hall for religious practice (*prārdhana s'ālā*) at Devagiri, a tank, a verandah or terrace (*alaṁdā*) and *maṇḍava* at Puvasela (*Skt.* Pūrvas'ila or Pūrvas'aila) a *Śilā maṇṭapa* at the eastern gate of the *Mahācaitya* at Kanṭakasela (Kanṭakas'aila,) three cells at Hirumuṭhuva, seven cells at Papilā, a *sela-maṁḍava* at Puphagiri (*Skt.* Pushpagiri), a *selā-maṁḍava* at the......*vihara*[1]. "All these above described benefactions were dedicated for the endless welfare and happiness of the assembly of saints and for that of the whole world." These pious edifices were constructed under the supervision of the monk-architects and superintendents of works (*navakaṁmakas*), Caṁdamukha-*thera*, Dhaṁmanandi-*thera* and Nāga-*thera*. The execution of the work was by the stone-mason (*sela-vadhaka*) Vidhika.

1 The dots indicate that the name is lost.

2 It is interesting to note that almost all these personal names are still in use in the Andhra country.

The record of Bodhi siri (Bōdhi Śrī) is the most important of all the inscriptions of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa from the point of Buddhism. It opens with an invocation, unlike the other inscriptions of the place, of the Buddha who is extolled in a long string of laudatory epithets. But these epithets seem to have a distinct feature about them, for they easily show that the faith of the lay worshipper (*upāsika*) Bodhi siri was slightly different from that of princess Śānti Śrī and other ladies of the royal family. These aspects of Buddhism in Andhradesa will be dealt with in a later section. The inscription then mentions a number of countries and territories whose inhabitants were converted by the Masters (*ācaryas*) of the fraternities of monks of Andhradesa, to the Buddhist faith. Some of these are mentioned in the *Mahāvaṁsa* among the countries that were converted to Buddhism after the Third Council, *viz*., Kās'mīra, Gāndhāra, Vanavāsa, Aparṁāta, Yona or Yavana[1]. This passage may therefore be compared with that found in the *Milindapanha* which mentions a number of countries which used to be visited by merchants for purposes of trade[2].

Identification of the countris in Bodhi Siri's inscription.

It is an interesting study to identify the territories mentioned in this inscription. Kās'mīra is Kashmir. The kingdom of Gāndhāra is mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. It was the ancient name of the region that lay on either side (*Sindhōrubhayataḥ pārs'vē*) of the river Sindhu or the Indus. According to the *Mahābhārata* Puṣkalāvatī and Takṣas'ilā were the great cities of the ancient Gāndhāra. The ruins of Takṣas'ila (Taxila) are situated to the east of Saraikala, a railway junction to the north-west of Rawalpindi in the Punjab. Puṣkalāvati (*Pkt.* Pukkalaoti and *Gk.* Pekkelaotis)has been identified with modern Prang and Charsadda on the Swat river, seventeen miles to the north-east of Peshawar[3]. The ancient kingdom of Gāndhāra, therefore, comprised the modern Rawalpindi district of the Punjab and the Peshawar district of

1 The *Mahāvaṁs'a*, Chapter XII and the *Dīpavaṁs'a*, Chapter VIII.

2 *Milimdapanha* (edition : Trenckner) pp. 327, 331. See also *E I*. XX, p. 8.

3 Schoff : *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, pp. 183-4.

the North-West Frontier Province of India. Cīna is famous in Sanskrit literature. Cīna was well known in the Andhra country in the early times. Camphor, silk, and other products of Cīna were in great demand in the markets of the Andhra country[1]. According to the *Mahābhārata*, King Bhagadatta of Prāgjyōtiṣa or Assam led an army of the tribes called Cīna and Cilāṭa to the field of Kurukṣētra[2]. Cīna and Cilāṭa were countries which were inhabited by the Mongoloid races and, situated to the east and north to the east of India. The Cilāṭas are the same un-Aryan tribe often met with in the Sanskrit literature, under the name Kirāṭa. The Greek writer Ptolemy as well as the author of the *Periplus* called them Kirradia or Tiladai (Piladai)[3]. They seem to locate the Kirāṭa in the north or north-east of Bengal on the Brahmaputra, and identify the region with the mountain tract of Hill Tipperah and Sylhet[4]. The next region is Tosali which may be connected with the modern district of Dhauli in Puri district of Orissa. It may be remembered that Asoka's two separate edicts of Dhauli in Orissa were addressed to the Governor and the magistrates (*Mahāmātras*) of Tosali. Avarāṁta or Aparānta, meaning the "Western Border", was the ancient name for the territory known as North Konkan lying along the west coast in the Bombay Presidency, the capital of which was Surparaka, the modern Sopāra in Thana district. According to the Ceylonese Chronicles, Aparānta was converted to Buddhism by Dhaṁmarakhita (Dharmarakṣita). As'ōka mentioned it in his fifth rock edict in connection with the appointment of *Dhaṁma-mahāmatas* (*Skt. Dharma-mahāmātyas*). Aparānta is also mentioned in the *Raghuvaṁs'a* (IV, 53) in a manner which leaves no doubt as to its locality and situation. Vaṅga was the ancient name for Central and Eastern Bengal and also of

1 The term *Cīn-āṁbara* is synonymous with a silk cloth for the Andhras.

2 V. 19, 15.

3 *E. I.*. Vol. XX, p. 8.: *Periplus* : p. 62.: Ptolemy, VII, 2, 2., 2-15-16.

4 Gerini : *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography*, pp. 51-53, 829 ; Schoff : *Periplus*, p. 253 ; N. L. Dey : Geographical Dictionary (1927) p. 54.

the southern part of it[1]. Vanavāsa is also mentioned as Vanavāsaka whose name is still preserved in Banavasi, a small town in Shimoga district in the north of Mysore. Vanavāsa was the ancient name for Kuntala. It was also known as Vaijayanti from its capital Vaījayanti or Vaijayantīpura. Under the Cuṭu or the Andhrabhṛtya dynasty the kingdom of Vanavāsa extended from North Mysore on the south as far as Aparanta and Konkan on the north. Yavana or Yona is one whose exact situation is not known. As the term denotes the country inhabited by the Yavanas or Greeks, it may be located about the modern Afghanistan. The next name Damila seems to be a variant of Dravida or Tamila country[2]. Pālūra has been identified by Sylvain Levi with Dantapura, 'the city of the tooth,' and, therefore, with the capital of Kalinga[3]. But this identification is not correct. Palura (Paloor) is an ancient emporium and mart in the Ganjam district (now in Orissa), situated at the mouth of the river Ṛṣikulya. Close by stood another port, Ganjam[4]. It was evidently from this point Pālūra, according to Ptolemy, that ships bound for Khryse departed in olden days. It was a flourishing sea-port till the fifteenth century and was well known to the Portuguese. Pālūra was probably the ancient capital of the hilly kingdom known as Konyōḍha, the kingdom of the Śailōdbhavas, the Kung-yu-to of Yuan Chwang. The Chinese Pilgrim describes the capital of the kingdom as having been situated on the top of a hilly tract bordering on a bay of the sea[5]. The situation of Pālūra exactly agrees with the description left by Yuan Chwang. The kingdom of Konyōḍha lay apparently to the north or north-east of Kalinga, between the Mahēndragiri on the south and the Mahānadī on the north.

1 Ray Cahudhuri : *Indian Antiquities*, p. 184 f.

2 Dr. Vogel is not quite sure of his reading '*Yavana-Damila-Pālūra*'

3 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. LV. (1926) p. 94f. The Telugu word for 'tooth' is *pannu* (singular) and *paḷḷu* or *paṇḍlu* (plural) ; and therefore Pālūra cannot be translated as 'town of the tooth.'

4 Gerini : *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography*: p. 743.

5 Watters : *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II., p. 196f.

The latter part of *upāsika* Bodhi siri's inscription records a number of pious foundations, several of them evidently being additions to the existing buildings, which were dedicated to the fraternities of monks of various countries. It also mentions the localities elsewhere, where some of the buildings to which Bodhi siri had made additions were situated. Almost all of them, except Hirimuṭhuva and Papilā which were perhaps important places in the neighbouring country, may be identified. The former however seems to have been mentioned in one of the rock cut inscriptions at Bhairavunikoṇḍa, Nellore district[1]. Dēvagiri, Puṣpagiri and Pūrvas'aila were probably names of local hillocks that lay in the surrounding country. Kaṇṭakas'aila seems to be the same as Konṭakossyla mentioned by Ptolemy as a mart lying near the mouth of the Maisolus[2]. Kaṇṭakas'aila, 'the hill of the thorn' seems to be the ancient name of Ghaṇṭasāla on the Kṛṣṇa river, situated not far from its mouths in the Kistna district. It follows, therefore, that to the Greeks the river Kṛṣṇa or the Kṛṣṇa-Beṇṇa was known as Maisolus and consequently the country watered by the lower course of the river was called Maisolia by the Geographer Ptolemy.

III

Greater Andhra and Religious Activity under the Ikṣvākus.

*Upāsika* Bōdhi Śrī's inscription on Śrīparvata is remarkable for another reason. It reminds us of the commercial, colonial and missionary activities of the Andhras of the early centuries of the Christian era. With a great sea-board extending from the submerged Kalingapaṭṭaṇa (near modern Kalingapatam) or Pālūra to lake Pulicat, with a number of small rivers like the Ṛṣikulyā, Vaṁs'adhārā, Nāgāvalī, Śāradā, Tāṇḍava, Guṇḍlakamma, Pinākinī and the Suvarṇamukhi

1 Longhurst: *The Pallava Architecture*: Part I, p. 34f.

2 Mc Crindle: *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, Bk. VII, sec. X. No. 15, pp. 67-68. The name Maisolus seems to have derived from the Sanskrit name Mausala or Mausalapura which was the ancient name for the great sea-port Mōṭupalli in Bāpatla taluk. It is identical with Muṭfili of Marco Polo. (Yule, Vol. II) This inference is borne out by the testimony of the inscription of the Kākatīya king Gaṇapatidēva at Mōṭupalli (*E. I.*, XII, p. 188f.) It is wrong, therefore, to assume that Maisolia or Maisolus is still preserved in the name of Masulipatam, which was founded by the Bahmani Sultans in the XV century after the decline of Mōṭupalli.

which offered safe anchorage at their mouths for the vessels of those days and with the Kṛṣṇa and the Godavari which were navigable for a long distance into the inland, Andhradesa offered pleasant and profitable prospects for adventure on the high seas, foreign commerce and colonisation in distant lands and missionary activity among less civilised peoples. The Godavari and the Kṛṣṇa, the two large rivers of the country, served as highways of commercial and passenger traffic throughout the Andhra and Ikṣvāku Empires. In the days of the writer of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, c. 60 A. D. and of Ptolemy, author of the Geography, c. 140 A. D., it is said, merchant ships sailed eastward from the mouths of the Gōdāvari and Kṛṣṇa, the Guṇḍlakamma and the Pinakini. The Andhras, favoured by natural resources and finding opportunities for a daring and adventurous life, ventured early into the unknown regions beyond the Blue Sea. The Imperial Śātavāhanas and later the Ikṣvākus gave the necessary impetus. Their colonisation followed commercial intercourse, and in its wake flowed Andhra culture and Andhra Buddhism. According to Gerini, there were Dravidian Colonists in Burma as early as the seventh century B. C. The earliest traditions in Greater India connect their beginnings with the valleys and deltas of the Godavari and Kṛṣṇa. The author of the *Periplus* noted two kinds of vessels, one for coastal traffic and the other for overseas and voyages over the expanding blue deep. The latter type must have been naturally larger than the former.

The cultural and colonial expansion of Andhra into what may be called 'Greater Andhra' can be proved not only from the inscription of Bōdhi Śrī and from the Geography of Ptolemy but also from numerous things that have been discovered in Greater or Further India. Among the places mentioned by Ptolemy in Further India, two deserve special mention, Trilinga, capital of Arakan, and Kākula in the Gulf of Siam which were evidently named after the places in the motherland by the loyal colonists. Pāṇḍuranga, Amarāvati, Vijaya, Kauthūra (Kottūra), Takola, Singapore (Siṁhapura), Kalinga and Bhogi are some of the names in Further India which serve to confirm the

hypothesis that the culture of Further India had its source in the Andhra Empire and Kalinga. The ancient peoples of Andhradesa as well as Kalinga looked to the east for commercial intercourse, enterprise, colonisation and cultural expansion. The trade routes to the west round the island of Ceylon or Cape Comorin and to the eastern countries and islands that were established during the prosperous period of the Śātavāhana Empire were maintained and added to under the Imperial Ikṣvākus. According to Bōdhi Śrī's inscription, Buddhists of Andhradesa carried the torch of their culture as far east as China and as far west as Kashmir. The period, when Buddhism was not only popular but enjoyed royal favour, was one of restless missionary activity as proved by Bōdhi Śri's inscription and the sculptures discovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Prominent religious teachers went forth to preach the doctrines of the Buddha; King Māṭharīputra Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta after his conversion to the Buddhist faith, would seem to have sent out members of the royal family as missionaries to distant lands, like the emperor Asoka of old. Naturally therefore increased commercial intercourse led to greater economic and religious activity. The colonial expansion of Andhradesa civilised the savage races of the countries and islands of the East and created in them a new thirst for culture. The colonials and foreign co-religionists were, therefore, eager to make a pilgrimage to the holy land where stood the sacred Śrīparvata and pay homage to the relics of the Buddha enshrined in the *Mahācaitya*. For such pilgrims, monks and nuns, from far off countries *upāsika* Bōdhi Śrī and others in a true religious spirit had erected *caityas*, *caitya-gṛhas*, *vihāras*, *maṇḍavas*, *catus's'ālas* and numerous other buildings and provided them with all necessaries.

IV

There has been considerable controversy and difference of opinion over the identification of the Aparas'ilā and Pūrvas'ilā monasteries referred to by the Chinese Pilgrim, Yuan Chwang. Burgess, Fergusson and Sewell identify these localities with

sites at Amarāvati and Bezwada. But the discovery of the Ikṣvāku inscriptions at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa has completely set at rest all controversy and placed their identity and location in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley beyond doubt.

Identification of the Aparas'ila and Pūrvas'ila monasteries.

The *Gaṇḍavyūha* states that on the east of the great city Dhānyakara, there was an extensive forest called *Vicitramālādhvajavyūha* and a *caitya* erected by the former Buddhas for the Tathāgata[1]. Dhānyakara cannot be identified with the celebrated Dhānyakaṭaka or Dhanakaṭaka, but with Vijayapurī which is situated in the ancient district of Dhānyakaṭaka. To the Buddhists of Northern India and Tibet, Dhānyakara or Dhānyakaṭaka was the renowned capital of Andhradesa and the most celebrated city of Dakṣiṇāpatha. And even though the capital changed with the fall of the Imperial Andhras, Dhanakaṭaka retained its glory and importance: its name was still familiar in the North and Tibet Dhānyakara has therefore to be identified with Vijayapuri. Moreover there are no traces of any great forest having extended on the east of Dhānyakaṭaka as there are, on the eastern side of the capital of the Ikṣvākus. Even to-day on the eastern side of the ruined city, Vijayapuri, there lies the Pasuvēmula reserve forest extending for several miles eastward. The extensive area is covered with dense forest-clad hills. It is, therefore, extremely likely that the celebrated fraternity of monks who inhabited the *Mahāvihāras* of Śrīparvata and Vijayapurī, which lay directly to the west of the forest region, known as *Mahā-vana* 'the Great Wilderness' in the early period and which retains its wild character even to-day, went by the name Aparamahāvinaseliyas or Aparamahavanas'ailīyas. This conjecture is borne out by the testimony of inscriptions at the Amaravati *stūpa*, which speak of the fraternity of monks called *Mahāvanaseliyas* as *Mahāvinayadharas*[2]. The references to Pūrvas'aila in the

1 Ms. in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Leaf No. 21-a
"Dhānyakarasya Mahānagarasya pūrvēna vichitramālādhvajavyūha nāmamatra vanaṣaṇḍam Pūrva Buddhāya dhyānta Caityam Tathāgatādhiṣṭhānam, etc."
(Quoted by Dr. N. Dutt.) See *I. H. Q.*, VII, p. 641, n. 2.

2 *ASSI*, I. (Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayapeta) p. 24.

inscription of Bōdhi Śrī on the Mahā Dharmagiri[1] and to the fraternity of monks and *ācaryas* belonging to the sect of the Aparamahāvinaseliyas in the record of princess Śānti Śrī in the first apsidal temple (*Caitya-gṛha*)[2] at the same spot conclusively point to the existence of two celebrated hillocks in that locality which were called Pūrvaśaila and Aparaśaila respectively and which lent their names to renowned *saṁghārāmas* and fraternities in the Buddhist Epoch. They also point to the existence of a Great Community of Buddhist Monks who belonged to the *Mahāsāṁghika* school of Andhradesa and called the Aparamahāvanaseliyas. The *Mahāsāṁghikas* of Śrīparvata would seem to have acquired the name Aparamahāvinaseliyas on account of the situation of their abode and place of worship to the west of the "Great Wilderness" or the *Mahā-vana*. But it would appear that while the Great Community of Buddhist monks of Śrīparvata were known to outsiders as merely Aparamahāvinaseliyas, there were among them two local Schools or divisions called Pūrvaśailīyas and Aparaśailīyas, on account of their abode in the *Mahā-vihāras* (Great Monasteries) of Pūrvaśaila and Aparaśaila Hillocks.

There is a long hill in the centre of the valley of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa running roughly from west to east and about a quarter of a mile in length and terminating in a peak at the eastern end. The western summit has an extensive area at the top and is known locally by the name Nāparāḷḷabōḍu[3]. The eastern peak is slightly detached from the hill and is called locally Gūbaguṭṭa, 'the hill of the owl[4]. This long hill with its two summits may be identified with Śrīparvata of the Prakrit inscriptions[5]. This is the only hill in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley which contains the remains of numerous monastic buildings. The ruins on the hill represent as many as four or five *stūpas* or *caityas* including

1 *E. I.*, XX, Ins. E. text line 2.

2 *Ibid.* Insc. F. text line 3.

3 It is not Nāharallabōḍu as it has been wrongly spelt by Dr. Hirānanda Sastri and Dr. Vogel. It has to be called Nāparaḷḷabōḍu, "the Hill of slabs".

4 It is not also *Uba-guṭṭa*. It is *Gūba-guṭṭa*. The *Kosiya jātaka* seems to refer to 'Owl clan' in the same manner Kassapa refers to the 'tortoise clan' and Kondanna to the 'monkey clan'. The matter is well worth an investigation. See *A.S I.* 1926-27, p. 156.

5 *A. S. I.* 1927-28, pp. 119-120.

the *Mahācaitya*, three or four *vihāras* or monasteries including the *Mahavihāra* on the Nāparāḷḷabōḍu and three *caitya-gṛhas* "apsidal temples" and numerous *s'ilā-maṇṭapas*, *catus's'ālas*, *prārdhana-s'ālas* and other minor monastic buildings. *Upāsika* Bōdhi Śri's inscription second apsidal temple on the Nāparāḷḷabōḍu evidently speaks of the detached mound at the eastern end as Cula Dhaṁmagiri (Kṣudra Dharmagiri); and this statement indicates that the mound on which the *Mahāvihāra* and *Mahācaitya* stood, was called Mahā Dharmagiri by the Buddhists. Though the two summits form part of one and the same hillock, they are slightly detached from one another. Nāparāḷḷabōḍu is much broader and higher and commands an extensive view of the valley for many miles round. From its summit the ridge slopes down eastward and terminates in Kṣudra Dharmagiri or Gūba-guṭṭa. The discovery of two groups of monastic buildings on these two mounds and reference to the celebrated *Mahācaitya* of the *Mahāvihāra*, Śrīparvata and Pūrvas'ila in Bōdhi Śri's inscription conclusively prove that the entire ridge was called Śrīparvata and that its western summit Nāparāḷḷabōḍu and its eastern mound Gūba-guṭṭa were called Aparas'ila and Pūrvas'ila respectively.

Other monastic buildings and *vihāras*.

Among the other *vihāras* and monastic buildings that once stood in the vicinity of Śrīparvata, the Kulahaka and Siṁhala *vihāras* deserve notice. The former would appear to have owed its existence to the pious munificence of the same feudatory family that is mentioned in one of the *āyaka khaṁbha* inscriptions at the *Mahācaitya*[1]. The Siṁhala-*vihāra* was probably founded by the Simhalese Buddhists or established for the benefit of the fraternities of Buddhist monks and nuns of Siṁhala or Ceylon. It consisted of two separate buildings, one for the monks and the other exclusively for the use of the nuns of Ceylon. It appears to have stood on Gūba-guṭṭa or Kṣudra Dharmagiri or Pūrvas'ila[2]. It contained a shrine for the Bodhi tree (*Bōdhi-vṛkṣa-prāsāda*), which was a necessary

1 *E. I.*, XX, Insc. No. B-4, p. 18.
2 *A. S. I.*, 1927-28, p. 117

adjunct of the Buddhist monasteries of Ceylon, even as it is to-day. The reference to Siṁhala-*vihāra* and to the dedication of a *caitya-gṛha* and a *caitya* for the benefit of the nuns of the Buddhist communities of Ceylon and other buildings for the benefit of the *Theras* of various countries in the record of Bōdhi Śrī point to the conclusion that there was religious intercourse and commercial and colonial relationship between the great Buddhist communities of Andhradesa and their co-religionists of those countries. Thus there was sea-borne trade with the ports of Ceylon and countries on the coast of India lying between the mouths of the Indus on the west and the mouths of the Ganges and Brahmaputra on the east on the one hand and with Burma, Further India and Far East on the other.

V

Two more records of the reign of Māṭhariputra S'ri Virapuruṣadatta, from Jaggayapēṭa and Rāmireḍḍi-palli.

Thirty miles north by west of Amarāvati-Dhānyakaṭaka, on the river Pālēru, a tributary of the Kṛṣṇa, and about four miles to the north of their confluence, is the flourishing town Bētavōlu or Jaggayyapēṭa, in the Kistna district. Neither of these two names are ancient, but the locality is as old and as well known as the Dhānyakaṭaka. About a mile to the east of the town is a low mound locally known as *Dhanabōḍu* or the 'Hill of Wealth' on which stood once a great *stūpa* or *Mahācaitya*. Around the hillock are traces of numerous monastic buildings which were apparently connected with the *Mahācaitya*. The biggest *stūpa* on the mound, that is the *Mahācaitya* itself, was about 31½ feet in diameter with a procession path (*Pradakṣiṇapathā*) all round. The *stūpa* was formed of earth and brick and surrounded at the base by marble slabs sparsely sculptured. One of the marble sculptures of the locality, now deposited in the Madras Museum is an extremely interesting represeṅation of a *puṇyas'āla* or a sacred building. The edifice has four pillars supporting it in front. The approach to the shrine is by a flight of steps. In the interior upon a pedestal are the *Śripāda* (sacred feet) over which is an umbrella with two hanging garlands. On either side of the inner shrine stand female

figures holding trays containing flowers. The shrine has a storey with an arched roof and gable-windows. On another slab which is also found now in the Madras Museum is the figure of a monarch, with peculiar raised head-dress, necklace and other ornaments. He is seen standing with his right hand stretched showing the inside of his palm. He is surrounded by the nine gems (*nava-ratna*), the symbols of a universal sovereign or *Cakravartin*. The nine gems are the *catra*, the *cakra*, the drum, the minister, the general, the queen, the treasury or the throne, the horse and the elephant. It is not possible to identify the king portrayed here, though it is extremely probable that the sculptor had in his mind one of the Ikṣvāku monarchs. As at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, here also at Jaggayyapeta, the *Mahācaitya* was surrounded by *āyaka-khaṁbhas* at the four cardinal points. One of the *āyaka-khaṁbhas* contains an inscription of the twentieth year of the reign of King Māṭharīputra Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta[1]. The inscription is also copied on two more pillars. It appears from that inscription that the mound on which the *Mahācaitya* stood, or perhaps the entire locality was called Velāgiri. The inscriptions record that an artisan by name Sidatha (Siddhārtha), a resident of Mahā Kāṇḍurūra and son of Nākachaṁda (Nāgacandra) a resident of Naḍatūra in the province (*raṭha*) of Kaṁmaka i. e. Kramuka *rāṣṭra* "the land of the areca palms", came on a pilgrimage to the *Mahācaitya* at Velāgiri, accompanied by his mother Nāgilani, wife Samuddāni (Samudrāṇi), his son, daughter, brother, brother's wife, and their two sons and daughter, all specified by their names, and erected five *āyaka-khaṁbhas*, near the eastern gate of the *Mahācaitya* and dedicated them as his own meritorious gift (*deyadhaṁma*) for the good and welfare of all living beings. The inscription is of no historical interest except for its reference to the particular sect of Buddhists to which *upāsaka* Siddhārtha belonged. It is also interesting for the reason, that it mentions the province (*raṭha*) of Kaṁmaka or Kramukarāṣṭra, the region that is bounded by the Kṛṣṇa on the north or north-east and the Mannēru on the south or south-west.

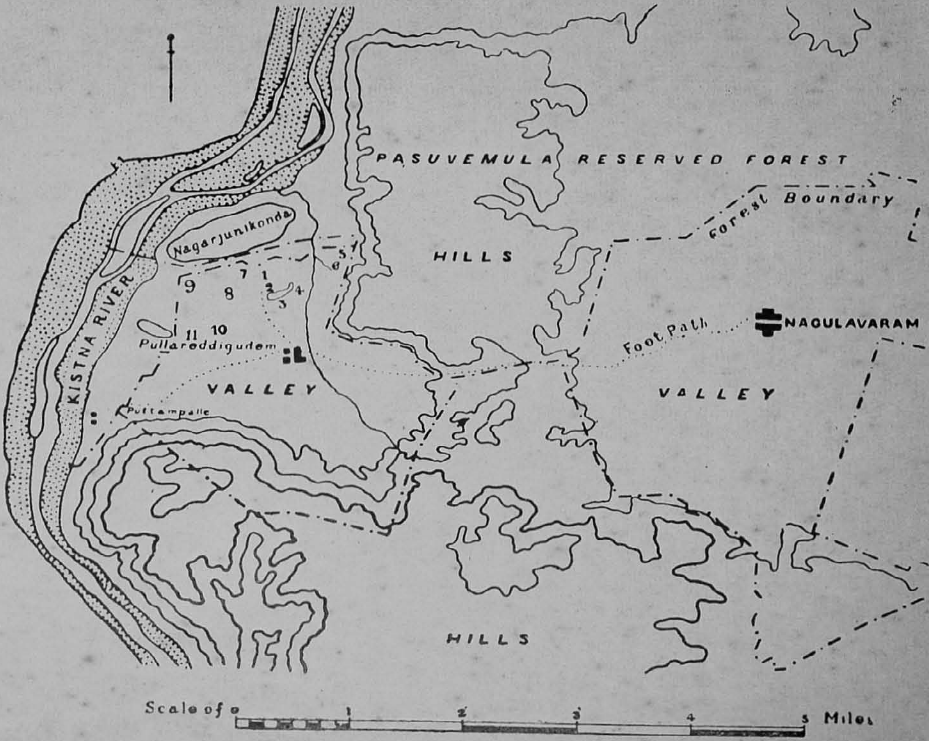
1 *ASSI.*, I. pp. 110-111. (The Buddhist Stupas of Amarāvati and Jaggayyapēta etc.)

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# Plan of the Site, showing positions of Monuments discovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa

*References to Numbers.*

1. Mahācaitya, Stūpa No. 1
2. Caitya No. 1 & Mahāvihāra. No. 1
3. Caitya No. 2 Vihāra No. 2
4. Caityas Nos. 3 & 4 Vihāra No. 3 & Stūpa No. 4
5. Stūpa No. 2
6. Stūpa No. 3
7. Vihāra No. 4 & Stūpa No. 5
8. Stūpa No. 6
9. Vihāra No. 5, Stūpas Nos. 7 & 8
10. Palace Site
11. Stūpa No. 9
12. Wharf.




By courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.

Here in this inscription is the earliest reference to the Kaṁmaka *raṭha* or Kramukarāṣtra, 'the land of the areca palms' and the later Karmarāṣṭra[1]. The province of Karmarāṣṭra apparently comprised the whole of modern Guntur and the northern portion of Nellore district as well.

Rāmireḍḍipalli is another village in Nandigāma taluk which contains traces of a Great *Stūpa* and other monastic buildings on a table topped hillock[2]. The area of the hill has been excavated; and the excavations have yielded valuable treasures of Buddhist art and sculptures[3]. Among the discoveries made at Rāmireḍḍipalli is an inscription of the time of King Māṭhariputra Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta. It is a fragmentary record, and is engraved on a pillar which lay buried in a field about one furlong from the foot of the hill on which were found the ruins of a *caitya* and other buildings. As far as can be made out the inscription is dated the sixth year of the Ikhāku (Ikṣvāku) King Maṭharīputra Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta. The details of the date are completely destroyed but *hemanta* season may be gathered from the letter *he* which is still visible. It is not unlikely that this pillar which contains the inscription, like the *āyaka-khaṁbhas* of the *Mahācaitya* at Śrīparvata and the *Mahācaitya* at Velāgiri in Jaggayyapēṭa, was one of the several pillars erected and dedicated for the purpose of adorning the main monument (*Maha Caitya*) on the site[4]. Evidently the sixth year of the reign of Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta witnessed a great religious activity, in the renovation of the Buddhist monuments

1 It appears that Kaṁmaka-rāṣṭra was the original Prakrit form of the Sanskrit appellation Kramuka-rāṣṭra. The tern *kramuka* (areca) became *kaṁmaka* in the Andhra Prakrit and at a later period still *kaṁmaka*. The dropping out of the *rēpha* or the secondary *r* for *ka* which resulted in the inclusion of an *anusvāra* and the consequent doubling of the letter *ma* were the softening influences of the Andhra Prakrit. Thus Kaṁmaka became Kammaka; the latter form was re-sanskritised as *Karma* by dropping the last syllable *ka* for which no explanation was given. It was in this process that the historical background of the name Kammaka-raṭha was completely lost sight of by the revivalists of the Sanskrit period.

2 For a detailed account of the Rāmireḍḍipalli Buddhist Sculptures See *JAHRS* Vol. III, part 1. pp. 58-65. (Illustrated)

3 Annual Rep. of Supt. of Archaeology, Southern Circle, 1926-27. See also *A. S. I.* 1930-34, part I, p. 238.

4 *ASI.*, 1930-34, Part I, p. 239.

in the neighbourhood of Śrīparvata, Rāmireḍḍipalli, Dhānyakaṭaka and elsewhere. This activity amply bears out the surmise advanced already, that in that year King Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta renounced Brahmanical faith and embraced Buddhism.

V

### *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Śrīparvata.*

Nāgārjunakoṇḍa or 'the hill of Nāgārjuna' is situated on the south bank of the Kṛṣṇa river in the Palnāḍ taluk of the Guntūr district[1]. It is fifteen miles from Mācerla, the nearest railway station. All round Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, for miles there is no habitation. It is a wild and desolate spot. Pullāreḍḍigūḍem is the only village near Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. It occupies an ancient site in the central part of a large red soiled valley, roughly three miles in width, which is completely surrounded by lofty table-topped hills about eight hundred feet in height. The Kṛṣṇa flows on the western side of the valley, forming a natural protection for the city which once stood there. On the north-western side of the valley overlooking the river Kṛṣṇa, stands Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, a big rocky plateau, some two or three hundred acres in extent, with lofty cliffs all round, converting the summit into a natural fortress. Covering the entire surface of the top of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa are found the remains of what must have once been a gigantic fortress. Even from a distance, the walls, many parts of which are still intact, rise majestically and present an imposing spectacle. The walls constructed at the very edge of the top are about fifty feet high and measure about four to five furlongs in length running from north to south. On one side of the hill, which looks like a recumbent elephant, is the river Kṛṣṇa flowing majestically northwards, adding sanctity to its already sacred waters. On the other side is the beautiful valley, the site of archaeological excavations, where once stood Vijayapurī, the glorious city of the Ikṣvākus, surrounded by a range of frowning forest-clad

Nāgārjunakoṇḍa or 'The Hill of Nāgārjuna'.

1 For a detailed and full description of the place see *A.S.I.*, 1926–27 pp. 156 ff. and *Ibid.* 1927–28, pp. 113 ff.

hills. As a natural stronghold, free from the possible attacks of enemies, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and the adjoining valley must have so commended itself to the kings of the Ikṣvāku dynasty that they had lavished all their skill, money and labour in building the fortifications, the city, the celebrated *Mahācaitya* and other monastic buildings of the Buddhist Church in that locality. Dug deep into the rock, reaching down to the bed of the river itself, is a huge reservoir which must have provided an unfailing supply during even the longest seige. On the other side of the hill there is a second flight of steps broad enough to allow an elephant to go up and down with ease. For this reason the bridle path is known locally as the "elephant path." There are no signs of any ancient monuments within the fortified area on the hill: but the vast amount of loose stone scattered all over the site indicates that rubble built structures of a primitive type once stood on the plateau[1]. The brick and stone fortifications appear to be very old and must have been built during the Ikṣvāku occupation of the valley, if not even earlier. The bricks used in the construction of the fortifications are similar in size to those used in the Buddhist monuments of the valley. It is probable therefore that on Nāgārjunakoṇḍa stood apparently the citadel of the Ikṣvākus[2]. There is another isolated hill with a flat summit, to the west of the village Pullareddigudem in the valley, facing the river, which like Nāgārjunakoṇḍa contains traces of ancient fortifications all round the plateau on its top. But nothing of archaeological interest is found there, not even traces of ancient buildings. But it is just possible that this fortified hill, lying within a mile from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa on the south, served as an outpost to the Ikṣvāku capital in the valley on the east. The entire valley is much larger than the famous

1 *A. S. I.*, 1927-28, p. 114 f.

2 *Ibid.* On the lower slopes of the hill there are certain stone walls and bastions referred to above, and considered by the archaeologists to be of later or medieval origin. But there is no evidence of this locality ever having been used as a fortified town after the sixteenth century. It would appear that the citadel of the Ikṣvākus was repaired and renovated from time to time, during the Viṣṇukuṇḍin, Eastern Cāḷukyan, Kākatiya and Vijayanagara times.

Dhanakaṭaka-Amarāvati which lies about sixty miles as the crow flies, towards the east.

It is stated in Bōdhi Śrī's inscription that "Śrīparvata was conveniently situated on the east side of the adjacent city Vijayapurī."[1] Accordingly, it would appear that Vijayapuri was the name of the ancient city that occupied originally the central portion of the valley of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa which extends in a westernly direction towards the river. This extensive site which is about three miles in length and two miles in width has not been completely excavated yet: it contains the ruins of several pavillions, buildings and palaces with some of their handsome stone pillars and statuettes standing erect, or thin carved slabs protruding still here and there full of elaborate ornamentations or curious semi-classical subjects[2].

The Kṛṣṇa flowing near by was probably more deep and large than it is to-day and afforded not only protection to the city but also easy navigation to the sea on the east and the interior on the west, thus making the capital of the Ikṣvākus and the celebrated Śrīparvata easily accessible to the inhabitants of the interior as well as to the pilgrims from abroad. The stone-built wharf that still remains at the southern foot of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa seems to have been in ancient times the landing place from the river. The wharf is about 250 feet in length, 50 feet wide and 6 feet high along the river front at both ends. Three rows of broken stone pillars extending from end to end show that it was originally provided with a wooden roof, probably thatched. It seems to have served as a Customs House, with a row of shops and godowns on either side. Here the Kṛṣṇa is more than half a mile wide, with numerous sandbanks and huge rocks in its bed. During the rains it is a very large river[3]. All round Śrīparvata and Vijayapurī were famous Buddhist settlements like Gōli, Rāmireḍḍipalli, Chēzerla, Allūru, Amarāvati-Dhanakaṭaka

1 *E. I.*, XX., Insc. No. F, pp. 22-23.

2 *A. S. I.* 1927-28, p. 117; *A. S. I.*, 1928-29, p. 104.

3 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IXI, p. 138 (1932) 'The Great Stupa at Nagarjunakonda in South India' by A. H. Longhurst.

(Dharaṇikoṭa), Jaggayapēṭa, Ghanṭasāla, Guḍivāḍa, Bhaṭṭiprōlu and several others. All these localities were situated within easy reach of the Kṛṣṇa river.

The name Śrīparvata often occurs in ancient epigraphical and literary records, while Vijayapurī does not. Vijayapuri is mentioned in a solitary record at the Great *Stūpa* of Amarāvati[1]. The reason for this appears to be that to the Buddhists, Śrīparvata was naturally of greater importance than the adjacent city of the Ikṣvākus, on account of its association with the *Mahācaitya* of the Lord, the Supreme Buddha, whose *dhātu* or bone-relic was enshrined and consecrated in the *Dhātugarbha,* and on account of its long connection with the renowned *Ācārya* Nāgārjuna. The *Mahācaitya* was regarded as one of the holiest shrines by the Buddhist communities all over the world; and that is obvious from the tone of the inscriptions found at the site. The size of the *Mahācaitya*, the large number of pious donations made by ladies of royal blood and the fact that pilgrims came from all over India and Ceylon and China to reverence it, afford striking testimony of this. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the *dhātu* relic recovered from the site represents a genuine corporeal relic of the Great Lord, the Supreme Buddha. For these reasons the locality containing the *dhātugarbha* of the Great Teacher became celebrated as Śrīparvata, 'the Glorious Hill'. And it even lent its name to the city that lay adjacent to it. In course of time the Buddhist communities in all countries referred to it as Śrīparvata more familiarly than as Vijayapurī. Even to the writers of the Purāṇas the Ikṣvāku dynasty of Vijayapurī came to be known as the Śrīparvatīyas on account of their association with the renowned and holy Śrīparvata.

Śrīparvata became the holiest spot in Andhradesa. It even lent its name to the entire range of the Nallamala Hills running along the course of the Kṛṣṇa river in Guntur and Kurnool districts. The Ikṣvākus made Śrīparvata and Vijayapurī the

1 *A. S. S. I.*, Vol. I., p. 85.

beauty spots of Andhradesa, and fountains of Buddhist learning and culture which flowed into far-off countries across the Blue deep through the mouths of the Kṛṣṇa. An ancient tradition preserved in Tibet states that the famous Buddhist divine and the reputed founder of the Mahāyāna school, *Ācārya* Nāgārjuna, lived for a long time and ended his days in a monastery on Śrīparvata in the South or Dakṣiṇāpatha. Though there is no reference to Nāgārjuna in any of the inscriptions found in the locality, the name Nāgārjunakoṇḍa lends strong support to the tradition. There are traces of a large ruined monastery and a small *stūpa* on the *Kṣudra-*Dharmagiri, or Gūba-guṭṭa, which have yielded some very interesting relics and a dozen earthenware pots and bulbs. These relics along with a few gold-leaf flowers, coloured glass beads, rock crystals, corals and pearls were encased in a tiny gold casket shaped like a *caitya*, three-fourth inch in diametre, which was found inside a small silver casket, two inches in diameter and similar in shape. The reliquary was found in a small red earthenware pot. Mr. Longhurst thinks that the smallness of the *stūpa* and its position just outside the monastery enclosure, together with the pottery vessels found in the *stūpa*, seem to indicate that it represents the *dhātu-garbha* or tomb of some saint or sage[1]. One is tempted to identify the tomb to be that of the renowned Bōdhisattva, *Ācārya* Nāgārjuna; but there is no evidence to support the conjecture. Nevertheless, it is a remarkable coincidence that the name Nāgārjunakoṇḍa for the locality preserves the tradition that the great sage Nāgārjuna was connected with the *Mahāvihāra* at the *Mahācaitya* of the Lord, the Supreme Buddha, (*Saṁma Saṁbuddhasa dhātuvara parigahitasa*) and the celebrated Śrīparvata.

It appears that at the time of Yuan Chwang's visit to Andhradesa in the early part of the seventh century A. D., the *Mahāvihāra*, the *Mahācaitya* of the Supreme Buddha and all other buildings of the Buddhist Church on Śrīparvata and

1 *A. S. I.* 1927-28, p. 103. See also *Ind. Ant.* LXI, (1932) p. 187.

in Vijayapurī were already in a state of utter desolation. The pilgrim saw Vijayapurī and Śrīparvata monasteries and *Mahācaitya* and other buildings only from a distance and recorded that the place was entirely a waste without either a priest or novice residing in it[1]. The pilgrim's description of the region called Mahā Andhra or Dhānyakaṭaka (Te-na-ka-che-ka) country and the account of the Monastery on the Bhramaragiri peak (Po-lo-mo-ki-li) erected by king Śātavahāna (Sādvaha) for Nāgārjuna admirably agree with the localities of Śrīparvata and Vijayapurī in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley. The account of the erection of the Great Monastery for Nāgārjuna and that of the Aparaśila and Pūrvaśila monasteries have to be read together as all of them clearly refer to Śrīparvata and Vijayapurī and king Śātavāhana. As pointed out elsewhere the record of *upāsika* Bōdhi Śrī amply corroborates the description of the Chinese Pilgrim; only it has to be divested of its legendary and supernatural anecdotes. The name of the mountain Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li on which king Śātavāhana is said to have built a monastery (*vihāra*) for Nāgārjuna has been restored into Sanskrit form as Bhramaragiri and translated as 'Black Hill' or 'Black-bee Hill'. It is indeed remarkable that the consort of the god Mallikārjuna-Śiva of Śrīśailam in Kurnool district is called Bhramarāmbikā. It is extremely likely that the Nallamalas which is the local Telugu name for the Eastern Ghats in the Guntur and Kurnool districts was Sanskritised as Bhramaragiriparvata. Thus the consort of Śiva, who was the goddess of the Bhramaragiri peak, acquired the appellation Bhramarāmbikā. This conjecture is corroborated by the testimony of the Chinese Pilgrim who states that king Śātavāhana built a great Monastery (*Mahāvihāra*) for the renowned monk Nāgārjuna on the mountain peak called Bhramaragiri. As pointed out elsewhere the whole range of the Nallamalas acquired the name Śrīparvata because it was studded with celebrated sacred spots like Tripurāntakam, Śrīśailam and Ahōbilam. The hill on which the

Yuan Chwang and Śrīparvata.

1 *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*: Beal. p. 136.

*Mahācaitya* of the Supreme Lord Buddha and the *Mahāvihara* stood has been identified with Śrīparvata of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley; and curiously enough it is an off-shoot of the Nallamalas. Fa-hien, too, heard about Śrīparvata or Parvata and Bhramaragiri monastery and left also an account of it in his *Travels*. "South from this, 200 *yojanas*, there is a country named Dakṣina where there is a monastery (dedicated to) the bygone Kāsyapa and which has been hewn out from a large hill of rock. It consists of five storeys in all. Because of this, the monastery is called Po-lo-yu (Paravata), that being the Indian name for pigeon. There are always *Arhats* residing in it.........The country about it is a tract of uncultivated hillocks, without inhabitants."[1] Fa-hien's Po-lo-yu represents the Sanskrit word Parvata, 'mountain' though it is belived that he heard the word as *Pārāvata* and accordingly translated by some writers as 'Pigeon.' The peculiar characters of the Chinese language must have obviously given rise to the error in the transcription of the word and consequently to the erroneous translation. It is therefore probable that what Fa-hien heard was only about the Parvata or Śrīparvata monastery and not Pārāvata monastery. The word *Paravata* with short vowels in the first two syllables in careless pronunciation in Telugu means 'a mountain.' There is no monastery called Pārāvata *Mahāvihāra* in the South, known to the Buddhist Church. That Śrīparvata was the proper name of the hill which was associated with Nāgārjuna is also proved by Tibetan literature[2]. Fa-hian's account of Mountain Monastery shows that it was the same as the *Mahāvihāra* on Śrīparvata. Yuan Chwang was for sometime in Andhradesa and in the province of Dhānyakaṭaka. He heard about Śātavāhana and Nāgārjuna and would certainly have visited Śrīparvata and Vijayapurī when he was so near the spot. His account clearly shows that he saw the desolate condition of the locality to his great sorrow. But against this view is the utter confusion that pervades his account which connects the Great Monastery where Nāgārjuna lived and died and king Śātavāhana

1 *Fa-hien* (Trans. by J. Leggee) Chap. XXXV, p. 96–98.

1 *ASSI*,, I. p. 7.

who built it, with Kōsala or Dakṣina Kōsala. But this can be explained by assuming that Yuan Chwang heard about Śrīparvata, Nāgārjuna and Śātavāhana, while he was still in Dakṣina Kōsala which lay contiguous with the Andhra country on the north, and that he visited the spot only after he came to Andhradesa. Barring this slight discrepancy the Pilgrim's account seems to suggest strongly that he saw from a distance Śrīparvata and the monastery where Nāgārjuna was believed to have lived and ended his life. In fact the *Life* as well as the *Siyuki* clearly state that Yuan Chwang did not go near the spot but saw the ruined and deserted buildings from a distance. Here is the Pilgrim's narrative. "At a hill to the east of the capital was a monastery called Pūrvasila (Fu-po-shih-lo) or 'East Mountain' and at a hill to the west of the city was the Avarasila (A-fa-lo-shih-lo) or 'West Mountain' monastery. These had been erected for the Buddha by a former king of the country who had made a communicating path by the river, and quarrying the rocks had formed high halls with long broad corridors contiguous with the steep sides of the hills. The local deities guarded the monasteries which had been frequented by saints and sages. During the millennium immediately following the Buddha's decease, a thousand ordinary brethren came here to spend the retreat of the rainy season. Afterwards common monks and *arhats* sojourned here together; but for more than one hundred years there had not been any brethren resident in the establishment and the visitors were deterred by the forms of wild animals which the mountain gods assumed."[1]

From the account of the Chinese Pilgrim, it appears further that the great dalectician Bhāvavivēka lived for sometime in a monastery on a hill at Vijayapurī[2]. Yuan Chwang states that the mountain cliff, which Bhāvavivēka entered by the magical power of the *dhāraṇi sūtras* lay not far from the south side of the capital. There is a hill called Kottaṁpalugubōḍu

1 Watters : *On Yuan Chwang's* etc. Vol. II. pp. 214–215.

2 *Ibid.* p. 215 ; See also Beal : *Budhist Records of the Western World.* Vol. II.

or Palugubōḍu on the south side of the valley and over-looking the river which answers to the description of the mountain cliff referred to by Yuan Chwang[1]. This hill runs from west to east and is situated to the west of the site of the ancient palace. At the eastern foot of this hill there are traces of a ruined *caitya*, the *stūpa* marked No. 6 by the archaeologists. Perhaps this is the cliff into which, according to Yuan Chwang, the *Bōdhisattva* Bhāvavivēka entered to remain in a state of bliss till the coming of Maitrēya as the Buddha[2].

A doubt has been raised as to whether the celebrated divine Nāgārjuna, the expounder of the Mādhyamika philosophy and the great preacher of the Mahāyāna doctrine, could be identical with Nāgārjuna who was connected with Śrīparvata on the Kṛṣṇa river[3]. The doubt is based partly on the account of Yuan Chwang himself, who connects Nāgārjuna with Dakṣiṇa Kōsala which is believed to be far away from the Andhra country and Śrīparvata, and partly on the existence of two celebrities known by the name Nāgārjuna, roughly at an interval of three or four centuries. It is true that Yuan Chwang connects Nāgārjuna with Dakṣina Kōsala and also calls him a friend of king Sādvaha or Śātavāhana who built for him a great mountain monastery. But it must be noted that Yuan Chwang's account of the kingdoms of the South is somewhat meagre, confused and unsatisfactory, as it seems to be a report made from hearsay sometimes. The Pilgrim's itinerary has to be understood in its proper perspective with reference to the route by which he travelled before his account of Nāgārjuna, Śātavāhana and others is examined. He seems to have heard during his sojourn in Dakṣiṇa Kōsala about the mountain monastery in which Nāgārjuna lived and died and which was believed to have been built by king Śātavāhana but did not visit it then. He appears to have visited it only during his

1 *A. S. I.*, 1928–29, p. 103.

2 Watters: *On Yuan Chwang*'s etc. Vol. II. p. 215.

3 *I. H. Q.*, Vol. VII, pp. 634–639. "*Notes on Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Inscriptions*", by Dr. Nalinākṣa Dutt.

stay in the Andhra country. Thus there is inexplicable confusion in his description.

The route which Yuan Chwang took in his travels in Dakṣināpatha seems to be at first sight confused and incomprehensible. But a careful examination will easily show that it is not really so. The Pilgrim's route is such that the modern geographer is not acquainted with. One should go back to the seventh century to understand the route of the Chinese Pilgrim and imagine the topography of the eastern kingdoms of Dakṣiṇāpatha. The Pilgrim travelled from Konyoḍha, the region lying on the banks of the Cilka lake and extending from the Mahānadī on the north and Ṛṣikulyā and Mahēndragiri on the south, to Kalinga. It is said that he did not proceed directly southwards but travelled in a south-westerly direction about 1500 *li* (or 300 miles) and reached Kalinga. The kingdom of Kalinga at that period extended apparently from the river Ṛṣikulyā on the north-east to the Śārada on the south or south-west and was surrounded on all sides except on the east by extensive forests. From Kalinga the Pilgrim proceeded in a north-westerly direction; and after travelling about 1800 *li* or 360 miles, he reached the capital of South Kosala. From there through impenetrable wilderness Yuan Chwang travelled south (according to *Travels*) and south-east (according to *Life*) through a forest, about 900 *li* and reached Antolo or the Andhra country. This country was about 300 li in circuit, and its capital, Ping-ki-lo, was over 20 *li* in circuit. Ping-ki-lo has been identified with Vēṅgī or Vēṅgīpura, and located near Ellore in the West Godavari district. The site of the ancient Vēṅgīpura is an extensive area studded with ruins and covered by numerous villages notable among them being Peda-Vēgī, Cina-Vēgi and Dendulūru. But according to the Eastern Cālukyan inscriptions the capital of Andhra or Vēṅgī country at the time of the Pilgrim's visit would appear to be Piṣṭapura and not Vēṅgīpura[1]. From the capital, Ping-ki-lo, be it Piṣṭapura or Vēṅgīpura, the Pilgrim travelled south through wood and jungle for over 1000 *li* to Te-na-ka-che-ka country

1 *E. I.*, IX, p. 317 ff.

which has been identified with the Dhanakaṭaka region on the Kṛṣṇa river. The Pilgrim called the Dhanakaṭaka country by the name Mah-Āndhra and stated that Dakṣiṇa Kōsala was contiguous with the kingdom of Andhra on the south, though extensive forests separated them both. The distances given by the Pilgrim do not agree with the realities and they seem to be either wrong or confused accounts. Leaving aside the consideration of the distances that separated the various kingdoms of the south, one has to note that the Pilgrim recorded sometimes what he saw and sometimes what he heard without any discrimination. Therefore his account has to be reconciled with the existing antiquities of the land.

As Dakṣiṇa Kosala is said to be contiguous with the Andhra country in early times, it is probable that Yuan Chwang confused the accounts he heard about Nāgārjuna and Śātavāhana. But it must be remembered that during the hey-day of the Śātavāhanas, the Andhra empire included Dakṣiṇa Kosala. The empire of the Ikṣvākus too would appear to have embraced that region. The place where Dakṣiṇa Kosala and Andhra meet was forest country fourteen hundred years ago, as it is even to day. During the Andhra period the capital of the Imperial Śātavāhanas was Dhanakaṭaka or Dhānyakaṭaka on the Kṛṣṇa river and the Śātavāhana who was the lord of Andhradesa was also king of Dakṣina Kosala. According to Yuan Chwang, king Śātavāhana (Yin-Cheng) had quarried for Nāgārjuna a monastery in the mountain and had cut in the rock a path communicating with the monastery for above 10 li. "The monastery had cloisters and lofty halls: these halls were in five tiers, each with four courts, with temples containing life size gold images of the Buddha, of perfect artistic beauty. It was well supplied with running water, and the chambers were well lighted by windows cut in the rock. In the formation of the establishment, it is said that in the topmost hall Nāgārjuna deposited the scriptures of Śākyamuni Buddha and the writings of the Puruṣas. In the lowest hall were the laymen attached to the monastery and the stores; and the intermediate halls were the lodgings of the *Bhikṣus*." The description left by

Yuan Chwang agrees thus in every detail with the vast area of ruined buildings on Śrīparvata. According to a Tibetan account, Nāgārjuna is said to have governed the Buddhist Church for about sixty years, from about 137 to 194 A. D. This date, if correct, makes the Buddhist divine a contemporary of four Śātavāhana kings, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Pulumāvi II (116–144 A. D.) Śiva Śrī Caṭaraphaṇa (144—157 A. D.), Gautamiputra Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi (157-186 A. D.) and lastly Śrī Vijaya (186-191 A. D.). And the great Śātavāhana king who would have built the *Mahāvihāra* and *Mahācaitya* at Śrīparvata for Nāgārjuna might be Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Pulumāvi II. It would thus appear that both from local traditions and inscriptions that Nāgārjuna was connected with Śrīparvata on the Kṛṣṇa river. Moreover, no Buddhist buildings of repute have been found anywhere in the South, not even in the districts of Chanda and Raipur of the Chattisgarh division which formed part of the ancient kingdom of Dakṣiṇa Kōsala, which can answer to the description of the buildings left by Yuan Chwang. A small temple dedicated to Nāgārjuna at Rāmagiri (Ramtek) near Nagpur cannot be identified with the locality. Even the Viñjhāsāni Hill near Bhandak in Chanda district, which has been assumed to represent the hill Śrīparvata, according to Ferguson, does not answer to the description given by the Chinese Pilgrim, though it has a cave dedicated to Nāgārjuna which marks it out as an ancient place[1]. It is, therefore, impossible to believe that Śrīparvata was any other celebrated hill than the one on the Kṛṣṇa river in the Andhra country and referred to in the inscription of Bōdhisiri.

An objection to the above conclusion is that there were apparently two persons of the name of Nāgārjuna. No doubt there existed two persons of the name of Nāgārjuna, wao became celebrated in the history of Buddhism in the Andhra country. According to the testimony of the Tibetan writers, there lived a Nāgārjuna on Śrīparvata near Dhānyakaṭaka[2]. He was born

1 *ASSI*. Vol. I. pp. 6-7.

2 Tārānātha: *History of Buddhism*, pp. 301, 303, and p. 85.

of a Brāhmana family of Vidarbha[1]. This Tibetan tradition seems to have been based evidently on the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, where it is stated that at Veḍālī in Dakṣināpatha, "there will be a renowned monk (*bhikku*) known by the name Nāga (Nāgāhvaya), the supporter of the doctrine of both existence and non-existence, or the *Mādhyamika-vāda*."[2] The *Mañjus'rīmūlakalpa* gives a few more particulars corroborating the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* but without any information about Nāgārjuna's birthplace or the chief centre of his activites.[3] It states that "in the fourth century after the *parinirvāṇa*, that is four hundred years after the *Nirvāṇa* of the Supreme Buddha, there will be born a monk known by the name Nāga, engaged in doing good to the Faith. By attaining the *mudita* stage he will live for six hundred years. He will attain perfection in the *Māyūrīvidyā* and become master of the knowledge of the various *Śāstras* and *dhātus* and of the non-reality of all things. He will, after demise, be born in Sukhāvati and in due course attain to Buddhahood." The *Mañjus'rīmūlakalpa*, which belongs to sometime prior to the seventh century A. D., seems to mix up the traditions relating to more than one person bearing the name Nāgārjuna.[4] While it corroborates the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* when it states that Nāgārjuna will be the propounder of the Middle Path i. e. *Mādhyamika-vāda* which advocates neither the absolute reality of the existence nor the total unreality of the world and that he will after attaining the *Pramudita* stage be born in Sukhāvati, it differs from it when it omits the prophetic statement that Nāgārjuna will propagate the Mahāyāna doctrine of Buddhism. On the other hand, it

1 *Opi. Cit.*

2 *Mañjus'rīmūlakalpa* as corrected by Ven. Rāhula Saṁkṛtyāyana See. 9. (p. 35) Verses 490–493. See K. P. Jayaswal : *An Imperial History of India.*

3 *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* ; Ed. by Bunyiu Nanjio ; *Sagāthakam*, p. 286. " Dakṣiṇāpatha Vēdalyām bhikṣuḥ S'rīmān mahāyas'aḥ Nāgāhvayaḥ sa nāmnā tu sadasat-pakṣa-dārakaḥ " It is interesting to note that there are several Brāhman families in Andhradesa which bear the family name Vaḍāli (Veḍāli) which indicates apparently that the families once immigrated from the village Veḍali or Vadāli. There is a village of that name in Telingana.

4 The Tibetan translation of the *Mañjus'rīmūlakalpa* was made in the XI century. See Csoma Korosi, *As. Res.* Vol. XX, p. 432. See also *Sādhanamālā*, Vol. II (B. Bhattacharya), Introd. p. xiv f.

states that he will attain perfection in the *Māyūrīvidya* and will live for six centuries. The *Mañjus'rīmūlakalpa* evidently mixes up two traditions, the one about the expounder of the Mādhyamika philosophy of the Mahāyāna school and the other about Nāgārjuna who attained perfection in the *Māyūrīvidya*. Of these two traditions, the former originated in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* which was composed during the fourth century A. D. and the latter in the *Mahāsiddhavṛttānta* which was compiled in or about the eleventh century A. D.[1] Thus in the ancient tradition, taking the two Nāgārjunas to be a single person, his span of life was supposed to be six hundred years. Tārānatha, who obtained his information about Nāgārjuna mostly from *Mañjus'rīmūlakalpa*, accepted the view and gave currency to it. But at the same time the Tibetan tradition mentions a Nāgārjuna who is regarded as *Tantric guru*, being the disciple of Saraha.[2] Thus it seems possible that incidents connected with the life of the second Nāgārjuna were carelessly mixed up with the life of the first.

Thus it would appear that the tradition recorded in the *Mañjus'rīmūlakalpa* crept into Tibetan literature. The latter hopelessly confused the accounts of Nāgārjuna, the disciple of As'vaghōṣa with the disciple of Saraha. The former flourished in the second century A. D. and was the preceptor (*guru*) of Āryadēva, while the other, the disciple of Saraha, lived somewhere in the sixth century.[3] They were separated by an interval of at least three centuries. The Chinese sources, however, do not take into account the latter Nāgārjuna who must be distinguished as Tantric Nāgārjuna who attained perfection in the *Māyūrīvidya*. The second Nāgārjuna was a

1 *JRAS*, 1905, p. 831f. See also *I. H. Q.*, Vol. VII, pp. 636-37. The tradition is recorded in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*. (*Sagāthakam*) which is the last chapter at is supposed to be as old as the fourth century A. D. as the Chinese translation of this chapter was made by Bōdhiruci in 513 A. D. and Sikṣānanda in 704 A. D. See also Wallesser: Life of Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and other sources. (Hirth Anniversary Vol. pp. 20 ff.)

2 *Sādhanamāla* (Gaekwad Oriental Series) Vol. II. Introd. p. xli ff.

3 Dr. B. Bhattacharya in his *Introduction* (p. xlv,) to the *Sādhanamālā* Vol. II, places the second Nāgārjuna in the seventh century A. D. This view is untenable because Yuan Chwang who was in India about that time claimed to have met a disciple of Nāgārjuna who was living for some one hundred years previously. Watters: *On Yuan Chwang* etc Vol. I. p. 287.

follower of Vajrayāna. It is distinctly stated in the colophon in the *Sādhanamālā* that Siddha-Nāgārjuna rescued *Ēkajaṭā-Sādhana* from the country of Bhōṭa, which may be identified with Tibet. Therefore to attribute the mastery of the *Māyūrīvidya* to the Nāgārjuna who was the expounder of the Mādhyamika philosophy is absurd on the face of it. It is clear, therefore, that both the Indian accounts and the Tibetan traditions, which followed the former, got into hopeless confusion and mixed up the accounts of the lives and times of two personages of the name Nāgārjuna.

Two Nāgārjunas: Ācārya Nāgārjuna and Siddha Nāgārjuna.

The earlier saint, *Ācārya* Nāgārjuna must be distinguished from the later Tantric *guru*, *Siddha* Nāgārjuna, who was one of the eighty-four *siddhas*.[1] As pointed out above, the existence of Tantric Nāgārjuna is preserved beyond doubt by the tradition recorded in Tibet. He was bron at Kahora, a part of Kāñcīpura, educated at Nālanda where he learned the *śāstras*, practised the *siddhis* and visualised the goddess Tārā.[2] Though the earlier Nāgārjuna, the preacher of the Mahāyāna doctrine of Buddhism, lived in a monastery on Śrīparvata and lent his name to that locality, it seems probable also that the later Nāgārjuna or Siddha Nāgārjuna who practised and taught Tantric Buddhism, performed miracles and displayed superhuman powers, presumably perpetuated his name on Śrīparvata as Nāgārjunakoṇḍa or the 'Hill of Nāgārjuna.' As a matter of fact it is stated that Siddha Nāgārjuna lived for some time at Ghanṭasāla and then went over to Śrīparvata where he spent the last years of his life.

The existence of second Nāgārjuna is also proved by a Sanskrit inscription found at Jaggayyapēṭa. It records the setting up of a statue (*pratima*) of the Buddha by one Candraprabhācārya[3]. The donor calls himself the disciple of Jayaprabhācārya. The inscription states that the statue of the

1 A. Grunwedel: *The History of the Mahasiddhas*. See also the *Sādhanamālā* (Gaekwad Series) Vol. II. Ed. Bhattacharya *Introd*. p. lxvi.

2 *Sādhanamālā*, Vol. II., Introduction, p. xli.

3 *ASSI*, I., p. 112.

Buddha (*Buddhapratimā*) was set up with the desire of attaining the *Buddhatva* or Buddhahood by Candraprabhācārya. The characters of the inscription clearly belong to the sixth century A. D.; therefore *Bhadanta* Nāgārjunacārya referred to in the inscription must have lived obviously about the fifth century. It is plain also that *Bhadanta* Nāgārjuna was not the earlier Nāgārjuna or *Ācārya* Nāgārjuna: he would accordingly appear to be the same as the later Tantric or Siddha Nāgārjuna, who became famous for his mastery of *Mayūrīvidya*. Apparently both the celebrated Buddhist divines were connected with the Andhra country; and they lent their names to the celebrated hill Śrīparvata.[1]

## VII

## *Buddhism in Andhradesa.*

The inscriptions of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Amarāvati and Jaggayyapēṭa which belong to the Ikṣvāku period reveal to us the names of several schools of the Mahāsāṁghikas that flourished in Andhradesa from the second century B. C. to the third century A. D. When the *Baudddha-ācāryas* or Masters began to differ among themselves on minor points, the Church became early split up into two great schools or sects.[2] They were known as the *Mahāsāṁghikas* or the 'School of the Great Congregation' and the *Mahāstavīras*, or the 'School of the Great President'. The Buddhist Monks that assembled at the Second Council in 390 B.C. expelled ten thousand Bhikhus of Vais'āli for having violated certain rules of Theravāda. The excluded monks came to be called the Mahāsāṁghikas.[3] The derivation of the term *Mahāsāṁghika*, according to Yuan Chwang, is as follows: "It was because in the assembly both common folk and holy personages were mixed together that it was called the Assembly of the

Buddhism in Andhradesa.

1 It would appear that at last when S'rīparvata, the original Nāgārjunakoṇḍa was laid waste and ploughed down and when its glory was wiped out, the largest hill of the locality which flanks the valley on the north, acquired the name and came to be known as Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, 'the Hill of Nāgārjuna.'

2 *A S S I*., I., p. 112.

3 Satischandra Vidyabhushana: *The History of Indian Logic*, p. 226.

Mahāsaṁgha, or the "Great Congregation."[1] This account differs from the common tradition which makes the school of the Mahāsāṁghikas date from the schism at Vais'āli. The statement of the Chinese Pilgrim, however, that *five* additional *piṭakas* were collected at this Great Assembly is a useful and suggestive one.[2] The Mahāsāṁghikas, soon after, split up into five schools again, known as the Caityas or Caitya-silas or Pūrvasailas, the Aparas'ailas or Avaras'ailas, the Haimavatas, the Lōkōttaravādins and Prajñāpāramitavādins.[3] The last three of these sects apparently did not flourish in the Andhra country. The first two would seem to have again become divided into minor schools owing to certain differences in details. The Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions mention from among them the Ayirahaṁgha (Āryasaṁgha), the Aparamahāvaniseliya or Aparamahāvanas'ailīya or Aparas'ilīya, the Puvaseliya or Pubbaseliya or Pūrvas'ailīya, the Bahusutīya (Bahus'rutīya) and lastly Mahisāsaka or Mahiṁs'āsaka[4] sects. The Aparaseliyas and Mahisāsakas were sub-divisions of the Theravādins, and the Bahusrutīyas a branch of the Gokulika sub-sect of the Mahāsāmghikas. The Amarāvati inscriptions mention besides, the Haṁghi evidently the Arya-samgha, the Mahāvanaseliyāna who might be identical with the Aparamahāvinaseliya, the Rājasilas or Rajagiri-nivāsakas and Caityas or Cetiavadakasas and lastly the Sidhāthika or Siddharthikas.[5] All these subdivisions were undoubtedly branches of the great sect called the Mahāsaṁgha and were called the Mahāsāṁghikas and belonged to the Sautrāntika school of philosophy.[6] The Mahāsāṁghika school that flourished in the Andhra country developed its own features and became subdivided into four

1 S. Beal : *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II., pp. 164–5.

2 They are Sutta, Vinaya, Abhidhaṁma, Dhāraṇi *piṭakas* and the fifth miscellaneous *Piṭaka* called Kuddanikāya.

3 *A. S. S. I.*, Vol. I. p. 24.

4 See *E. I.*, XX. Insc. Nos. C 1, C 2, E, G and H The Āryasaṁgha is mentioned also in the Amaravati inscriptions. (Luder's List, Nos. 1276 & 1280) The Puvasela is referred to not as a separate sect but as a place name in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions. But the Allūru Fragmentary Prakrit inscription distinctly refers to the Pūrvas'ailiyas as a *nikāya* or sect. (Annl. Rep. *S. I. E.* 1923-24, Part II, p. 97.,)

5 See *A S S I.*, I., pp. 105, 53, 104, and 100, 102 and 110, respectively.

6 Satiș Chandra Vidyabhushana : *A History of Indian Logic*, p. 247.

sects, and thus in course of time came to be slightly different and even distinct from the Mahāsāṁghika sect of the other parts of India. Consequently the Mahāsāṁghikas of Andhradesa came to be called Andhakas.[1]

Peculiarities of the Andhaka School.

A careful study of the antiquities and the inscriptions of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa reveals to us some peculiarities relating to the Andhaka or the Mahāsāṁghika school of the Andhra country. A striking feature of the monastic buildings of the Buddhists of the Andhaka school at Śrīparvata is the plan of their construction. A monastery or *saṁghārāma* is a unit of five buildings. It consisted of a *stūpa* with altars on four cardinal sides and a *pradakṣiṇapatha* round about it; then, in front of the *stūpa* stand two *caitya-gṛhas*, one on the left and another on the right side of it; then the *silāmaṇḍava*, and on the three sides of it is the *catus's'āla*. Of the two *caitya-gṛhas*, the one on the left, as one faces the *stūpa* is the *Dagoba caitya* and the other on the right is the *Buddha-caitya*.

The *stūpas* of Andhradesa differ materially from those found in the north, both in plan and construction[2]. "They are built in the form of a wheel with a hub, spokes and tyre all complete and executed in brickwork. The open spaces between the radiating walls were filled up with earth, and the dome or brick casing built over the structure. The *stūpas* were covered with *chunam*, or fine shell lime plaster, from top to bottom, and the moulding and other ornamentation were usually executed in stucco or plaster. The dome rested on a circular platform or drum from 2 to 5 feet in height according to the size of the monument. On the top of the drum was a narrow path encircling the foot of the dome and on each of the four sides, facing the cardinal points, was a rectangular platform resembling an altar and of the same height as the drum. In the inscriptions these platforms are

1 *I. H. Q.*, Vol. VII., pp. 648–49. Buddhaghōṣa speaks of the Andhakas and not of the Mahāsāṁghikas as flourishing in his time in the Andhra country. Evidently he calls them Andhakas in order to distinguish them from the Mahāsāṁghikas of other parts of India.

2 *Ind. Ant.* LXI, p. 188.

described as *āvaka* platforms, because they usually supported a group of five stone pillars, called *āyaka-khambas* or *āyaka* pillars. The precise meaning of the word *ayaka* is not known, but it is used much as we use the word 'altar'. From the bas-relief representations of *stūpas* recovered from the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Amarāvati stupas, the *āyaka* platform appears as an altar, on which pious donors are portrayed depositing their offerings of fruit and flowers. All Andhra *stūpas* had these platforms, but only those belonging to large and important monuments were provided with pillars. As each group consisted of five pillars, the total number of pillars for each *stūpa* so decorated was twenty. The inscriptions show that these pillars represent gifts made to the *stūpa* in honour of the Buddha and to the merit of the pious donors who provided the money for the work.

"The *āyaka* pillars vary from 10 to 30 feet in height, with square bases and octagonal shafts. The tops are round, showing that they could not have supported capitals or any other kind of ornaments. In some of the bas-relief pictures of *stūpas*, the pillars are shown crowned with *triśūla* ornaments, the centre pillar often with a miniature *stūpa* as a capital. These ornaments are purely decorative and merely indicate that the pillars were dedicated to the Buddha; and the inscriptions confirm this." The scenes portrayed in the sculptures seem to throw light on the symbolism of the five ayaka pillars at each of the four cardinal points. The frequency of 'fives' in all Buddhist sculptures of Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa may be noted. Could it be that the number 'five' was sacred to the Andhras of the ancient period ?[1] "The chief scenes portrayed in the sculptures recovered from the Andhra *stūpas* represent the five great 'miracles,' or chief events in the life of the Buddha, namely, the Nativity, Renunciation, *Saṁbodhi*, the First Sermon, and the *Nirvāṇa*. These five incidents are portrayed over and over again, either as beautifully executed bas-reliefs or else as conventional symbols, such as a tree, wheel and *stupa*. In this form these five incidents are found engraved on some

1 See *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. lxxvii, fgs 2, 3, p. 219.




A detail of the *Āyaka* Pillar panel: From the Amarāvatī Stūpa.

(Now to be seen in the Government Museum, Madras.)

*By courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.*

P. 100

of the bases of the *ayaka* pillars belonging to the Amaravati *stupa* now in the Madras Museum; and the same can be seen on the four bases of the *āyaka* pillars discovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, where each is ornamented with a bas-relief representation of the 'First Sermon.' We know Asoka erected pillars to mark the sacred spots where the events are said to have occurred in Nepal and Bihar. As it was impossible for those living in the lower Kṛṣṇa valley of the Andhra country to erect pillars on the actual spots in Northern India, they seem to have hit upon the idea of conventionalising the pillars into groups of five for the sake of convenience, so that the events could be commemorated locally. Perhaps, this also added to the splendour and importance of the *stūpas*, as in the case of the Amarāvati *stūpa*, where the stone casing to the dome, the *āyaka*-platforms and pillars, and the stone railing, were all added to the monument in the second or third century A. D. This we know from the inscriptions belonging to that monument. In earlier times the *āyaka*-pillars were unknown; and they only occur in the Andhra *stūpas* of that period."[1] Thus this conventionalism was peculiar to the Andhra country and to the Andhaka school.

Another peculiarity of the Andhaka school is the conception of the godliness of the Buddha. In the inscriptions of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa the Buddha is described as *Bhagavato deva rāja-sakatasa supabuddha-bodhino savaṁñuno sava-sat-ānukaṁpakasa jitarāga-dosa-moha vipamutasa mahagaṇi-vasabha gaṁdha-hathisa Saṁma-Saṁbudhasa dhātuvara pari gahitasa*[2], "The Lord, the Supreme Buddha, honoured by the Lord of the gods, omniscient, enlightened with perfect enlightenment, compassionate to all sentient beings, freed from lust, hatred and delusion, which have been conquered by him, the bull and musk-elephant among great spiritual leaders, absorbed by the best of elements, the perfectly Enlightened One." This conception is somewhat elaborately expressed

1 I have quoted in extenso the views of the archaeologist Mr. A. H. Longhurst from his article in the *Ind. Ant.* LXI, (p. 188.)

2 *E. I.*, XX, p. Nos. B4 and B5 pp. 18-19.

in the record of the *upāsikā* Bodhisiri at the *Mahācaitya* on Śrīparvata. In this inscription the Buddha is described as *Bhagavato deva manusa sata hita sukha maga desikasa jitakama kodha bhaya harisa tarisa moha dosa sadapita mara bala dapa mānapasamana karasa dasa bala mahā balasa aṭhaṁga maga dhamacaka pavatakasa caka lakhana sukumāra sujāta caraṇasa, taruṇa divasakara pabhāsa sarada sasi soma darisanasa sava loka cita mahitasa Buddhasa,* "The Lord, who has shown the road to welfare and happiness to gods and men and all beings, who has conquered and put down the pride and arrogance of Māra's hosts, called lust, anger, fear, desire, thirst, delusion, and hatred; who, great of power, is possessed of the ten powers, who has set in motion the Wheel-of-the Law (pertaining to) the Eight-fold Path, whose graceful and well formed feet are marked with the sign of the wheel, whose splendour is that of newly risen sun, whose sight is lovely as that of the autumnal moon, and who is magnified by the thoughts of all the world." Still another record speaks of the Buddha as *Bhagavato teloka-dhaṁma-dhura vahasa* (*Trailokya-dharma-dhurā-vaha*),[1] "the Lord, the leader of the Law of the Three Worlds."

Thirdly, the donor who makes a gift and the devotee who invokes the praises of the Buddha expect merit which they can transfer (*pariṇametum*) to their relatives. This article of faith is not recognised in the Pali works, where *atta-dipa atta-saraṇa* is the maxim.[2] In all these cases of *deyadhaṁma* (pious gifts) at Śrīparvata, the donors expect spiritual merit for themselves and their relatives by which they can attain "welfare and happiness in both the worlds" (*ubhaya-loka-hita-sukhavaha-thanaya*) and also, (*Sava-loka-hita-āvahathanāya*) "the welfare and happiness for all sentient beings of the world." The donors in addition to this, also expect to attain the bliss of Nirvāṇa (*Nirvāṇa-saṁpatti-sampādake*) for themselves alone by their pious benefactions. This view is somewhat elaborately expressed in a record of the *Mahātalavari* Śānti Śrī dated the

1 *Ibid.* Insc. G. p. 23.

2 *I. H. Q.*, VII, p. 649.

eighteenth year of king Māṭharīputra Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta's reign. A *caitya* temple was erected at the foot of the *Mahācaitya* and consecrated...for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness in both the worlds-and, of Nirvāṇa... This view of the *upāsakas* and *upāsikas* of the Andhra country that pious gifts may bring welfare and happiness to all, and the bliss of Nirvāṇa only to the donor is very interesting. It is all the more peculiar because, it does not find a place in the records of the *Mahādēvī* Kodabalisiri, Queen of Vanavāsa, or of *Upasikā* Bodhisiri, or even of *Upāsaka* Siddhārtha at Jaggayyapēṭa[1]. In all these, the desire of the donor is to secure "endless welfare and happiness of the assembly of saints, and the sentient beings of the whole world." It has been recently suggested that the distinction drawn in this manner might probably be due to the fact that the donors, Mahādēvī Kodabalisiri and Bodhisiri, were not followers of the the Mahāsāṁghika school of Andhradesa. Accordingly they seem to belong to the Arya-sarvāsti-vada school.[2] The Andhakas apparently conceived the bliss of *Nirvana* as a "positive faultless state, a conception, which can hardly be accepted by the Theravādins, who speak of realising *Nibbāna* (*Nirvaṇa*) within one's own self (*pacchatam veditabbo vinnuhi*) and not of grasping the same as some object producing pure happiness. Thus the expression *nirvāna saṁpatti saṁpādake* cannot be the utterance of a follower of a sect other than the Andhakas. This distinction in the Buddhist doctrines of the Mahāsāṁghikas of the Andhra country may well be said to be one of its chief peculiarities which led to the calling of the Mahāsāṁghikas of Andhradesa by the appellation 'Andhakas.' Curiously enough even though Buddhism had totally disappeared from Andhradesa this particular article of faith survived and crept into the later day Brahmanism that displaced Buddhism. Thus all votive offerings to the gods in the temples of Andhradesa from the fifth century onwards till the sixteenth century were made by

1 *ASSI*, Vol. I., pp. 110-114.

2 "*Notes on the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Inscriptions*" by Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt, in *I.H.Q.*, VII, pp. 649-50.

the donors in the hope of acquiring endless spiritual merit for themselves and their relations, as the phrase *tamaku akṣaya sukṛtam-avunaṭlu-gānu* which appears frequently in the records would show.

A fourth peculiarity of the Andhaka school lay in the study of the religious texts which were somewhat special to them. It appears from the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions that the *ācaryas* of the Mahāsāṁghika sect studied the *Dīgha* and the *Majhima-nikāyas* by heart as well as the *Panca-Mātukas*. The significance of the expressions *Dīgha-Majhima-paṁca-mātuka desaka vācakānām* and *Dīgha Majhima nikāya dhareṇa* lies in the fact, that here we have the earliest epigraphical record which gives the names of two of the five *nikāyas* into which the *Sutta-piṭaka*, one of the Tri-pīṭaka was divided.[1] Again the expression *Dīgha Majhima nikāya dhareṇa* which is mentioned as an attribute to the *Bhadaṁta* Ānanda is an unusual one as it does not appear at all in Pali literature. The Pali expressions which repeatedly appear in every *Nikāya* for referring to the *ācaryas* of various branches of Buddhist literature are *Dhaṁmakathika*, *Dhaṁmadhara*, *Vinayadhara* and *Mātukadhara* and *not Nikāyadhara*[2]. It has been pointed out that this slight difference seems to indicate that the Mahāsāṁkhikas or the Aparamahāvinaseliyas of the Arya-samgha of the Andhra country were not exactly the followers of the Theravada or the Pali school, but had a literature and tradition of their own which was somewhat similar to those of the Theravādins.[3] The expression *Pañca-Mātuka* also points to the same inference, namely, that the Mahāsāṁghikas or the Andhakas were different from the Theravādins. The term *Mātuka*, *Mātika* or *Mātṛka* is commonly the appellation for the *Abhidhaṁmapiṭaka* as given in the Pali texts; but there is evidence of the Mahāsāṁghikas having divided it into five divisions. There is, however, the information supplied by Yuan Chwang that he himself had studied the *Adhidhaṁma-*

1 *I. H. Q.*, Vol. VII, pp. 640 ff.

2 *Opi. Cit.* p. 641 f.

3 *Opi. Cit.* p. 642 f.

*piṭaka* under two monks during his stay in the Dhānyakaṭaka region in the seventh century A. D.; but he is not an authority to believe that the Mahāsāṁghikas of Andhradesa had an *Abhidhammapiṭaka* of their own which was divided into five sections. It is said that *Vinayapiṭaka* of the Mahāsāṁghikas was divided into five parts and that the Mahāsāṁghikas had a particular fancy for the number 'five', for they repeatedly mention this number while speaking of the divisions of the *Vinaya* rules[1]. Thus it appears that the term *Mātṛka* was used to denote both the *Vinaya* and the *Abhidhammapiṭakas*[2]. But in asmuch as five of the principal schools of the Buddhists, namely, the Theravāda, Mahisāsaka, Haimavata, Sarvāstivāda, and the Mahāsāṁghika, had their *Vinaya-piṭaka* in five divisions and in view of the fact that the appropriate place of the *Vinaya* is after the *Nikāyas*, the term *Pañca-Mātuka-dhara* seems to refer to one who knows by heart the *Vinaya-piṭaka* and belongs to the Mahāsāṁghika sect. The inscriptions of Amarāvati *Stūpa* and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and the doctrinal evidence seem to suggest this inference[3].

The *Mahācaitya* on Śrīparvata at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa must have been a perfect example of a plain Andhra *stūpa*. It was built of large bricks measuring 20" x 10" x 3", and in the usual form of a wheel. It was covered with plaster from top to bottom, the dome being decorated with the usual garland ornament, and the drum with a few simple mouldings executed in plaster. No stone was used in its construction, the *āyaka-khambas* alone being of that material, and, as at Amarāvati, they probably represent a later addition to the *Stūpa*. They were gifts, as the inscriptions show, and were erected in the middle of the third century A. D. The diameter of the *Stūpa* including the drum is 106 feet, the drum is raised five feet above the ground level and the total height of the monument, excluding the *Tee*, must have been

The *Mahācaitya* at Nagarjunakonda.

1 *Opi. Cit.* p. 645.

2 *Opi. Cit.* p. 644.

3 Pryzuluski: *Le Concile de Rajagriha*, quoted by Dr. Nalikaksha Dutt in *I. H. Q.*, VII, p. 646.

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about 70 to 80 feet. On the top of the drum is a narrow path, seven feet wide, extending all round the base of the dome. No traces of steps to this path are found, but it is possible that they may have existed. No steps are depicted in the bas-relief representations of *stūpas*, so perhaps there were none to any of these monuments. The *āyaka*-platforms are 22 feet in length and 5 feet in width, and the bases of the five stone pillars were securely built into the brick-work. There are no traces of stone rails or *tōraṇas*, as at Amarāvati and Sāñcī, found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and it is clear that there existed none at Śrīparvata. The sanctity and importance of the Great *Stūpa* at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa was due to the fact that in it was enshrined the genuine relic of the Supreme Buddha. All the inscriptions clearly refer to the *Mahācaitya* as the *dhātugarbha* of the Buddha. It appears from the inscriptions that the *Mahācaitya* which had been apparently in ruins for a long time was re-erected by the royal ladies in the sixth year of king Māṭharīputra Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta. The re-erection must have been a notable event for it seems to have synchronised with the conversion of Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta to the Buddhist faith. It is also probable that the Ikṣvāku king contributed to the erection of the *Mahācaitya* though there has not been any epigraphical evidence in support of it. The inscriptions show that the pious foundation was completed and the pillars were set up under the superintendence of the great Monk-architect *Bhadanta Ācārya* Ānanda who knew the *Dīgha* and *Majhima Nikāyas* by heart and who was a disciple of the Masters (*ācāryas*) of the Āryasaṁgha, who were resident of Paṁnagāma and who were preachers and preceptors of the *Dīgha* and the *Majhima nikāyas*, and of five *Mātukas*. *Bhadanta* Ānanda was probably the greatest divine of the Andhra country of the third century A.D. and, was also responsible for the conversion of the Ikṣvāku monarch to Buddhism.

The re-erection of the *Mahācatiya* took place about 225 A. D. according to the chronology proposed by us for the Ikṣvāku dynasty. The *Mahācaitya* and the *Mahā-vihāra* on Śrīparvata which had been built probably in the early part of




Relics recovered from the Great Stupa at Nagarjunikonda:
1. Dhatu relic; 2. Gold reliquary (actual size) the
rest are the contents.

*By the kind courtesy of the Archl. Surv. of India.*

the second century must have become ruined and desolate in the closing years of the Śātavāhana epoch, as most of the later members of the Imperial family were followers of Brahmanism. The first Ikṣvāku monarch, as the inscriptions show, was a devout and orthodox Brāhmaṇa and the performer of the Agniṣṭoma, Vājapēya and As'vamēdha sacrifices. Accordingly Buddhism at Śrīparvata declined. We can even go to the length of saying that it was not even tolerated. Buddhism revived only in the reign of king Māṭharīputra and that too after his conversion.

CHAPTER V.

## *The Decline and fall of the Ikṣvāku Dynasty.*

### 3. Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Bahubala Śāntamūla c. 239—252 A. D.

On the renunciation of the kingdom by Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta, his son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Bahubala Śāntamūla ascended the throne[1]. He was the son of *Mahādēvi* Vāsiṣṭhī Bhaṭṭidēva. He was probably the last of the Imperial Ikṣvākus. Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta's death or renunciation may be placed about the second day of the first fortnight of the rainy season of the twentieth year of his reign, according to the inscription on the memorial pillar near the palace site at Vijayapurī[2], (i. e ,) about the close of the year 238-9 A. D. It would appear to have taken place at a time when the Pallava king Vīrakūrcavarman was reigning at Vaijayanti having overpowered his rival, the Kadamba, Śivaskandavarman of the Mānavya-gotra and his allies. Srī Vīrapuruṣadatta was probably induced to abdication in favour of his young son, because of the defeat of his armies in the south. Or, it might have been that his renunciation was inspired by purely religious motives. The closing years of his reign, particularly from the 15th to the 18th year, as the inscriptions show, were eventful. His paternal aunt and mother-in-law *Mahātalavari* Śānti Śrī of the Pūgiya family, was very anxious during this period about his success. She erected numerous pious foundations and dedicated them to the *ācāryas* of the Aparamahavinaseliya Saṁgha in the hope of securing longevity and victory for king Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta[3]. Apparently during this period between 233 and 236 A. D., Vīrakūrcavarman defeated the combined arms of the Ikṣvāku and the Kadamba monarchs and

Vāsiṣṭhīputra S'rī Bahubala S'āntamūla c. 239–252 A. D.

1 Dr. Vogel reads the name of the king as Ehuvala. I think the correct and proper reading is Bahubala. See *A. S. I*, 1926–27, p.

2 *E. I.*, XXI, No. L. p. 63.

3 *E. I.*, XX and XXI, Insc. Nos. E, and M series. (*E. I.*, XXI, p. 65 f.)

established himself firmly in Vanavāsa. Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Bahubala Śāntamūla, therefore, would appear to have ascended the throne of Andhradesa at a time when the Pallava king was supreme in Vanavāsa and his own brother-in-law, Śivaskandavarman, was an exile. The accession of Śri Bahubala however, brought about a change in the fortunes of the Kadamba prince. At last he conquered Vīrakūrcavarman and became the Lord of Vaijyanti. And it is quite probable that the young Ikṣvāku monarch assisted his brother-in-law to gain the throne[1].

The sculptural represenations on the pillar near *Stūpa* No. 9, also show that Śrī Bahubala Śāntamūla was a youth at the time of his accession to the throne. The political events of his reign also support this conjecture. The young king was evidently called after his grandfather Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śri Śāntamūla the Great. Apparently he was nick-named Bahubala in order to distinguish him from his illustrious grandfather. The custom of naming a child after its grandfather was unknown in India before the Ikṣvākus who were probably the earliest to adopt this custom. The Gupta, Vākaṭaka, Pallava, Viṣṇu-kuṇḍin, and the Śālaṅkāyana dynasties evidently borrowed it from the Ikṣvākus. This custom is referred to in the *Mahā-bhāṣya* (I-i-1) and the *Kaiyyaṭa* on it; it had sastraic sanction behind it[2].

Of the reign of Śrī Bahubala only two records are found. They do not furnish any information about the political condition of his reign. But they reveal the religious history of the land. They refer to the existence of two more sects of Buddhist communities, namely the Bahuśrutīyas and the Mahiṁśāsakas. The first inscription is dated the second year, on the 10th day of the sixth fortnight of the summer season. It records the erection of a monastery, a *stūpa*, a *caitya-gṛha* and a *maṇṭapa* by the queen-mother Mahādēvī Vāsiṣṭhī Bhaṭṭi-dēva. The mound on which these buildings stood is now marked by the local name *Iṭikirāḷḷa-bōḍu*, (literally) 'the mound

1 These events are fully discussed in the first two Chapters on The Pallavas in Book II.

2 *E. I.*, XX, p. 6, note and Ind. Ant. Vol. XXXV. p. 125.

of bricks', which is situated at the south-eastern foot of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and about two furlongs to the north of the *Mahācaitya* on Śrīparvata. The *vihāra* (monastery No. 4) and the *Stūpa* and *caitya-gṛha* (*Stūpa* No. 5) were erected and provided with all necessaries and dedicated to the *Ācāryas* of the Bahusutīya (Bahus'rutīya) sect[1]. The second inscription records the foundation of a *vihāra*, the erection of an *āyaka-khaṁba* at the *Caitya* along with a *Caitya-gṛha*, *a maṇṭapa* and a *catus's'ālā*, which were all necessary adjuncts of a monastery, and their dedication to the *ācāryas* of Mahisāsaka (Mahiṁs'āsaka) sect by Mahādēvī Kodabali siri (Kundavalli Śrī) who calls herself the grand-daughter of Mahārāja Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śāntamūla the Great, the daughter of Mahārāja Māṭharīputra Śrī Vīrapuruṣa-datta and sister of Mahārāja Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Bahubala Śānta-mūla of the house of the Ikṣvākus, and the wife of the Mahārāja of Vanavāsaka. The construction of these buildings, the inscription states, was directed by the *thera* (*sthavīra*) Dharma-ghōṣa, the *Mahādharma-kathaka*, or 'the Great Preacher of the Law', who was the *ācārya* of the Mahis'āsaka sect. The date of dedication of these pious foundations is recorded in the inscription as the 7th day of the 1st *pakṣa* of...season, in the eleventh year of her brother Śrī Bahubala Śāntamūla's reign[2].

Mahādēvī Kundavalli Śrī was indeed prouder of being an Ikṣvāku princess than being the wife of the king of Vanavāsa. The inscription mentions her grandfather, father and brother of the Ikṣvāku family all by name, but refers to her lord as merely the Lord of Vanavāsa. This is doubtless curious and interesting. It clearly shows that the Ikṣvākus were a powerful family who enjoyed universal sovereignty in Dakṣiṇāpatha and were therefore, regarded as *cakravartins* or emperors. It was, therefore, natural for the Queen of Vanavāsa to state with pardonable pride that she belonged to the illustrious family of the Imperial Ikṣvākus, whereof the ancester was the offerer of Agnihotra, Agniṣtoma, Vājapēya and

1 *E. I.*, XX, p. 23, Insc. G. Ibid. Vol. XXI, pp. 61-63, Inss. G series.

2 *E. I.*, XX., p. 24, Insc. No. H.

As'vamēdha sacrifices, and omit the name of her husband, the lord of Vanavasa, who was perhaps a protege of her father and later her brother, the Emperor of Andhradesa. The kingdom of Vanavāsa or Vaijayanti as it was also called, was at that time ruled by a house of the Nāgas or *Cuṭu-kula* Śātakarṇis whom the Puranas styled as Andhrabhṛtyas. The term *Cuṭu-kula* seems to indicate that the Nāgas were a subordinate family while their adoption of the Imperial Andhra title Śātakarṇi, denotes that they were a branch of the Imperial Andhras who were appointed to the rulership of the kingdom of Vanavāsa under the Empire. Therefore the term *Cuṭu-kula* denotes the same thing as the term Andhrabhṛtya of the Bhāgavata and Viṣṇu Puranas; and the statement *Andhrabhṛty anvayā nṛpāh* etc. of the Matsya, Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas apparently means a Younger Dynasty with reference to the Senior or the Imperial Andhra dynasty. The history of the Cuṭu-kula-Śātakarṇis or the Nāgas as they are also called by the historians will be dealt with at length in the next Book in connection with the origin of the Pallavas of Kāñci. It will, therefore, be sufficient to state for the present that the Cuṭus of Vanavāsa were a short lived dynasty. The last of the Cuṭus was not a Cuṭu Śātakarṇi or Cuṭu-Nāga prince in the strict sense of the term, but a scion of the Kadamba Nāga alliance. He was a daughter's son of king Hārītiputra Viṣṇuskanda Cuṭu-kulānanda Śātakarṇi, (Hāritiputa Vinhukada Cuṭukulānanda Sātakaṁni) and a contemporary of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Bahubala Śāntamūla. He was, as stated elsewhere, Śivaskandavarmn 'the Lord of Vaijajaynti'.

The closing years of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Bahubala Śāntamūla witnessed the rapid decline and fall of the Ikṣvākus. And shortly after his death, the Ikṣvāku dynasty disappeared altogether from the Andhra country. Not a trace of their existence was left by the enemy who destroyed them. Till the recent discovery of the inscriptions of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa the memory of the glorious epoch of the Ikṣvākus of Andhradesa was completely lost in oblivion. The causes for the decline and destruction of the Ikṣvākus may be easily traced in the course of the political events of the Deccan during the

middle of the third century A. D. The Cuṭu-Śātakarṇis or the Andhrabhṛtyas of Vanavāsa disappeared, for want of succession in male line, about the middle of the third century; and almost simultaneously the Mahākṣatrapas of Ujjaini, too, began to decline. The disruption of the great confederacy of the Mahākṣatrapas of Ujjaini, the Cuṭu-Nāgas of Vanavāsa and the Imperial Ikṣvākus of Andhradesa almost synchronised with the rise of the Ābhīras in the North and the Pallavas in the South. The kingdom of Vanavāsa after the death of Dhenasēna, became an apple of discord and prize for rival claimants. The history of this rivalry and wars will be dealt with at length in the next Book. The Kadambas and the Ikṣvākus were allied to each other by ties of marriage. The fall of the Kadambas on the death of the Sivaskandavarman in the middle of the third century was followed by the usurpation of the throne of Vanavāsa by the Pallava prince Vīrakūrcavarman. This event paved the way for the destruction of the Ikṣvāku supremacy in Andhradesa by the same aggressive Pallava power. In the same manner the Abhīras usurped the sovereignty of Ujjaini as well as the Mahākṣatrapa title of the Śaka Kings. Internecine wars and usurpation completely destroyed the integrity of the Śaka-Mahākṣatrapa ascendancy. The Ābhīra usurpation and the rise of the Pallavas broke up the confederacy of the three great powers of the Deccan for ever.

The Decline and Fall of the Ikṣvāku Dynasty.

The Ābhīras were originally foreign invaders of India, who were settled in the region of Govardhana in Nasik district and Aparānta in Northern Konkan in Western India[1]. The Puranas refer to them as having been established by the Imperial Andhras or at any rate as their successors in Western India[2]. They mention ten Ābhīra kings who endured for sixty seven years. The Ābhīras probably settled down as merceranу commanders of armies of their nationality and served the Śātavāhana emperors for a long time and, later rose to rulership of provinces and kingly power in a subordinate capacity in the

1 Rapson. C. *A. D.* Introduction p. cxxxiv, note 1.

2 Pargiter: *PTDKA.*, pp. 45-46.

Andhra Empire like the Scythian or Śaka-Kṣatrapas of Ujjaini after the Kṣaharāṭa power was uprooted. The earliest landmark in the history of the Ābhīras is an inscription of king Is'varasēna dated the ninth year, in one of the Nasik caves[1]. The ninth year of the Ābhīra king synchronised with the seventh year of the Emperor Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi. This fact shows that the Ābhīra Īs'varasēna had established himself as a semi-independent king in a small principality round Nasik and founded a dynasty of his own in the reign of Śrī Yajña Śātakarni's weak predecessor. This conjecture is corroborated by the fact that the Ābhīra Śivadatta, father of king Īs'varasēna, was not given any royal title in the Nasik cave inscription. The reign of Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi lay roughly between 157 and 186 A. D. Consequently the reign of the first Ābhīra king would have commenced early in the latter half of the second century A. D. The ascendency of the Ābhīras lasted from this time till the rise of king Īs'varadatta, for a period of about seventy years; and this approximately agrees with the duration of their rule according to the Purana account.

The Ābhira expansion and the usurpation of the Mahākṣatrapa sovereignty of Ujjaini.

Some of the Ābhīra leaders of armies would appear to have taken up military service as commanders under the Śaka-Kṣatrapas. The Guṇḍa inscription of Kṣatrapa Rudrasiṁha I mentions the Ābhīra general *Sēnāpati* Rudrabhūti, son of the Ābhīra general, *Sēnāpati* Bāhaka[2]. It is, therefore, probable that the existence of an independent Ābhīra kingdom in the south and the presence of Ābhīra generals in the service of the Kṣatrapa dynasty may have possibly undermined the integrity of the Mahākṣatrapa power. The opportunity probably came in the last days of Dāmasēna, the youngest son of Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasiṁha I. After the death of Dāmasēna, about 236 A. D., the Kṣatrapa dynasty was overpowered by the Ābhīra king who quickly enlarged his power. Though the region over which he ruled can be precisely known, the situation of his

1 *E. I.*, VIII, p. 88 ; Buhler : *ASWI.*, IV., p. 103.

2 *Ind. Ant.* (Buhler) 1881, p. 157.

capital cannot, however, be ascertained. While there seems to be no break in the continuity of the Kṣatrapa dynasty at Ujjaini[1], the Ābhīra king Īs'varadatta appears to have gained considerable power and established himself as a paramount ruler in the Deccan soon after the death of Dāmasēna[2]. It is not, therefore, improbable that Īs'varadatta may have been one of the descendants of the Ābhīra king Īs'varasēna of the Nasik cave inscriptions[3]. Īs'varadatta apparently increased his power that had been bequeathed to him by his predecessors, having proceeded as far as Gujarat, overpowered the Śaka-Kṣatrapa Vīradāman and assumed the title of Mahākṣatrapa himself[4]. But king Īs'varadatta was Mahākṣatrapa only for three years, between 236 and 239 A. D. His usurpation was shortlived; his power was soon destroyed by Yas'ōdāman, son of Dāmasēna. Though this prince succeeded in re-assuming the dignity of Mahākṣatrapa, of which his family had been temporarily deprived by the intrusion of the Ābhīra Īs'varadatta, the first symptoms of decline of the dynasty appear in the reign of his younger brother Vijayasēna, between 238 and 250 A. D. It is possible to observe this decline in the coinage of the period, wherein a process of continuous degradation, varied occasionally by short-lived attempts to restore higher standard is clearly visible[5].

Causes for the decline of the Ikṣvākus.

The decline of the Mahākṣatrapas weakened the power of the Ikṣvākus considerably in course of time ; the death of the Kadamba king, Śivaskandavarman of Vanavāsa and the subsequent events only hastened their fall. The final destruction of the Ikṣvāku power in Andhradesa was the result of the rise and expansion of the aggressive Pallavas of Kāñci. Thus roughly about the middle of the third century A. D., two great Andhra dynasties, the Ikṣvākus and the Andhrabhṛtyas,

1 Rapson : *C. A. D.* Introduction, p. cxxxv.

2 *JRAS.* 1890, p. 656.

3 No. 15 of Cave 11. See *Bombay Gazetter*, Vol. XVI, p. 579 ; and *E. I.*, VIII p. 88 f.

4 *JRAS.* (1890) p. 657.

5 Rapson : *C. A. D.*, Introduction, p. cxxxvi.

who succeeded the Imperial Andhras in Dakṣiṇāpatha for a short period, declined and totally disappeared.

There seem to be still other important causes for the decline and extinction of the Ikṣvāku supremacy in Andhradesa. It is probable that the obscure descendants of the Imperial Andhras survived, bore hostility against the Ikṣvākus and helped the rising Pallava dynasty to overthrow them. Another probable cause seems to be the revival of stern and aggressive Brahmanism in Dakṣiṇāpatha and the South. Brahmanism which was not even tolerated during the reigns of the last two Ikṣvāku monarchs rose like the many-hooded cobra to wreak vengeance upon Buddhism and its patrons, the illustrious Ikṣvākus. With the accession of Māṭharīputra Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta, whose reign was marked by uninterrupted peace and prosperity, the military character of the Ikṣvāku Empire founded by Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śāntamūla the Great by the force of his arms and unbending prowess, had become completely changed. The militant vigour of the Brahmanical traditions that characterised the rise of the Ikṣvākus under Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śāntamūla gave way evidently to the weak piety of Buddhism, towards the close of his grandson's reign. Their marital alliances with the Mahākṣatrapas of Ujjaini on the one hand and the Nāga or Cuṭu-Śātakarṇis of Vanavāsa on the other, as well as with the great feudatory families of the Empire, made the Ikṣvākus a formidable power for well nigh five decades. But within a decade after the accession of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Bahubala Śāntamūla, the political condition of the Deccan and the South was completely altered. In the whole of Dakṣiṇāpatha, there was not a single dynasty except the rising Pallavas who could revive the stern military character of the Imperial Andhras of the previous century. The Pallavas unlike the Cuṭu-Śātakarṇis and the Ikṣvākus were bigoted Brāhmaṇas and in the early period showed no encouragement and perhaps not even tolerance to the preachings of the Buddhist Church. When new enemies threatened the frontiers of their empire and later even their sovereignty, the Ikṣvākus were unable to resist and attack. They fell, therefore, an easy victim to the destructive onslaught of the aggressive Pallava power of the

South. The Ikṣvāku dynasty, thus perished within half a century after their rise. The Pallava king who had established himself at Kāñci as the supreme Lord of the South, conquered the Kadambas, defeated and slew the last of the Ikṣvakus, and even annexed their territories as far as the Kṛṣṇa river in the north. Vijayapurī, the capital of the Ikṣvākus was apparently sacked, burnt and destroyed. The blackened ruins were perhaps ploughed down as a sort of ceremonial defacement of the monuments dedicated to Buddhism and of the vestiges of the glory of the hated Ikṣvākus. It shared thus the fate of its unfortunate lords ; it fell, never to rise again.

The Pallava conquest of the Ikṣvākus and the annexation of the Southern Andhradesa to their empire had its own fatal effects on the land. The Ikṣvākus vanished for ever ; and with them their imperial organisation was totally destroyed. Buddhism which dominated the heart of Andhradesa roughly from the third century before the Christian era till the middle of the third century A. D. declined rapidly. It was in a large measure due to the Pallava conquest of the Southern Andhra country, the erst-while stronghold of Buddhism. This greatly augmented the revival of dominant Brahmanical ideas and traditions. This was encouraged by the continued immigration of vast hosts of Brāhmaṇa settlers from the North and West. The old Andhra language and culture, tradition and civilisation, fostered by the Buddhist Church and encouraged by the Imperial Andhras and later by the Iksvākus slowly disappeared from the Andhra country. The austere Mādhyamika philosophy of the Mahāyāna Buddhism was quickly absorbed by the revived Brahmanical doctrines and rituals. The Mahāyāna forms of worship became popular modes of worship and devotion to the followers of the revived Vedic Brahmanism. The sage Gautama Buddha became in theory and practice a god, always ready to listen to the prayers of the faithful and served by a hierarchy of Bōdhisatvas and other beings acting as mediators between him and the sinful, afflicted humanity. Soon the Buddha became absorbed into the fold of the Brāhmanical pantheon ; and gradually became

a Brahmanical counterpart as Śiva. The Tantric goddess Tārā became transformed into the Brahmanical goddess Durgā, the consort of Śiva, wherever she was worshipped. On Śrīparvata itself, Mahādēva, the Brahmanical god Śiva and his consort were firmly established as Śrīparvatasvāmin and Durga[1]. Wherever possible, Brahmanism and Brahmanical gods stepped into *Caitya-gṛhas* and *Caityas*, the erst-while strongholds of Buddhism. The monasteries were either deserted or destroyed. The militant forces of Brahmanism marked the advent of a new era in the Andhra country. Brahmanism was firmly restored in the Southern Andhradesa and Tamil country by the Pallavas of Kāñci; it was later on fostered by the Brahmanical dynasties of Andhradesa, the Bṛhatphalāyanas of Kōḍūra, Śālaṅkāyanas of Vēṅgi and lastly the Imperial Visṇukuṇḍins.

The conquest of the Ikṣvāku kingdom by the Brahmanical Pallava dynasty meant more than anything, the adaptation, compromise and rationalisation of the Buddhist theology and pantheon to suit the revival of the Vedic gods and ritual and Brahmanical religion. There was fusion of gods and goddesses. Sometimes the same god and goddess were assimilated into the Brahmanical pantheon. The period of the Pallava conquest of the Ikṣvākus was therefore an age of theocracia.

*The after-math of the Pallava conquest of the Ikṣvākus*

The destruction of the Ikṣvāku power in Andhradesa did not immediately result in the Pallava occupation of the Southern Andhra sub-provinces. Though the Ikṣvāku Empire was destroyed, the trouble in Andhradesa was not at an end. A new power, apparently sprang up on the banks of the Kṛṣṇa and usurped the sovereignty. The new power would seem to be king Satyasēna. This conjecture rests upon more than one

1 The Viṣṇukuṇḍin Charters speak of Sriparvatasvāmin as the family deity of the dynasty. There is a temple of Durgā on the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa hill. At Rāmatirtham, Vijayavāḍa, (Bezwada) and in a host of other places, where flourished Buddhist monasteries and *Caitya-gṛhas*, the Tantric Mahāyāna goddess Tārā was transformed into the Brahmanical goddess Durgā. Almost all these hills where the temple of Durgā is situated, have come to be called Durga-koṇḍa or the 'Hill of Durgā.'

circumstance. The successors of Śivaskandavarman, king of Vaijayanti were still powerful in Vanavāsa. The powerful Kadambas had either to be destroyed or overpowered and subdued if the newly acquired sovereignty of the Pallava Vīrakūrcavarman were to survive in the east. The Kingdom of Kāñcī had not yet been consolidated. All the energies of the powerful prince Vīrakūrca and his energetic son Śivaskandavarman were needed at this juncture to undermine the power of the haughty Kadambas in Vaijayanti. They had not therefore enough respite to launch upon a policy of aggression against the foes in Andhradesa. The Vēlūrpālayam copper-plate inscription states that Skandas'iṣya, probably son of Vīrakūrcavarman, conquered Satyasēna and acquired the *ghaṭika* of the twice-born Brahmaṇas[1]. The *ghaṭika* which has been elsewhere identified with Dhānyaghaṭika or Dhanakaṭaka on the Kṛṣṇa river might possibly have been the capital of king Satyasēna. The name ending *sēna* is a suffix which is peculiar to the Śaka Kṣatrapa dynasty of Ujjaini, where we come across names like Dāmasēna, Rudrasēna, Vis'vasēna, Pṛthvisena, Vijayasēna and the like. In all probability some of the scions of the Śaka-Kṣatrapas dynasty of Ujjaini would have migrated to Daksiṇāpatha during the period of the Ābhīra expansion in the north and Malwa, in the middle of the third century in quest of new territories or military service in distant kingdoms. Satyasēna or his ancestor would possibly have been one of those Śaka princes who migrated to Andhradesa, took up service under the Ikṣvākus to whom his family in Ujjaini were allied by ties of kinship. It would, therefore, be reasonable to assume that Satyasēna, a Śaka, seized the opportunity of the disturbed condition and tried to establish for himself an independent kingdom on the banks of the Kṛṣṇa with his capital at Dhanakaṭaka. The conquest of Satyasēna and the seizing of the *ghaṭikā* of Dhanyaghaṭika were doubtless notable achievements of Śivaskandavarman or Skandasiṣya.

Satyasēna, a probable S'aka Usurper on the banks of the Kṛṣṇa c. 265 A. D.

1 S. *I. I.*, II, Part V, pp. 501 ff. Verses. 6–8. See post Book II. Chapter III for a discussion of the reigns of Vīrakūrca and his son.

## Appendix. I

The emblem or the crest of the Ikṣvākus appears to be a lion, sometimes facing to the proper right and sometimes to the left. In almost all the sculptures and ornamentations found in the ruined buildings found in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley, the lion symbol is the most prominent feature. That the crest of the Imperial Ikṣvākus was a lion is also borne out by certain other facts as well, particularly relating to the history of the Early Cōḷas of Andhradesa and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. The early Cōlas, whose inscriptions are found only in the Andhra country and range from the seventh century A. D. onwards, have on their stone and copper plate inscriptions the emblem of a lion[1]. The early Cōḷas of Andhradesa like the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, would appear to have been intimately connected with the Ikṣvākus of Vijayapuri. The Early Cōḷas of Andhradesa as well as the Cōḷas of the Tamil country regarded the hero Ikṣvāku as one of their legendary ancestors.

Lion: the emblem of the Ikṣvākus:

The Cōḷas seem to derive their name from their homeland Cōḷavāḍi. or "the Land of the Cōḷas," the ancient name for the region bounded on the north and north-east by the river Mūsi and the south by the river Kṛṣṇa. It was from this region that the Early Cōḷas migrated into the South, and settled in the country watered by the beautiful river Cauveri. The territory known as Cōḷavāḍi covers, therefore, the modern districts of Nalgoṇḍa and Pānagal or Mahaboobnagar in Hyderabad. Cōḷavāḍi as the name for the territory lying between the rivers Mūsi and the Kṛṣṇa in Western Andhra country, occurs in the early Kannaḍa and Telugu literature[2]. Cōḷavāḍi, the original

The Colas, Colavāḍi and the Ikṣvākus.

1 *E. I.*, Vol, XI, p. 337 f. and plate; Ibid, Vol. XXI, p. 29, text line 2.

2 Palkurki Somanatha's *Paṇḍitārādhyacaritramu* (Warangal edn.) p. 297. Paṁpa speaks of his patron Arikēsarin II as the lord of Cōlavāḍi. Fleet, ignorant of the *Saṁdhi* rules reads Cōlavāḍi as Jōlavlḍi and tanslates it as "land of the Great millet". (See *Dyn. Kan. Dists.*, p. 380)

home of the Early Cōḷas, lay therefore adjacent to Vijayapuri and Śrīparvata; and it was probably a province of the Ikṣvāku Empire. The Cōḷas of Cōḷavāḍi were therefore feudatories of the Imperial Ikṣvākus, and connected with them by ties of relationship. The facts that they claim descent from the mythical hero Ikṣvāku and have for their crest the lion symbol, strongly support the conclusion that the Early Cōḷas were descendants of or at any rate connected by ties of relationship to the Imperial Ikṣvākus. In the same fashion the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, who rose to power early in the fifth century A. D. would also appear to have had some connection with the Ikṣvākus and Śrīparvata. In the formal preambles of their charters, the Viṣṇukuṇḍins described themselves as "the worshippers of the feet of the holy lord (Śrīparvatasvāmin) established on Śrīparvata[1]." The ancestors of the founder of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty were probably vassals or military officers of the Imperial Ikṣvākus. It is also probable that they were connected with the Ikṣvāku dynasty by ties of blood. The Viṣṇukundin charters like those of the Early Telugu Cōḷas, bear the lion emblem on their seals[2].

The Ikṣvākus were undoubtedly the greatest power in the Deccan during the early part of the third century A. D. The glorious reign of Vāsiṣthīputra Śrī Śāntamūla the Great was marked by conquests, subjugation of hostile kings, vigourous extension of the borders of the kingdom, celebration of the As'vamēdha and the assumption of universal kingship, in the Deccan. The inscriptions of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa speak of Emperor Śrī Śāntamūla as 'the giver of crores of gold'. probably, Śrī Śāntamūla struck new coinage in gold to mark his glorious reign and the celebration of the renowned As'vamēdha rite. It was necessary for him to commemorate his great military achievements. The reign of his illustrious son Māṭharīputra Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta witnessed considerable amount of foreign trade beyond the seas as evidenced by the long inscription of *upāsikā* Bōdhi Śrī, the writings of the Greek Geographer Ptolemy and the author of the *Preiplus*.

1 *E. I.*, XVII, pp. 334 ff.; *Jour. Dep. Lett.* (Cal. Uni.) XXVI (1926) p. 50

2 *E. I.*, IV. p. 194.

Though the Ikṣvākus would thus appear to have struck their own coinage, till now archaeologists and numismatists have not discovered these coins. In the central and most important portion of the Ikṣvāku dominions, in the Guntur, Kṛṣṇa and Gōdāvari districts, were found a number of lead coins bearing the symbol of a lion facing to the proper right on the obverse. These coins contain an obliterated legend, but the letters *sāmisa* in characters that belong to the same period as the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions, are clearly visible. The suffix *sāmisa* seems to represent the second member of the name of the Ikṣvāku kings as *Ikhāku-sāmisa*, an expression which frequently appears in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions. Other coins too have been found in the same region which contain the legend *Māḍa...sa* on the reverse and a lion symbol on the obverse, which must obviously belong to king Māṭharīputra (Māḍhariputa) Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta[1]. Some of the Śātavāhana coins which contain a lion symbol in addition to the Ujjaini symbol seem to represent the re-struck Ikṣvāku coinage after the overthrow of the parent dynasty. It is, therefore, probable that the Ikṣvakus struck their coins, in gold, lead and potin and that the Ikṣvāku coins bore the emblem of a lion.

1 Rapson: *C. A. D* pp. 24 49-51 and 53

## APPENDIX. II

### *Dharmāmṛta-kāvya and the Antiquity of the Ikṣvākus of Andhradesa*

*Dharmāmṛta* is a Kannaḍa *kāvya* written by Nayasēna.[1] It is a Jaina work. The author describes himself as a disciple of Narēndrasēna-muni and as a native of Mulugoṇḍa, a village in Dhārwār district, Bombay Presidency. He says that the work was completed in Ś. Ś. 1037, cyclic year Nandana, on Sunday the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada, when the moon was in Hastā. The *kāvya* seems to have been based on an earlier Prakrit work though it is not specially stated as such. It is a work in 14 cantos or *as'vāsas*; each *as'vāsa* contains stories about great men who, having followed the *Jinadharma* and taken up *Jina-dīkṣa*, attained *sadgati* in former times. The eleventh *as'vāsa* contains the story of a certain Satyavrata; in it is narrated a legend about Saṁgha Śrī and others, which gives interesting materials regarding Jaininsm and the antiquity of the Ikṣvakus in Andhradesa.

Briefly told the story is this: During the period of the *Tīrthaṅkara* Vāsupūjya, Yas'ōdhara, king of the Ikṣvāku family, reigned in Caṁpāpura, the capital of Aṅga. He had three sons, Anantavīrya, Śrīdhara and Priyabala. On one occasion he set out on an expedition with the desire to conquer all quarters (*digvijaya*); in the course of his conquests, he came to Veṅgidēs'a. Having been pleased with the beauty of the country, he decided to settle down there. He built a city called Pratipālapura and reigned there for a long time. When he became old, he renounced the kingdom and retired to the forest to perform penance and attain *sadgati*. His three sons would not agree to stay behind and rule the kingdom. At last he persuaded his third son Priyabala to accept the crown, and retired to the forest accompanied by his two elder sons.

1 I am indebtetd to Pundit Sri V. Prabhākara Sastri of the Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, for bringing this *kāvya* to my notice and for innumerable suggestions.

Yas'ōdhara and his two sons received *dīkṣa* at the hands of Vis'vasēnācārya and took up their abode on a hill called Jaṭās'ikhara. In course of time Yas'ōdhara and Anantavīrya attained *mōkṣa*. But Śrīdhara acquired the surname Akalaṅka, and survived for a long time.

Meanwhile in Pratipālapura, Priyabala died suddenly of a snake-bite while roaming in the pleasure gardens. He was childless and there was none, therefore, to succeed him. Indraprabha, his minister, accompanied by the elders and nobles of the realm set out to Jaṭās'ikhara to request Śrīdhara to come back to the city and rule over them. Knowing that Śrīdhara would not accede to their request in the ordinary way, Indraprabha contrived to bring the monk to Pratipālapura and then persuaded him to accept the crown. Śrīdhara would not agree in the first instance but was induced to stay in the kingdom till he begot a son and heir to the throne. In course of time a son was born to him and was named Yas'ōdhara. Śrīdhara then retired once more to his forest abode.

The mountain peak where Śrīdhara attained *siddhi* came to be called Śrīparvata. To the south of this place at some distance there stood a banyan tree, where Śrīdhara discovered the path for his *siddhi*, which came to be known as Siddhavaṭa. The spot where the monk devoted his life for the worship of Jina or *jñāna-pūja*, and where all the four grades of Dēva communities (*caturvidha-dēva-nikāya*) resided, became celebrated as Amarāvati. Śrīdhara sat under a pipal (*arjuna*) tree engaged in austere penance and the *khēcaras* worshipped him with *mallikā* flowers, and accordingly that spot was called Mallikārjuna. The hill to which Śrīdhara was decoyed by Indraprabha where he said that the *vṛddhas* or the elders were waiting to worship his feet having been unable to penetrate the wilderness and ascend the hill, became celebrated as Vṛddhagiri. Because Yas'ōdhara II was born to a *muṇḍiya* or shaven monk his companions called him *Muṇḍiyasuta* in ridicule, and in course of time his line acquired the appellation, the Muṇḍiya family.

In the lineage of Yaśōdhara II, was born a king named Dhanada. There lived in the kingdom, Saṁgha Śrī, a renowned Buddhist and his beautiful daughter Kamala Śrī. Dhanada fell in love with Kamala Śrī, married her and converted her to his own faith, Jainism. He also tried to convert Saṁgha Śrī to the Jaina faith. One day by showing a miracle, Dhanada convinced his father-in-law and converted him to Jainism. But shortly after this Buddha Śrī, a celebrated monk and preceptor of Saṁgha Śrī came to the place and reconverted Saṁgha Śrī to the Buddhist faith. Dhanada flew into a rage at this. In an open assembly he accused Saṁgha Śrī of heresy and challenged him if he had not seen the miracle. Saṁgha Śrī denied having seen the miracle, the enraged assembly plucked his eyes; and the king turned him out of the country. For seven generations thereafter the descendants of Saṁgha Śrī were born blind, and were known as the Andhakas. And thus the land in which the descendants of Dhanada lived, came to be called Andhakadesa, 'the land of the blind.'

The above legend cannot be altogether rejected as untrustworthy. It seems to contain historical materials which may be examined. Vēṅgidēśa in later times became the name of a province of Andhradesa as Vēṅgināḍu or Vēgidēśa. But in the early period it would appear to have been the name for the entire Andhra country. Pratipālapura may be identified with Bhaṭṭiprōlu, which lies within six miles from Rēpalle in Guntur district. It is an ancient village. One of the Buddhist casket inscriptions found at the place refers to a certain (*rājan*) king Kubīraka (Kubēraka)[1]. Dhanada is a synonym of Kubēraka; and Dhanada may possibly have been the same as Kubēraka. Dhanadupura or Dhanaduvrōlu, 'the city of Dhanada' is the modern Candavōlu in Repalli taluk and is situated not

1 Here were found a number of Prakrit inscriptions which were edited by Burgess. Buhler and Fleet. See Luder's *List of Brahmi inscriptions E. I.*, X, Nos. 1329–1339. The inscription which refers to Kubēraka is No. 1338. See also *E. I.*, II, p. 329 (plate) Here at Bhaṭṭiprōlu was found the *Stūpa* that was erected to enshrine a genuine *dhātu* (relic) of the Buddha. The antiquities of this place are preserved in the Madras Museum except the casket which contains the relic of the Buddha which was presented by Lord Ronaldshay during his governorship of Bengal to the Maha Bodhi Society.

far from Bhaṭṭiprōlu. The antiquity of Pratipālapura and Dhanada or Kubēraka may be even greater than that of Amarāvati and Vijayapuri. Archaeologists assign Kubēraka to the early part of the third century B. C. Dhanadupura is said to be the capital of the Velanāṇḍu district which Trilocana-Pallava granted to Malla, the ancestor of the Durjaya kings of Andhradesa of the Post Cālukyan epoch, as a fief, for rendering military service to him on battlefields. King Dhanada is stated to have created the island now called Divi at the confluence of the Kṛṣṇa and the sea[1]. All these facts denote that Dhanada was a historical personage. If Dhanaduvrōlu, Bhattiprolu and other ancient sites in that locality are excavated, more details about the Early Ikṣvāku kings of Pratipālapura may come to light.

In the inscription of Bodhisiri at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Lord Buddha is spoken of as belonging to the illustrious race of the Ikṣvākus. That the Ikṣvākus were also called Śākyas is stated in the *Liṅgābhaṭṭīvam.* Here is the passage.

शाकवृक्षप्रतिच्छन्नं वासं यस्मात्प्रचाक्रिरे ।
तस्मादिक्ष्वाकुवंश्यास्ते शाक्या इति समीरिताः ॥

Caṁpāpura is an ancient city. It was the capital of Aṅga. In the Rāmāyaṇa epoch it was the seat of king Romapāda. It was then known as Mālinī. It was also the capital of Karṇa, the great Mahābhārata hero. Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism, is said to have spent the retreat for *cāturmāsya-vrata* in Caṁpāpura. The *Matsya Purāṇa* contains an account of Caṁpāpura. Vāsupājya the twelfth *tīrthaṅkara*, was born in Caṁpāpura. He lived and died in the same city. Vāsupūjya has been assigned to about the fifth century B. C. Since Yaśōdhara I is said to be a contemporary of Vāsupūjya

2 *E. I.*, III, p. 82 ff. v. 21. ; *E. I.* VI, p. 38 ff.

"कृष्णवेणी लवणाब्धिसङ्गे द्वीपं पुरैतद्धनदेन सृष्टम् ।"

The creation of an island, if the inscription is literally interpreted, would mean a great engineering feat. Even apart from this, it may also mean that Dhanada made the island habitable for human beings.

the Ikṣvāku migration to Andhra country would have taken place about the same period.

It is probable that the *Great Stūpa* of Bhaṭṭiprōlu was erected by one of the Iksvaku kings: it may have been erected even before Kubēraka or Dhanada ascended the throne. It is also probable that the original *Great Caitya* at Amarāvati was also erected by the Ikṣvāku kings of Pratipālapura. The story in *Dharmāmṛta* seems to suggest that first Jainism and later Buddhism gained hold in Andhradesa. The origin of the words *Andhaka* for the land and Andhakas for the descendants of Saṁgha Śrī is interesting. It seems to be veiled statement of fact. From the term *Andha*, the plural forms of which are *andhar* and *andharu* in Desi dialects, the name Andhra may have been derived. The original form is Andhra and not Āndhra. The names Andhra or Andhaka for the land and people respectively may have sprung up about the fifth century B. C. after the immigration of the Ikṣvākus. It is to be seen if there existed a connection between the story of the *Dharmāmṛta* and the account in the *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa*. When the Andhras became Buddhists, the Jainas out of spite would have given the appellation Andhaka to the land and the people as well.

The name Mallikārjuna seems to have had a Jaina beginning. In Jaina religious literature we come across names like Mallinātha, Malliṣēna and Mallīs'vara. The Śaivas who occupied the hill and all the other sacred spots of the Jains would have appropriated the names for their own deities. Amarāvati was at one time sacred to the Buddhists and the Saivas as well. The temple of Māhēs'vara under the name of Amaravaṭēs'vara is clearly a superimposed structure on an earlier one closed on all the four sides, which was probably a *stūpa*. The old Buddhist structure must have been erected on an earlier Jaina edifice. Not far from Amarāvati is Mulugōṭi on the right bank of the Kṛṣṇa river, where stands the temple of Jinēs'vara. Near by are to be found numerous mounds which may yield when excavated many Jaina antiquities. It is probable hat the whole area was at one time a Jaiṇa *basti*.

Śrīparvata of the legend may not be the same as Śrīs'aila, or Śrīgiri which is situated in the Kurnool district. Śrīs'aila and its region for several miles round is studded with celebrated sacred spots. Tripurāntakam which is also called Kumārādri and Taruṇagiri is the eastern gateway of Śrīsailam. Alaṁpuri, otherwise known as Bāla-Brahmēs'varam is said to be the western gateway. Amarāvati is the northern gateway, while the southern foot or entrance is Siddhavaṭa. The entire mountain range Nallamalas lying between these four sacred spots goes by the name Śrīs'aila, Srigiri or Śrīparvata in the local *sthalamahātmyas* or legends. Besides the four gateways in cardinal directions there are also four minor gateways. The most important one is on the north-east, the celebrated Śrīparvata in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley. It may have been the Vṛddhagiri of the legend.

In the *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya* there is a *Ślōka* in praise of the Buddha which is mentioned as the composition of a certain Saṁgha Śrī. Could that Saṁgha Śrī be the same as the Saṁgha Śrī mentioned in *Dharmāmṛta*? The appellations *Muṇḍīya-suta* and *Muṇḍīya-vaṁs'a* for the descendants of Yas'ōdhara II are very interesting. Were the Ikṣvākus members of the Muṇḍa tribe, and did they lend their name to the regions where they migrated and settled? Whatever that might be, at some unknown period a branch of the Muṇḍa tribe moved from the region of the lower Kṛṣṇa to that of the Pennar and lent their name to a small territory which came to be called Muṇḍarāṣṭra.

Sriparvata of the legend may not be the same as [illegible] or [illegible] which is situated in the [illegible] district [illegible] and its region for several miles round is studded with celebrated sacred spots. [illegible] gateway which is also called [illegible] and [illegible] is the [illegible] gateway of [illegible] otherwise known as [illegible] is said to be the western gateway. [illegible] is the northern gateway, while the southern foot or entrance is [illegible]. The entire mountain range Nallamalais lying between these four sacred spots goes by the name Sriśaila, Sriparvat or Sriparvatam in the local *sthalapurāṇas* or legends. Besides the four gateways in cardinal directions there are also four minor gateways. The most important one is on the north-east, the celebrated [illegible] in the Nagarjunakonda valley. It may have been the [illegible] of the legend.

In the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* there is a [illegible] of the Buddha which is mentioned as the [illegible] certain [illegible]. Could that [illegible] be the same as the [illegible] mentioned in [illegible]? The appellations [illegible] and [illegible] for the [illegible] of [illegible] are very interesting. Were the [illegible] members of the Munda tribe, and did they lend their name to the regions where they migrated and settled? Whatever that might be, at some unknown period a branch of the Munda tribe moved from the region of the lower [illegible] or that of the [illegible] and lent their name to a small territory which came to be called [illegible].

Book II

# THE PALLAVAS

## Early Period: 250—630 A. D.

# THE PALLAVAS.

## INTRODUCTORY.

Several scholars have written about the Pallavas, their origin, their original home and chronology, but the last word on the subject has not been said. The Pallavas, for the first time, appear as a reigning dynasty roughly about the middle of the third century A. D. in the extreme southern and south-eastern parts of the Andhra Empire. As their earliest inscriptions are in Prakrit and written in a script which closely resembles that of the Nasik cave inscriptions of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi, Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya and other scholars assume that the Pallavas were the immediate successors of the Imperial Andhras in Dakṣiṇāpatha[1]. But this is not sufficient to support the conclusion that the Pallavas succeeded the Imperial Andhras on the banks of the Kṛṣṇa. As pointed out in the preceding chapter, the Pallavas appear to be the immediate successors of the Andhrabhṛtyas in Vanavāsa in the southern and south-western parts of the Andhra Empire and the Ikṣvākus in Southern Andhradesa.

The Pallavas have a very important place in the history of Ancient India. They were the counter-part of the Imperial Guptas and Vākaṭakas, in the South. They were the earliest dynasty who introduced Sanskrit into the South. Like the Imperial Guptas, the Pallavas described themselves as *Paramabhāgavatas*, 'the devout worshippers of Bhagavat 'Viṣṇu', though some of their names, their crest and banner indicate that they had strong leanings towards Saivism. They established Viṣṇuism as the state religion in the South in the same manner as the Imperial Guptas did in the North. Just as the Guptas gave a permanent stamp of Viṣṇuism in North India which has survived to modern times, so the Pallavas imprinted Viṣṇuism on Vedic Brahmanism in South India, which has come down to the present day. The Pallavas beautified the South with sculpture

1 *A. S. I.*, 1906-07, (V. Venkayya : *The Pallavas.*)

and architecture, just as the Vākaṭakas and the Guptas did in the North. They had established a new system of Brahmanism which became common both to the South and the North. They turned Kāñcīpura, their capital, into a sacred city of Bharatakhaṇḍa, the Vārāṇasī of the South. The Pallava capital became one of the seven holy cities of Ancient India. The Pallavas continued the work commenced by the Imperial Andhras, Andhrabhṛtyas and the Śrīparvatīyas, and established cultural affinity between the North and the South, which brought about a national unity that welded Aryāvarta and Dakṣiṇāpatha lying between the Sētu and the Narmada, into Bharatavarṣa.

Sources for the Early History of the Pallavas.

The materials for the early history of the Pallavas of Kāñci are mainly their own inscriptions engraved on copper-plates. They easily fall into three groups; and each group represents an epoch in the early history of the Pallavas[1]. The earliest group consists of charters written in Prakrit language and in characters which bear close resemblance to the Nasik cave inscriptions of Vāsiṣthiputra Śrī Pulumāvi II and Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi[2]. To this group belong the Mayidavolu plates of *Yuvamahārāja* Śivaskandavarman[3], the Hirahaḍagalli plates of Śivaskandavarman[4] and the British Museum plates of Cārudēvī, Queen of Vijaya-Buddhavarman[5]. In the opinion of the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, these Prakrit charters "do belong to the beginning of the fourth century A. D., if not earlier"[6]. But as will be shown below in the discussion of the chronology of the early Pallavas, they actually belong to the latter half of the third century A. D. The next group represents the period of the charters which are exclusively written in Sanskrit and therefore

1 Krishna Sastri seems to recognise four periods. (*E. I.*, XIV, p. 246) But Gopalan his *History of the Pallavas of Kāñci* accepts only three epochs or divisions.

2 *E. I.*, I., p. 5 f.; *E. I.*, VI. p. 85; *Dyn. Kan. Dists.* p. 320.

3 *E. I.*, VI. p. 84 f.

4 *E. I.*, I. p. 2 f.

5 *E. I.*, VIII, p. 143 f.

6 *E. I.*, XIV, p. 247–48.

belong to a date later than the Prakrit inscriptions[1]. The earliest of them is a record of Vijaya-Skandavarman dated the thirty-third year of his reign[2]. The next record is a grant of *Yuvamahārāja* Viṣṇugōpavarman, dated in the reign of *Mahārāja* Siṁhavarman[3]. To almost the same period of these grants, if not to a slightly earlier date, belongs a fragmentary copper-plate inscription of an unknown donor, found at Darsi in Nellore district[4]. Next come the four charters of Siṁhavarman II, the son and successor of Viṣṇugōpavarman. They are known as the Oṁgōḍu (II set), Pīkira, Māngaḍūr and Viḷaveṭṭi copper-plate grants[5]. Then comes the Curā copper-plate grant of Vijaya Viṣṇugōpavarman from Narasaraopeta taluk, Guntur district[6]. This record is supposed to be a spurious one by some scholars, while others hold it to be a copy of an earlier charter. There is another record which belongs to a slightly later date than the preceding charters and which is written in the same style but in characters which are distinctly more modern than those of Siṁhavarman and Viṣṇugōpavarman. It comes from Cendalūru in Ongole taluk, Guntur district. These Sanskrit charters belong to the period, from the fourth to the first half of the sixth century A.D. They number ten in all; they are: the Oṁgoḍu (I set), the Darsi fragment, the Uruvapalli, Oṁgōḍu (II set) Pīkira, Māngalūr, Viḷaveṭṭi, Curā, Udayēndiram and the Cendalūru copper-plate grants. The third group consists of charters which are written partly in Sanskrit and partly in Tamil in a different style and in characters that doubtless belong to the seventh century and after. These inscriptions range over a

1 Fleet: (*Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 320, and n. 2.). Dr. Buhler (*E. I.* I, p 5) endorsed Dr. Fleet's opinion that the Prakrit grants belong to an earlier time than those in Sanskrit.

2 *E. I.*, XV, p. 249 f.

3 *Ind. Ant.* V. p. 50 f.

4 *E. I.*, I. p. 397 f.

5 *E. I.*, XV, p, 252; *Ibid.* VIII, p. 159; *Ind. Ant.* V, p. 155: and Unpublished Grant referred to in *Annl. Rept. Madras Museum* 1934. p. 10. Recently Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma edited this grant in the *Journ. of the Madras University*, Vol. XXI, Part 1, pp. 129–159.

6 C. P. No. 3 of 1913–14; *Annl. Rep. S. I. E.* for the year 1913–14 p. 82. Para I.

7 *E. I.*, VIII, p. 233 f.

period of three centuries, roughly from the seventh to the ninth century. The most important of the records of this epoch are, for purposes of our study, the Vāyalūr Pillar inscription of Narasiṁhavarman II surnamed *Rājasiṁha*[1], the Kāśakuḍi[2], and the Vēlūrpālayam plates of Vijaya Nandivarman II[3].

There are also two stone pillar inscriptions written in Sanskrit that are outside the pale of the above three groups: they come from Amarāvati on the Kṛṣṇa and Cezerla in Narasaraopeta taluk[4]. They seem to furnish information about the kings of the second and third periods of the Sanskrit charters and throw light on the obscure period of the Pallava history, from the middle of the fifth to the beginning of the seventh century. The date of the Amarāvati record is still a matter of dispute[5]; but the stone pillar inscription from Cezerla may be definitely assigned to the first quarter of the seventh century. The Pallava dominion of the Southern Andhra country seems to have commenced almost simultaneously with the establishment of the Pallava dynasty at Kāñcīpura, about the middle of the third century A. D. and lasted till about the third decade of the seventh century. It does not, however, seem to have been continuous, but frequently interrupted. It is with this period that we are primarily concerned.

1 *E. I.*, XVIII, p. 145.

2 S. *I. I.*, II, Part iii, pp. 342-361.

3 *Ibid.* II, Part v, pp. 501-17.

4 S. *I. I.*, VI, Nos. 594 and 595 (Inscriptions: Texts.) It is to be regretted that no facsimile of the inscription is given by the Epigraphist, along with the transcript.

5 *E. I.*, X, pp. 43-44, Dr. E. Hultzsch in a note discusses the probable date of the inscription on palaeographical grounds alone by a comparison of the characters of the record with those of some of the charters of the Eastern Cālukya dynasty. Dr. N. Venkata Ramanayya also discusses the date in the pages of the Telugu Miscellany, *Bhārati*, (Madras) Neither of these views are of any use to us in appraising the historical value of the Amarāvati Insc. For the Amaravati Stone pillar Inscription. See *S. I. I.*, I, p. 25, No, 32.

CHAPTER I

# The Origin and the Original Home of the Pallavas of Kāñci.

I

*Earlier Theories.* The origin of the Pallavas has remained till now a mystery. The chronology of the early Pallava kings is still in a state of uncertainty and conjecture. Each successive author that has written about the Pallavas, from the days of Lewis Rice down to the present, has brought in more confusion than his predecessor. The question, who the Pallavas were, has been sought to be answered by several scholars in diverse ways since the day on which the earliest Pallava charter was discovered. In their inability to explain satisfactorily the origin of the Pallavas, some of them, like Lewis Rice, Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya and others have regarded them as of Parthian or Persian origin. Other scholars like Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Mr. C. Rasanayagam Mudaliar, Vincent A. Smith, Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil and others have put forward various independent theories of the indigenous origin of the Pallavas. Curiously enough none of these writers agree; nor are they satisfied with the results they have so far obtained in their investigations. These conflicting theories deserve, therefore, careful examination before a new theory is advanced.

Lewis Rice, writing about 1879, started the theory of Parthian or Persian origin of the Pallavas[1]. He wrote: "The origin of the Pallavas is uncertain. They are mentioned in the Puranas along with the Haihayas, Śakas, Yavanas and others as Pahlavas, which would imply a Persian source." This theory is fully developed by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya in his history of the Pallavas[2]. According to him the word *Pallava* is

1 Mysore Inscriptions, 1879. *Introduction*, pp. li-liii; See also *Mysore and Coorg: From Inscriptions*, 1909. p. 53.

2 *A. S. I.*, 1906-07. pp. 217-212.

apparently the Sanskrit form of the tribal name Pahlava or Pahnava of the Puranas. "The Pallavas are described as a northern or north-western tribe, whose territory lay somewhere between the Indus and Persia, who were conquered by the epic king Sagara but spared on the intercession of his royal priest Vasiṣṭha. They are mentioned in the Puranas along with the Śakas, Yavanas and Kambhojas; and their chief characteristic was their beard which Sagara permitted them to wear. They are spoken of as Kṣatriyas originally and as having become gradually degraded in later times. The reference in the Puranas may be taken to show that the Pallavas were already a ruling tribe or clan in Puranic times. Their non-conformity to the Vedic rites and Brahmanical practices also seems to indicate that the Pahlavas were foreigners or, at any rate connected with foreigners and their migrations, if they were foreigners, must have taken place in very early times 'about the first century before the Christian era.' The term *Pallava* means in Sanskrit a 'sprout', and the Pallava dynasty which bears that name according to the Kās'akuḍi plates, claims to have been so called because of the eponymous king Pallava that was born to As'vatthāman, son of Drōṇa, 'on a litter of sprouts.'[1] In the Prakrit charters the word occurs as *Palava*[2], and then as *Pallava*[3]. And the latter form is adopted in all the Sanskrit copper-plate inscriptions of the dynasty[4]. The words *Pahlava* and *Palhava* that occur in the Nasik Cave inscriptions of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Pulumāvi II[5], and the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman[6], from which the dynastic name *Pallava* seems to have derived, are believed to be corruptions of Pārthava[7], Pārthiva[8], or Pārthia. According to Venkayya, the Pallavas

Theories of Parthian origin of the Pallavas

1 *S. I. I.*, II., p. 355 f. verse 7.

2 *E. I.*, I., p. 2., text line 2.

3 *E. I.*, VI p. 84, text line 2.

4 *E. I.* XV., p, 249 f. text line 1.

5 *E. I.* VIII, p. 60, No. 2, text line 5.

6 *E. I.*, VIII, p. 36, text line 19.

7 *Bom. Gaz.* Vol. I. Part II, p. 317 f: *Ind. Ant.* X., p. 224.

8 Fleet: *C. I. I.* Vol. III (Gupta Inscriptions) p. 250.

were a tribe, clan or caste, which was formed possibly in Vēṅgi country, and the term Pallava simply represents a Sanskritised form of the tribal name Pahlava, Pahnava or Palhava. Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar calls the Indo-Parthians the Pallavas[1]. The territories of the Indo-Parthians lay in Kandahar and Seistan, but extended during the middle of the first century A. D. into the Western Punjab and the valley of the Lower Indus[2]. During the reign of the Andhra emperor, Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi, they would appear to have moved further south-east. For, the Śātavāhana monarch, whose empire extended all over the Deccan, Kathiawad and Gujerat, claimed to have defeated them and driven them from their homes along with the Śakas and Yavanas[3]. The Pallavas, therefore, migrated to the east and remained for a pretty long time in Andhradesa in the deltas of the Godavari and Kṛṣṇa and later moved south and acquired sovereignty at Kāñci.

The theory of Pahlava identity with the Indo-Parthians is defective in several ways. It seems to link the Pallavas of Kāñci at some remote period with Persia, the original home of the Pārthians, whence they migrated into India during several centuries before Christ. Moreover, the theory of the Pahlava or Palhava migration from Western India, Gujerat and Kathiawad into the Andhra country is, even according to Venkayya, not supported by their tradition, literature or inscriptions. It is simply a speculation without basis, and apparently advanced to support the assumption that the Pallavas of Kāñci were the political successors of the Imperial Andhras in Andhradesa and the South.

Vincent Smith first accepted the theory of the Persian or Parthian origin of the Pallavas in the first edition of his *Early History of India* (p. 348) but discredited it in the second edition, (p. 423). In the latter edition he stated that the origin and affinities of the Pallavas remained obscure and that all recent research did not support the theory of the foreign origin of the Pallavas.

1 *A. Peep into the Early History of India*, (1920) p. 37.

2 Rapson : *Indian Coins*, p. 15.

3 *E. I.*, VIII, p. 60, No. 2.

He believed then that it was more likely that the Pallavas were "a tribe, clan or caste, which was formed in the northern part of the Madras Presidency, possibly in the Vēṅgi country between the Godavari and the Kṛṣna rivers. If the clan actually formed there, the process must have commenced long before the Andhras ceased to be a reigning power. In fact, the clan must have acquired a distinct political status even while the Andhras enjoyed sovereignty. Thus there were two tribes bearing the same name, the Pahlavas in Western India whom the Andhra king Gautamīputra defeated along with the Śakas and the Yavanas, and the Pallavas in the deltas of the Godavari and the Kṛṣna, whose political history remains to be disclosed by future researches." In fact he defended the theory that "the Pallavas were Nāgas, Non-Dravidians, coming from the north of Tamilakam. The Kallars or thieves of the Tamil country are their present descendants." This was in short the theory put forward also by M. Srinivasa Aiyangar.[1] Vincent Smith accepted it in the first instance; but later on discovered the inherent defect in it and abandoned it to propose another in the later editions of his *Early History of India*. In the Fourth edition he wrote that "the name Pallava resembles Pahlava so closely that some writers have been disposed to favour the hypothesis that the Pallavas and the Pahlavas were identical, and consequently the Southern Pallava dynasty of Kāñci should be considered as ultimately of foreign origin. But recent research has failed to adduce any historical facts of that notion." He felt almost convinced that a close examination of ancient Tamil literature had led him to the possible conclusion that the Pallavas were originally connected with Ceylon, that they were distinct in race from the Tamils and that their rule was superimposed upon the Cōḷa and the Cēra countries. Accordingly, the possible Ceylonese origin did not appear to him to conflict with the known facts of South Indian History. (p. 492) He, therefore, assumed (p. 466) that the Pallavas were not one distinct tribe, class or clan but a mixed population composed partly of foreigners and partly of South

1 *Tamil Studies.*, pp. 69–70 and p. 214.

Indian tribes or castes, differing in race from the Tamils and taking their names from the title of an intruding foreigner, who obtained control over them and then welded them into an aggressive political power[1].

The indigenous origin of the Pallavas which Vincent A Smith has advocated is open to serious objections. In the first place there is no basis for the hypothesis that the Pallavas of Kāñci were a clan, caste or tribe. There are also no traces of the Pallavas ever having been connected either with the deltas of the Godavari and the Kṛṣṇa on the one hand or with Ceylon on the other. The learned writer has so misled himself as to ignore altogether the outstanding facts namely, that the early Pallavas of Kāñci showed themselves to be a Northern family or dynasty by their language, religion, administrative organisation, culture and traditions, and that there is not a single circumstance which might be adduced in support of their being of mixed South Indian or Ceylonese origin. In his zeal for the South Indian origin of the Pallavas, Vincent Smith does not accept Venkayya's theory of Pahlava migration from Western India to Andhradesa; and yet he offers no explanation for his new theory namely, that the Pallavas were a mixed population. He simply believes in the indigenous origin, and has no materials to place the view on a sound basis as an indisputable fact. His latest theory is therefore full of lacunae and confusion, and hence cannot be accepted.

Criticism of Vincent Smith's theory of indigenous origin.

The theory of indigenous origin of the Pallavas accepted by Vincent A. Smith in the second and third editions of his *Early History of India*, has been developed by some of our scholars. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has endeavoured to develop the indigenous theory fully in his dissertation on the Pallavas[2]. He has attempted to develop the theory on the

1 A recent writer, Dr. K. R. Subramaniam (*Buddhist Remains in Andhradesa and History of Andhra.*) p. 74 n. 5, accepts this view as a safe conclusion.

2 "The origin and early history of the Pallavas of Kāñci" *Journal of Indian History* Vol. II, Part I. See also Gopalan, *History of the Pallavas.*

information found in ancient Tamil Literature and suggest that the original home of the Pallavas might have been Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. He thinks that the Pallavas were "a dynasty, probably related to or even springing out of the clan of the Śātavāhanas." He regards the Pallavas as natives of South India; and finds support for his theory in the famous geographical work *Bhuvanakōs'a* of Rājas'ēkhara, who lived about the beginning of the tenth century A. D. According to Rajasekhara the Pallavas and the Pahlavas were distinct peoples, the former belonged to the South or Dakṣiṇapatha lying beyond Māhiṣmati and the latter to the north or north-west, in Uttarāpatha, beyond the Indus. This theory is unconvincing because the learned writer altogether ignores the materials furnished by the inscriptions of the dynasty and depends entirely on the doubtful traditions and myths recorded in ancient Tamil literature. Moreover, the information furnished by Rājas'ēkhara which was probably the prevailing opinion of his day, cannot be taken too seriously. By his time the Pallavas of Kāñci had completely changed beyond recognition of their original affinities in the course of several centuries of stay among and owing to their amalgamation with the ruling families of Andhradesa and Tamil country. Moreoever, Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar does not seem to be definite in his conclusions, whether the Pallavas were a tribe, clan or caste or whether they were a ruling family.

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar's theory of indigenous Origin.

Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's theory and arguments have not satisfied another scholar, Mr. C. Rasanayagam Mudaliar of Ceylon. He believes that the Pallavas were Tamils of South Indian or Ceylonese origin, with early Coḷa or Cōḷa-Nāgā connections[1]. Consequently, Dr. Aiyangar's theory of indigenous origin is not acceptable to him. Dr. Aiyangar finds northern influences in the Early Pallavas; he thinks that the Early Pallavas or at least their ancestors were possibly feudatories of the Śātavāhanas and had connections with a ruling Nāga family; he believes that the Pallavas were probably immigrants into

1 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LII, (April, 1923) pp. 78-80 'The Origin of the Pallavas'.

the South, who occupied Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. Mr. Rasanayagam, therefore, asserts upon a further study of ancient Tamil epics the view that the Pallavas were descendants of Cōḷa-Nāga alliance. According to him, in the reign of Kiḻḻi Vaḷavan or Neḍumuḍi Kiḻḻi, the Cōḷa king had a liaison with a Nāga princess, daughter of the Nāga king of Maṇipallavam, which has been identified with Jafna in Ceylon. Of this union was born a son, known as Toṇḍaiman Iḷantirāyan, who some time during the latter half of the second century A. D., was created, by his father Kiḻḻi Vaḷavan, king of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam with its capital at Kāñcīpura in the north, after separating it from Cōḷa-maṇḍala. Iḷantirāyan's dynasty was called Maṇipallavam after his mother's native place; and the term *pallavam* in Tamil means 'a sprout springing from the mother tree.' According to this view, the Pallavas were a dynasty rather than a tribe or clan and had nothing to do with the Pahlavas of Western India or the Imperial Śātavāhanas but were descendants of the Cōlas of Urayūr on the one hand and the Nāga rulers of Jafna or Maṇipallavam in Ceylon.

Mr. Rasanayagam's theory is faulty in many ways. It is opposed to the facts disclosed by the earliest inscriptions of the Pallavas, whose age is more certain and well known than the doubtful antiquity of the Tamil epics. The Early Pallava kings of the Prakrit inscriptions do not refer to any territory lying further south of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam as being under their sway; nor do they refer to the Cōla-Nāga connection. The later charters of the dynasty also do not speak of any such Cōla-Nāga alliance. On the other hand, the Pallavas from the earliest times described themseleves as belonging to the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*, as the descendants of Drōṇa and As'vatthāman and as full-blooded Brāhmaṇas. They called themselves the performers of Vedic sacrifices, of Agniṣṭōma, Vājapēya and As'vamēdha. More than this their language, which was either Prakrit or Sanskrit and never Tamil, lends support to the view that they were a Northern family, foreign to the South and that their origin had nothing to do with either the extreme corner of South India or Ceylon. It is upon the flimsy suggestion of Mr. Rasanayagam

and somewhat biased writings of other zealous authors that Vincent Smith defends his theory of the indigenous South Indian origin of the Pallavas.

Those who advanced the theory of indigneous origin of the Pallavas have not been able to establish by means of irrefutable evidence that the Pallavas were natives to South India They are also confused about the Pallavas having been a dynasty, caste, clan or tribe, and about the place of their origin and the circumstances by means of which they rose to power. In the present state of research they despair of obtaining definite conclusions on the problem[1]. To them the theory of foreign origin of the Pallavas, especially that which gives them a Persian or Parthian home, is utterly unacceptable as it is plainly without any foundation. They also hold that the theory of indigenous origin, too, has not been well established for there seems to be little evidence for the asumptions that the modern Kaḷḷars and the Paḷḷis are descended from the Pallavas or that the Pallavas constituted a big tribe or population. In short the origin of the Pallavas has remained a mystery to them.

Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, a recent writer, has advanced a new theory about the origin of the Pallavas. He has come to the conclusion that the Pallavas were natives of the country[2]. He writes :—"The Pallavas suffered at the hands of the historians a fate similar to that of the Śuṅgas. They have been deprived of their origin which was one of good pedigreed Brāhmanas." Briefly his theory is this :—A dynasty known as the Bhāras'ivas or Bhāras'iva-Nāgas became leaders of national independence against the Kuṣāṇas. Almost the whole of Northern India as well as large tracts of Southern India up to Andhradesa were included within their empire. After them the vast empire passed over to the Vākaṭakas through a marriage alliance. The Vākaṭakas were the Imperial Vindhyakas of the Purāṇas and lords of the northern provinces

Jayaswal's theory of the indigenous origin of the Pallavas.

1 Gopalan: *History of the Pallavas of Kañci*. p. 26.

2 *History of India*, (150 A. D. to 350 A. D.) pp. 179–185.

of Andhradesa. There was a subordinate dynasty called "the Vākaṭaka sub-kings" under the Vākaṭakas, who ruled over the province of Mēkala. These Vākaṭaka sub-kings were the Pallavas. As the name Pallava means 'a sprout' or 'branch', it probably stood for the 'junior dynasty' like the Cūṭus under the Imperial Śātavāhanas whom they superseded. As the Cuṭus were to the Imperial Andhras so the Pallavas were to the Imperial Bhāradvāja Vākaṭakas, as a branch or lesser dynasty. The first Pallava king bore the name Vīrakūrca, a compound of two words *vīra* and *kūrca*. *Kūrca* means a 'bundle of twigs', almost the same as *Pallava*. As Pravīra married his son to a daughter of the Nāga emperor and thereby succeeded to the Nāga empire, similarly Vīrakūrca married a Nāga princess and was made king of Andhradesa which his father as the Nāga general had probably conquered. The Vēlūrpālayam copper-plate inscription correctly relates the tradition that the ancestors of Vīrakūrca used to assist the Nāga emperors in their government[1]. They were therefore Nāga officers like Vindhyas'akti who was only an officer before he founded the Vākaṭaka dynasty. The first Pallava king was then a member of the Bhāras'iva-Nāga Empire. In the Andhra country itself there was no Nāga dynasty before. There were the Ikṣvākus, and before the Ikṣvākus were the Śātavāhanas. The Nāgas who installed Vīrakūrca Pallava must have enjoyed Imperial position, and ruled on the borders of the Andhra kingdom. These conditions were fulfilled by the Bhāras'iva-Nāgas who ruled over a vast empire in the Central and Northen India bordering on the Andhra country, in the South. There is ample corroboration for this conjecture, that of the Pallavas having been a branch of the Vākaṭakas in their so-called Vindhyaka history. Like the Vākaṭakas who were Brāhmaṇas of the Bhāradvāja *gaṇa*, the Pallavas too appear to be Brāhmaṇas and Bhāradvājas. The language, religion and culture of the Pallavas were Northern, not Southern. Like the Vākaṭakas, the founder of the Pallava dynasty was made king by the Nāga emperor whose daughter he had married. Their *gōtra*, language

1 S. I. I., II, Part V., p. 507–08, verse 4.

and religion, their age and date, their Nāga alliance, their royal insignia, all agree entirely. The Pallavas were a branch of the Vākaṭakas.

Criticism of Jayaswal's theory

Dr. Jayaswal's theory summarised above is full of fallacies and strained interpretations of facts. In his admiration for the Bhāras'iva Nāgas and eagerness to connect the Pallava dynasty and all political events connected with them with the North, he lays great emphasis on the Bhāras'iva-Nāga history and ignores every other material which is available for a proper study of the origin of the Pallavas. Instead of unravelling the mystery of the term Pallava and the origin of the Pallavas he seems to create more confusion. In the first place a careful analysis of the known data about the Bhāras'ivas and Nāgas shows that there is no definite proof of the existence of the empire either of the Bhāras'ivas or of the Nāgas or of the identity of these two dynasties. There certainly was a Nāga epoch of Indian History roughly coinciding with the period between the first century before Christ and third century after. During this period the Imperial Andhras, and some other dynasties of Northern India had some Nāga connections and some provinces both in the North and South were ruled by feudatory Nāga families who became independent in course of time. A Nāga tribal wave deluged the whole of India during this period. At the same time there is nothing to show that any of the Nāga dynasties established an Imperial sway over large parts of India either in the North, Central or South India.

Secondly Dr. Jayaswal ignores, in his scheme of the Bhāras'iva-Naga Empire, the existence of the Andhra Empire in Dakṣiṇāpatha and in Central India almost till the dawn of the third century A. D. and later still of the kingdoms of the Imperial Ikṣvākus, Ābhīras and the Śaka-Mahā Kṣatrapas of Ujjaini almost down to the close of the third century A. D. There is no evidence for the assumption that either the Ikṣvākus or the Śātavāhanas were conquered or superseded by the Bhāras'ivas. And the earliest Pallava king known to history appears for the first time to have reigned over a vast kingdom in South India, extending from sea to sea and embracing the

Southern provinces of Andhradesa as far as the Kṛṣṇa river with his capital at Kāñcīpura and not in Mēkala, somewhere in the extreme north of Andhradesa. There is no evidence on record of the Bhāraśiva conquest of any part of Andhradesa at any time. It is just a big leap from Mēkala situated somewhere in the extreme north of Andhradesa to distant Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and Kāñcīpura in the extreme south, a distance of about eight to nine hundred miles. It is manifestly a strained interpretation which Dr. Jayaswal places on the Purāṇa account, while it is quite clear that the Puranas do not deal with the history of the extreme South India or the successors of the Imperial Andhras or more properly the Andhrabhṛtyas in Dakṣiṇāpatha. There seems to be absolutely no connection whatsoever between the immediate ancestors of Vīrakūrca and the doubtful emperors of the Bhāraśiva-Nāga dynasty or the descendants of Vindhyaśakti. The whole theory is faulty. Dr. Jayaswal has evidently ignored the entire volume of epigraphical evidence available for the history of the Deccan and South India. The epigraphical evidence shows clearly that the Pallavas of Kāñci rose to power in the South almost simultaneously with the Vākaṭakas in the North, if not earlier. The supposed identity of the caste and *gōtra* of the Vākaṭakas and the Pallavas may have been after all an accident. The accidental identity by itself without any other evidence, barring the interpretation of the Purāṇa text, is in itself not sufficient to support the assumption that the Pallavas were a branch of the Vākaṭakas. The language, religion and other royal insignia of the Pallavas were not of Vākaṭaka origin: on the other hand they would appear to have been copied from the Imperial Andhras and Andhrabhṛtyas. The Puranas do not at all give any clue to the discovery of the origin of the Pallavas. The information found in the inscriptions of the Pallavas and of the Cuṭu-Śātakarṇis of Vaṇavāsa and the course of events whereby the early Pallavas rose to power leaves no room for controversy about the origin and the original home of the Pallavas.

Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil has advanced his own theory of the origin of the Pallavas[1]. He ridicules the theory of Pārthian

1 *The Pallavas*, pp. 9, 23; also *Ancient History of the Deccan*, pp. 47-52.

invasion of the South. According to him it is without any basis or proof; the supporters of the suggestion have themselves dropped it in a way. He believes that it is wrong to assume that the Pallavas of Kāñci were a tribe or clan. The term Pallava does not signify a tribe ; for that implies an invasion and conquest by a tribe of the kingdom of Kāñcīpura. Pallava, therefore, was the name of a reigning dynasty. If we accept this, it is enough if we explain the political event or events which led the Pallava dynasty to obtain the kingdom of Kāñci. Several provinces of the Andhra Empire were governed by feudatories who bore the title *Nāga*. They were also called Nāgas because they belonged to a race of serpent worshippers. The early inhabitants of Mysore and North Kanara were a race of Nāga worshippers and were therefore called Nāgas. The country around Mālavalli and Banavāsi was once called Nāga-khaṇḍa. The Śātavāhana Empire under Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Pulumāvi II extended to the South as far as the river Pennār in the South Arcot district. A certain prince named *Mahāsenāpati* Skanda Nāga is referred to in a contemporary record as the ruler of the territory known as the Śātavāhanihāra. One of the royal families of the Nāga origin bore the title Cuṭu-*kula* Śātakarṇi and succeeded the Imperial Śātavāhans in the rulership of the kingdom of Vanavāsa. The last of the Cuṭu *kula* kings was Śivaskanda Nāga; and the early Pallava kings were contemporaries of the last Cuṭu king who belonged to the Nāga race. The Pallava copper-plate grant of the ninth century from Vēlūrpālayam gives the history of the family in accordance with the family tradition. Therein it is stated that the first member of the family acquired the kingdom, on marrying the daughter of the lord of the Serpents, i. e., a Nāga king. Therefore the earliest Pallavas were not kings; they were not alien to South India. One of them married the daughter of the Nāga king of the country and thus became king[1]. At the time of the Girnar inscription of Rudradāman, the Western Kṣatrapas reigned in Aparānta and had a Pahlava for their minister[2].

1 *The Pallavas*, p. 23.

2 *E. I.*, VIII, p. 36 f.

These Pahlavas were the neighbours of the Nāgas when Cuṭu-Nāgas reigned in Aparānta. A Pallava prince married the daughter of the king Śivaskanda Nāga Śātakarṇi of the Cuṭu family and inherited the throne of Kāñcīpura[1].

In outline the theory propounded by Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil seems to be flawless. Here is the first attempt to study the inscriptions of the country and to reconstruct the history of the Pallavas and their origin. But Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil has left out several important details though the general structure is sound and without any predilections[2].

II

*Fresh examination of the available materials.*

We shall now proceed to examine the available materials and reconstruct the history of the origin of the Pallavas. The early inscriptions of the family are mostly on copper-plates and are written in Prakrit and Sanskrit. They do not record any family tradition about the origin of the family. They describe the kings as belonging to the family called Pallava and to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* or lineage. In the Prakrit grants the kings are described as *Bhāradāyo Palavānaṁ* and in the Sanskrit charters as *Bhāradvāja-gōtrasya Pallavānām*, "of the family of Pallavas belonging to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*." In either case the word Pallava is mentioned as the name of the family, and the genitive case-ending as in the case of *Kadambānām*, *Vākaṭakānam*, *Śātavāhanānām* and others, plainly denotes that it is the name of a family like that of the Śātavāhanas, Kadambas and the Vākaṭakas. The preambles of the Sanskrit charters refer to the word Pallava as a family name and leave no room for any suggestion or doubt that it denotes the name of a tribe or clan. The epithets like the *Bhāradvāja gōtrasya Pallavānām*[3], and

Pallava: the name of a dynasty.

1 *Ancient History of the Deccan*, pp. 47–48; 55–56.

2 See *I. H. Q.*, II, pp. 446–455. K. G. Sankar, in his paper "*The Early Pallavas of Kañci*" tries to point out the flaws in the theories of Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri and Prof. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil.

3 *E. I.*, XV., p. 251, text line 1.

*sva-vikram-ākrānt-anya-nṛpa-s'rī-nilayānām Pallavānām*[1], "who are of the Pallava family and who have become the abodes of the fortunes of other kings, overcome by their own valour"; *param-ōdātt-ānvayānām s'rīvallabhānām Pallavānām*, "the Pallavas, who are of the most exalted lineage, who are the favourites of the Goddess of Fortune," and lastly *Pallavānām Mahārāja*, "the Great King of the family of the Pallavas," denote in unmistakable terms that *Pallava* was a dynastic name. It is wrong, therefore, to assume that the Pallavas were a tribe, clan or a mixed population of foreigners and indigenous tribes, who had made their way forcibly into the South. Moreover, the Early Pallavas claimed to be pure blooded Brāhmaṇas, born in the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, who performed the Agniṣṭōma, Vājapēya and the As'vamēdha sacrifices and several other *Kratus*, and thus acquired the rank and status of Śatakratu, i. e. Indra[2]. The Pallavas appear for the first time in the South as a powerful Brāhmaṇa aristocratic family, who adopted the military career as profession in preference to the peaceful life of the performers of Vedic rites[3].

The Pallavas: Brāhmaṇas of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*.

The Pallava inscriptions of the seventh century onwards that record the family traditions give much more information about the origin of the family and early history than the earlier records. They amply bear out that the Pallavas were a family and not a tribe or clan. The Vēlūrpālayam copper-plate grant of Vijaya Nandivarman III, dated about the middle of the ninth century A. D., for instance, seems to record the traditional history of the origin of the family for the first time[4]. According to this inscription, there was born in the Bhāradvāja

1 *Ind. Ant.* V. p. 50, text line 15.

2 *Opi. Cit.*

3 The Bhāradvāja Pallavas were not the only Brāhmaṇas who adopted the military career in those days in Daksinapatha. There were the Gautamas, Vasiṣṭhas, Kaṇvas, Kauṇḍinyas, Hāritas and the Mānavyas of the earlier epoch who intermarried with the reigning dynasty and other ruling families during the S'ātavāhana Period. The History, of Andhra up to the middle of the seventeenth century abounds in instances where Brāhmaṇas adopted the military career. See also *JBORS*, XX, p. 196: *E. C.*, VII, Sk. p. 186. *E. C.* VII, Introduction, p. iii.

4 *S. I.*, II, Part v. No. 98, pp. 501–17.

*gōtra*, a prince named Pallava to As'vatthāman. His descendants rendered assistance for a long time to the Nāga king in the administration of the kingdom and protected the people and the king as well from any distress. Prince Pallava thus became the progenitor of the family, and thereafter his descendants were called Pallavas. In his lineage was born As'ōkavarman; his descendant was Kāḷabhartā, his son was Cūta-Pallava To him was born, "Prince Vīrakūrca, of celebrated fame, who simultaneously with the hand of the daughter of the Chief of Serpents, grasped also the complete insignia of royalty[1]."

The Vēlūrpalayam inscription seems to record a truthful tradition. Now if we turn to the early history of the Deccan, of the period of disintegration and disapperance of the Śātavāhana Empire, the truthful nature of the tradition will become apparent. The Śātavāhana Empire was divided into provinces which were placed under the charge of a number of feudatory families. The Purāṇas mention some of them: the Andhrabhṛtyas, Ābhīras, Śakas, Gārdhabhilas and the Muṇḍas or Muruṇḍas. The Ābhīras ruled in North Konkan, Gujerat, (Ānarta) and in the lower Narmada district[2]. In the South Konkan, the Muṇḍas or the Muruṇḍas who bore the titles *Mahārathi* and *Mahābhōja* were established as rulers. Two Andhra or Andhrabhṛtya dynasties were established respectively, in Andhra country proper and Vanavāsa in the southern Deccan. The Andhrabhṛtyas of Vanavāsa were also called Nāgas or Cuṭu-kula kings, and bore, like the Imperial Andhras, the title Śātakarṇi. Their capital was Vaijayanti, the modern Banavasi[3]. In the Andhra country, the Śrīparvatīya Andhras

1 *S. I. I.*, II., Part v, pp. 501–517. verses 4–6.

वंशस्ततोवर्तत पल्लवानां रक्षाविधिध्वस्तविपल्लवानाम् ।
भूभारखेदालसपन्नगेन्द्रसाहाय्यनिष्णातभुजार्गलानाम् ॥ ४
अशोकवर्मादिषु देवभूयं गतेषु वंश्येष्वथ पार्थिवेषु ।
वंशस्य चूडामणिराविरासीद्धर्त्तेन्दिराया इव काळभर्ता ॥ ५
तत्सुताजनिचूतपल्लवाद्वीरकूर्च इति विश्रुताह्वयः ।
यः फणीन्द्रसुतया सहाग्रहीद्राजचिह्नमखिलं यशोधनः ॥ ६

2 *Ind. Ant.*, XI, p. 157; *E. I.*, VIII, p. 88; Rapson: *C. A D.*

3 Rapson: *C. A D. Introduction* pp. xxi, xliii, xliv, No. 1, pp. 57–8; *A. S. W. I.* Vol. V, p. 60 ff,

or the Ikṣvākus succeeded the Imperial Andhras in the sovereignty of the land and rose to imperial dignity. The history of the Andhrabhṛtyas or the Cuṭu-*kula* or Cuṭu-Nāga kings of Vanavāsa seems to be intimately connected with the history of the origin and rise of the Pallava dynasty of Kāñci.

As suggested above, the Cuṭu-kula dynasty belonged to the race of the Nāgas. They would seem to have acquired that appellation because they were worshippers of serpents. The country or region round their capital Vaijayanti was for a long time known as Nāgakhaṇḍa. The Cuṭu-kula kings were a subordinate family and, probably a branch of the Imperial Andhras. The terms Cuṭu-kula and Cuṭu were not properly explained till recently. Dr. Jayaswal is the first to offer the correct explanation[1]. *Cuṭu* is the same word as the Sanskrit *cunṭ*, which means 'to become small.' The word survives in the name Chōṭa Nāgpūr, which means 'Minor Nāgpūr' or 'Smaller Nagpur' as compared with the 'Bigger Nāgpūr,' the capital of the Central Provinces. The terms *Cuṭu* and *Cuṭu-kula* may be, therefore, interpeted as meaning 'the Younger Branch'. The Nāgas of Vanavāsa were called Cuṭus or Cuṭu-kula kings because they belonged to the Younger Branch of the Imperial Śātavāhanas. That seems to be the reason why they adopted the imperial title, Śātakarṇi. They were called the Andhrabhṛtyas because they were the subordinate Andhras or more properly the "Servants of the Andhras". The kingdom of Vanavāsa in its heyday would seem to have extended from the Thana district or Aparānta in the north of the Bombay Presidency, to Mysore in the south and probably included the districts of Bellary and Anantapur, and perhaps Chittoor and Chingleput in the Madras Presidency in the extreme south-east[2].

The genealogy of the Nāga or Andhrabhṛtya dynasty or the Cuṭu kula Śātakarṇis has been carefully reconstructed by E. J. Rapson on the basis of three inscriptions of

1 *History of India, p.* 165.

2 Rapson: *C.A.D., Introduction* p. xliii, Sec. 55,p.55. n. 1.

the family[1]. He has tabulated the information in the following manner.

Hāritīputra-Viṣṇuskanda
Cuṭu-kul-ānanda Śātakarṇi
|
d. *Mahārathini Mahābhōji* — Mahārathi Mahābhōja
Nāgamūlaṇikā *married* Jivaputa (?)
|
Hāritīputra-Mānavya Dharmamahārājādhirāja
Vaijayantīpati Śivaskandavarman
(Śivakhaṁdanāga Śātaka)

On a fresh examination of the inscriptions of the family we get more information about the powerful Andhrabhṛtya dynasty of Vanavāsa. The chronology and little known history of this family is obtained from four inscriptions and not three as observed by Prof. E. J. Rapson. One of them comes from Banavāsi in North Kanara, another from Kanhēri or Kṛṣṇagiri in the Thana district in Bombay Presidency and two from Mālavalli in Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district, Mysore. All these inscriptions are in Prakrit and therefore may be assigned to the third century A.D. and not later. We shall examine them in their chronological order. The earliest inscription of the family comes from Mālavalli. At that place on a six sided stone pillar there are two inscriptions, one below the other. The first one is the earliest record. It refers to the king, Vaijayantīpura-rāja Mānavyasa gotto Hāritiputto Viṇhukada cuṭu-kulānanda Sātakaṁṇi, "Viṣṇuskanda, Śātakarṇi, the Joy of the Cuṭu family, a Hāritīputra of the *gōtra* of Mānavya, King of Vaijayanti"[2]. It records the gift by the king of a group of villages headed by Sahalāṭavi, for the enjoyment of God Siva called Maṭṭapatidēva, as a *dēvabhōga*, with freedom from taxes, from disturbances by royal officers, from entry by regular armed soldiers, and other customary priveleges. The charity is placed in the hands of

Sources for the History of the Cuṭu-kula or Cuṭu-Nāga or Andhra-bhṛtya dynasty of Vanavāsa.

1 *Ibid.* Introd. pp liii—lv.

2 *E. C.*, VIII. Shikārpur, No. 263.

Koṇḍamāna, son of Takiñci, a Brāhmaṇa of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* and a Hāritīputra. The edict is addressed to the provincial governor, (*Mahāvallabha*) Rajjuka. The record is dated the first day in the second fortnight of the hot season, in the first year of the victorious reign[1]. The second inscription on the stone pillar is the last in point of time; and we shall, therefore, refer to it last[2].

The Banavāsi inscription which may be considered next takes us further. It is engraved on a slab which is in the courtyard of the great temple at Banavāsi. It is carved beneath the representation of a five-hooded cobra or *nāga*. The inscription refers to the gift of a *nāga-pratimā*, *taḍāga* (a tank) and a *vihāra* (monastery) by *Mahābhōji Mahārājabālikā*, the daughter of the Mahārāja, 'whose son and progeny is alive, and who is the wife of...., together with the prince (*kumāra*) Sivakhaṁdanāga sataka (Śivaskanda Nāga Śātakarṇi) at that place[3]. It is dated the first day of the seventh fortnight of the *hēmanta* or winter season in the twelfth year (of the cēntury) of King Hāritīputra Viṣṇuskanda Cuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi, Lord of Vaijayanti[4]. It is stated that the minister (*amātya*) Khadasāti (Skandasvāti) was the superintendent of the work. The inscription describes the princess, her lord and son as Nāga worshippers; therefore they must be Nāgas. The princess, though unnamed is doubtless the daughter of King Viṣṇuskanda Śātakarṇi.

1 *Ibid.* The date portion runs thus: *bitīya gimha-pakkhaṁ padama-divasaṁ Padama-savaccaraṁ*. (l. 4)

2 *Inscr. from the Cave Temples of Western India* (A. S. W. I) 1881. Burgess and Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji. No. 10. p. 100.; *Ind. Ant.* XIV, p. 331ff.

3 The epithets *Mahābhōji* and the *Mahārathinī* which occurs below, may be the feminine forms of *Mahābhōja* and *Mahārathi*. They seem to correspond to the titles *Mahāsēnāpati*, *Mahātalavari* which appear in the inscriptions of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. It is interesting to note the prevailing practice of the ladies of the royal families of Dakṣiṇāpatha of describing themselves proudly as *Mahārājabālikas*, and not mentioning the names of their husbands. In her inscription at S'rīparvata, *Mahādēvī* Kodabalisiri does not mention the name of her lord. Similarly there seems to have been also the practice of calling themselves rather proudly as mothers of living progeny. This practice was also prevalent in Andhradesa. Thus Cāntisirinikā of the Pūgiya family (*E. I.* XX, No. C 3. p. 16) and Queen Cārudēvi of the Pallava dynasty (*E. I.* VIII, p. 143) describe themselves as mothers of their living sons.

4 The expression 'of the century' (*vasa-sataya*) is not quite clear. It has been the subject of controversy and disputed interpretation. See Fleet in *JRAS*, 1905, p. 304.

The third Prakrit inscription of the family is a fragment that comes from one of the Buddhist caves at Kānhēri.[1] It records the gift of a cave (*leṇa*) by the *Mahārājabālika Mahābhōji Mahārathinī* Nāgamūlaṇikā, mother of Khaṁdasāgasataka (Skanda Nāga Śātakarṇi) and sister of *Ahija* (*Āryaka*) *Mahābhōja* Dhēnasēna, to the *Bhikkusaṁgha* or the 'Congregation of Monks.' There is no doubt that the princess, Nāgamūlanikā, of the preceding Banavasi record is the person referred to as the *Mahārājabālika*, 'daughter of the Mahārāja', in the present inscription. Presumably the names of Nāgamūlaṇikā and her father King Viṣṇuskanda Śātakarṇi must have stood originally in the inscription. The record is dated the tenth day of...fortnight of the winter seasn in the ninth year, apparently of the victorious reign of Viṣṇuskanda Śātakarṇi.

It appears from the three foregoing inscriptions that King Hāritīputra Viṣṇuskanda Śātakarṇi was the first member of his family to declare independence and establish his dynasty on the throne of Vanavāsa. It is probable that he and his ancestors were feudatories of the Imperial Śātavāhanas. The title *Cuṭu-kul-ānanda Śātakarṇi*, 'Śātakarṇi, the Joy of the Cuṭu family' seems to imply that the Cuṭu-kula or the 'Younger Branch' were the Andhrabhṛtyas mentioned in the Puranas. The Mēkadona (Myakadona) stone inscription of the reign of Emperor Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Pulumāvi II refers to *Mahāsēnāpati* Skanda Nāga (Khaṁdanāga), the ruler of the province of Śātavāhanihāra[2]. *Mahāsēnāpati* Skandanāga was a feudatory of the Śātavāhana Empire. It is probable that the province of Śātavāhanihāra formed part of the kingdom of Vanavāsa and comprised or included the modern districts of Bellary and Anantapur. It may not be unreasonable also to assume that Skanda Nāga was the provincial viceroy who ruled over the western parts of the Andhra Empire under Emperor Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Pulumāvi II, with his capital at Vaijayanti. If we accept this conclusion, it will follow that Skanda Nāga might have been possibly an ancestor of Viṣṇuskanda Śātakarni.

1 *J. B. Br. A. S.*, VI, p. 10, No. 40 and plate : *A. S. W. I.*, V., p. 86, No. 29 :

2 *E. I.*, XIV, p. 143 ff.

The second inscription on the Mālavalli stone pillar takes us further down to one more generation. It is engraved directly beneath the inscription of King Viṣṇuskanda which is referred to above. It is the record of the Kadamba king Śivaskandavarman, of the Mānavya *gōtra*, who is described as a Hāritīputra and *Dharmamahārājādhirāja Vaijayantīpati*, 'the rightful supreme king of great kings', 'the Lord of Vaijayanti'[1]. It records a grant by the king in the fourth year of his reign. It appears from the record that the earlier gift was resumed by a subsequent government or dynasty that came into power after the death of Viṣṇuskanda Śātakarni or his successor and that it was restored together with an additional estate. The edict runs as follows: "The ownership of the estate formerly said to be given, having been abandoned, the grant is now made with a full mind a second time to his maternal uncle Śrī Nāgadatta of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*, a Kauśikīputra and an ornament of the Koṇḍamāna family. The gift is made for the enjoyment of god Maṭṭapatidēva as a *devabhōga* on the second day under the first asterism Rōhiṇi in the first fortnight of the Śarada (Autumn) season in the fourth year. This Kadamba (donee) and the senior good minister shall have the trust." It is noteworthy that the donor and the donee are said to be Kadambas. And Śrī Nāgadatta is referred to as a descendant of the original donee Koṇḍamāna, as well as the maternal uncle of the king. This implies that Śivaskandavarman was related to Koṇḍamāna. And Koṇḍamāna who is called a Hāritīputra seems to be related to king Viṣṇuskanda Śātakarni who was also a Hāritīputra. It is therefore possible to believe that Śivaskandavarman, the Kadamba king, was also related to the Cuṭu monarch. The Banavasi stone pillar inscription refers to prince Khaṁdanāga sataka (Skanda Nāga Śātakarni), the daughter's (Nāgamūlanika's) son of king Viṣṇuskanda Śātakarṇi. Śivaskandavarman, the Kadamba, may therefore be identified with Skanda Nāga Śātakarṇi and therefore is related to the Cuṭu monarch as his grandson.

1 *E. C.*, VII, Shikarpur, No. 264: *Translations*, p. 142. See Fleet in *JRAS*, 1905, p. 305.

In the opinion of Lewis Rice, the interval between the earlier grant of Viṣṇuskanda Śātakarṇi and the second or re-grant of Śivaskandavarman, may roughly be a century[1]. But this seems to be too long an interval to be good for the course of political events in the South of the period to which the inscriptions have been assigned on palaeographical grounds. These inscriptions cannot be assigned to a date earlier than the downfall of the Imperial Andhras in the dawn of the third century and certainly to a period not later than the middle of the third century, on account of their Prakrit language. The interval between the first grant and the second one may not be also more than three or four generations at the most. The palaeography of the inscriptions amply bears out this assumption. The alphabet of the first inscription appears to belong definitely to a later date than the characters of the inscriptions of the time of Gautamiputra Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi. Moreover there seem to be hardly more than two generations between the original donee Koṇḍamāna and his descendant Śrī Nāgadatta. Accordingly, the earlier record may be assigned reasonably to about the first decade and the second one to about the middle of the third century A. D. The first inscription like the Banavasi and Kanhēri inscriptions belongs to the reign of Mahārāja Viṣṇuskanda Cuṭu-kulānanda Śātakarṇi of Vaijayanti. The second record reads entirely like a Kadamba document. In fact it refers to the prosperity of the Kadamba family, who were the rulers of the kingdom of Vanavāsa at that time. The donor, Śivaskandavarman was evidently the first king of the Kadamba family, though his descendants did not regard him as the founder of the dynasty on the throne of Vaijayanti[2].

Probable period of the Prakrit inscriptions on the Mālavalli stone pillar.

1 *E. C.*, VII, Shikarpur, No. 264; *Translations* p. 142.

2 Dr. Fleet correctly reads the name of the king S'ivaskandavarman as the Kadamba king. (*JRAS*, 1905, p. 305 ff.) But E. J. Rapson (*CAD*, Introduction, p. liv) assumes that S'ivaskandavarman to be the last of the Cuṭu kings, and suggests that the Kadamba conquest of Vanavāsa followed S'ivaskandavarman's death. This view is entirely wrong. Dr. Jayaswal also falls into the same error. (*History of India*, pp. 168–9) He interprets the record accordingly to suit his theory. He says that he has carefully examined the plate and that he has been able to make out the name of Mayūras'arman. He complains

The date of the second Mālavalli inscription as well as the date of the accession of Śivaskandavarman or Śivaskanda Nāga Śātakarṇi may be determined precisely with the help of the astronomical details given in the inscription itself. The details are: *saṁvaccaram padama sarada pakkhaṁ bitiya divasaṁ padama-nakkhattaṁ Rohiṇiyaṁ*, "in the fourth year, in the first fortnight of the Śarada season, on the second day under the first asterism Rōhiṇi". The manner in which the date is expressed is somewhat remarkable. Here is the earliest Prakrit inscription which mentions in addition to the *nakṣatra* other details which help the calculation of the equivalent of the date in Christian era. The reference to the Śarada season is also peculiar, for it indicates the divison of the year into six seasons and the supersession of the three-fold division into *grīṣma*, *varṣa* and *hēmanta* seasons of the earlier Śātavāhana epoch. The six-fold division of the year involves also the division of the season into four and sometimes but rarely into five *pakṣas* or fortnights. Herein lies the clue for the determination of the proper equivalent of the date in Christian era. There is no reference here to the division of the year into twelve luni-solar months, arranged according to the *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta* systems of reckoning. Presumably, therefore, the year seems to have been divided into twelve months, each month commencing with the *saṁkrānti* moment or the sun's entry into each zodiacal sign. The Śarada season, which is the fourth in the order of seasons corresponds, therefore, to Tula and Vṛs'cika solar months and which though not exactly but roughly coincide with the luni-solar months As'vayuja and Kārtika. In both the *pūrṇimānta* and *amānta* systems of arrangements of fortnights,

The probable date of the Second inscription on the Mālavalli stone pillar and the accession of S'ivaskandavarman.

that the reading given by Lewis Rice is not to be seen on the plate which accompanies the text. Dr. Jayaswal is apparently interpreting the inscription with a predisposed state of mind. The reading given by Lewis Rice was revised by Dr. Fleet (*JRAS*, 1905, p. 305); and he did not find any other name than that of S'ivaskandavarman. There seems to be therefore no warranty for reading the name of Mayūras'arman as Dr. Jayaswal does, except that of S'ivaskandavarman, after the words *Kadambanam-raja*. (I. 1) I have also examined the plate carefully and find myself unable to read anything like the letters which form the name Mayūras'arman.

the *nakṣatra* Rōhiṇi never occurs as the *first* asterism on the *second* day in the *first pakṣa* in the luni-solar month As'vayuja. In the *amānta* As'vayuja Rōhiṇi enters only in the second fortnight after the full-moon *tithi* when the moon will be in As'vini. In the same manner in the *pūrṇimāntā* As'vayuja, Rōhiṇi occurs after the full moon *tithi* of As'vayuja, that is, in the first fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Mārgas'ira, which will be the third *pakṣa* of the Śarada season. Thus the only possibility for the occurrence of Rōhiṇi as the first *nakṣatra* of the Śarada season, and on the second civil day as a rare case, is in the solar month Tula. But even then, Tula-*māsa* must commence after the full-moon *tithi* of As'vayuja, which means that the Tula *saṁkrānti* moment should have occurred a few days after the full moon day of As'vayuja.

We have, therefore, to look for a suitable date in the solar month Tula for coincidence of the details in the first half of the third century A. D. During this period, between 200 and 250 A. D., there were two occasions when the Tula *saṁkrānti* took place after a few days after the full-moon *tithi* of As'vayuja. The earliest date according to such coincidence was September 20, 224 A. D. The As'vayuja full-moon day fell in that year on September 16, and the Tula *saṁkrānti* moment was at 52 *ghaṭikas* 48 *palas* after sunrise, on September 18. The *saṁkrānti* or the 1st civil day of the month Tula was, therefore, reckoned from September 19, 224 A. D. If September 19 was the first civil day, the next following day, the 20th would be the second day in the first *pakṣa* of the Śarada season. But on September 19, Rōhiṇi ended and Mṛgas'ira commenced at 14 *ghaṭikas* 29 *palas* after sunrise, that is, about 11 hours 30 minutes in the morning. Thus September 20 could not be the equivalent of the date recorded in the inscription.

The second date was Wednesday, September 20, 243 A.D. In that year the full-moon *tithi* of As'vayuja fell on September 16; and the Tula *saṁkrānti* took place on September 19; the *saṁkrānti* moment being 47 *ghaṭikas* 13 *palas* after sunrise. That day, September 19 was, therefore, the day of Tula *saṁkrānti* as well as the first civil day of the solar month Tula,

It was accordingly the first day of the first *pakṣa* of the Śarada season. On that date the moon entered Rōhiṇi about 26 *gh.* after sunrise and lasted till the evening of the next following day; thus the ending moment of the *nakṣatra* was on September 20, at about 27 *gh.* 14 *palas* after sunrise. Thus Rōhiṇi was the first *nakṣatra* of the Śarada season of that year; and it also happened to be or continue to be the asterism on the second or the next following civil day. The details of the record accordingly yield the exact corresponding date namely, Wednesday, September 20, 243 A. D. If this date fell in the fourth year of his reign, Śivaskandavarman's accession would have taken place about or some time after October 239 A. D[1]. The date is quite probable, for it is in proper agreement with the course of political events in Vanavāsa and Andhradesa as we shall presently see. Skanda Nāga Śātakarṇi would seem to have ascended the throne of Vanavāsa under the name of Śivaskandavarman, and assumed the title *Dharmamahārājadhirāja* long after the death of his maternal grandfather, Hāritīputra Viṣṇuskanda Śātakarṇi, c. 225 A D. The interval covered the reigns of Dhēnasēna, the son and successor of Viṣṇuskanda Śātakarṇi, and another power or prince who successfully intervened and enjoyed the sovereignty of Vanavāsa to the exclusion of Śivaskandavarman, as is indicated by the second Mālavalli pillar inscription[2].

There are no materials for determining either the date of accession or the tenure on the throne of King Hāritīputra Viṣṇuskanda Cuṭu-kula Śātakarṇi. There are no records also

1 These dates have been calculated with the help of L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's *The Indian Ephemeris*.

2 Mr. M. Govind Pai (*Journ. Ind Hist.*, XIII, p. 138–143) discusses the Geneology and Chronology of the Early Kadambas of Banavasa, Therein he refers to the date of the second Mālavalli inscription and calculates the equivalent of the details as Monday October 18, 213 A. D The date and his conclusion are open to serious objections. They are untenable. According to him, the *pūrṇimānta* system was in vogue at that time. If that were so, October 18, fell in the *pūrṇimānta* Mārgas'ira, which began on October 17. But *pūrṇimānta* Mārgas'ira was the second month and its first *pakṣa* could be only the second *pakṣa* of the S'arada season of that year. The S'arada season would comprise the two months *pūrṇimānta* As'vayuja and Kārtika and never *pūrṇimānta* Kārtika and Mārgas'ira or *pūrṇimānta* Mārgas'ira and Puṣya.

which enable us to trace the events of his reign. Viṣṇuskanda's accession to the throne or more properly the commencement of his reign as a paramount sovereign may have taken place about 210 A. D. or even somewhat earlier, just about the time when his contemporary Vasiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śāntamūla the Great destroyed the last of the Śātavāhanas, proclaimed his independence and assumed the Imperial role. The almost simultaneous assumption of independence by the Cuṭu and Ikṣvāku monarchs and other events indicate that they were both allies and were responsible for the uprooting of the Śātavāhana dynasty. The Banavāsi pillar inscription of his daughter dated the twelfth year of his reign seems to imply that the reign of Viṣṇuskanda may not have lasted more than fifteen years. The details of the date of record, *vasa sataya 12 hemantāna pakkha 7 divasa 1* "the first day of the seventh fortnight of the 12th year of the prosperous reign", denote, as Dr. Fleet points out, the anniversary of the accession day or the coronation date of Viṣṇuskanda Śātakarṇi."[1] Even apart from the date of the Banavasi record, it is also probable that the king enjoyed a span of fifteen years as paramount sovereign, after having ruled for a long time the great province of Vanavāsa as a feudatory of the Śātavāhana Empire. His reign must have been peaceful and prosperous like that of his Ikṣvāku contemporary in the east, and come to an end about 225 A. D.

1. Hāritīputra Viṣṇuskanda Cuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi: the first known king of Andhrabhṛtya dynasty of Vanavāsa. c. 210–225 A. D.

The Kanhēri cave inscription refers to *Mahābhoja Āryaka* Dhēnasēna, brother of the princess *Mahārathinī Mahābhōji* Nāgamūlanikā; and, therefore, he must have been the son of Mahārāja Viṣṇuskanda Śātakarṇi. There are no records of the eriodp of Dhēnasēna; nevertheless we may assume that he succeeded his father on the throne and reigned for a short time. His reign appears to have continued to be peaceful and prosperous, for the allies of his house were still powerful in Andhradesa in the east

2. Dhēnasēna c. 225—232 A. D.

1 *JRAS*, 1905, p. 305.

Aparānta and Ujjaini in the north. Dhēnasēna's contemporary in Andhradesa was emperor Mātharīputra Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta, who at that period was at the height of his power in Dakṣiṇāpatha. Dhēnasēna apparently left no children to succeed him; and with his death the Andhrabhṛtya or the Cuṭu-kula or the Nāga dynasty of Vanavāsa came to an end.

The second inscription on the Mālavalli pillar seems to refer to the abandonment or resumption of the charity granted by Viṣṇuskanda Śātakarṇi to Hāritīputra Koṇḍamana for the enjoyment by the god Maṭṭapatidēva. The enjoyement of the gift was at any rate interrupted; and it could have happened only on the failure of succession on Dhēnasēna's death and the successful prevention of the accession of the rightful heir to the throne of Vaijayanti by some unknown power or prince. Skanda Nāga Śātakarṇi, the daughter's son of Viṣṇuskanda, was evidently the rightful heir who claimed the succession. But he did not succeed in the attempt to capture the crown. Apparently another prince also claimed the throne, and then there broke out a war of dynastic succession. The Velūrpalayam copper-plate inscription states that Vīrakūrca son of Cūtapallava, of celebrated fame, "simultaneously with the hand of the daughter of the Chief of Serpents (i. e. the Nāga king), grasped also the complete insignia of royalty and became famous." Vīrakūrca Pallava claimed the succession to the throne of Vanavasa evidently as the daughter's husband of the Nāga king, who may be identified with Viṣṇuskanda. The Nāga king cannot be identified with Skanda Nāga Śātakarṇi as Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil does, for the prince has been shown to be a Kadamba. It is obvious that Viṣṇuskanda Śātakarṇi had more daughters than one; one of them, probably the younger, married Vīrakūrca and the other was the wife of Mahābhōja Jīvaputra(?) and the mother of Skanda Nāga Śātakarṇi.

Virakurcavarman quickly seized the kingdom of Vanavāsa on the death of Dhēnasēna by a stroke of his military skill and prowess, and prevented Skandanāga Śātakarṇi from occupying the throne of his grandfather[1]. It cannot be said, therefore,

1 This is also the view of Dr. Jayaswal. See *History of India*, p. 169.

that the Pallava prince inherited the throne of Kāñci as Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil does, in trying to interpret the Vēlūrpālayam inscription[1]. Vīrakūrca became the lord of Vanavāsa, because he conquered it. The expression *agrhīt* 'grasped' in the Vēlūrpālayam inscription (v. 6) is significant; stripped of its poetic imagery, it means that Vīrakūrca conquered the kingdom by his strength of arms, whether it was the kingdom of Vanavāsa or Kāñci. But Kāñci had not yet come into existence. Vīrakūrca therefore reigned in Vanavāsa for a short time. But thereafter he was overpowered and conquered by his Kadamba rival, Skanda Nāga Śātakarni. The first act of the Kadamba monarch, as soon as he became the undisputed lord of Vaijayanti, was to restore the estate formerly granted by his grandfather, to Śrī Nāgadatta, a descendant of the original donee and his own maternal uncle. Skanda Nāga Śātakarṇi or Śivaskandavarman enlarged the grant and once more registered it publicly at the same spot. It is probable that Vīrakūrca, soon after he had seized the kingdom of Vanavāsa, resumed the charity, for it had been made to the Kadamba family who were his inveterate enemies.

Virakūrca usurped the throne of Vanavāsa. c. 233. A. D.

The accompanying chronological chart gives the reader an idea of the political condition of the Deccan about the middle of the third century A. D. On the death of Dhēnasēna, when a dynastic struggle broke out for succession and Vīrakūrcavarman gained the upper hand, Skanda Nāga Śātakarṇi would seem to have turned to Andhradesa for assistance. The Kadamba prince was related to the Ikṣvāku monarch, Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta, for he had married his daughter Kodabalisiri. As stated elsewhere, the lord of Andhradesa declared war against the Pallava usurper on behalf of his son-in-law and protege. The war of succession in Vanavāsa was a protracted one. And it would appear that Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta did not survive to see the end of hostilities and the success of Skanda Nāga Śātakarṇi's arms. This inference is based upon two facts. Firstly, an

War of dynastic succession in Vanavāsa c. 233–239 A.D.

1 *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 48.

## *A Synchronistic Chronological Chart showing the Imperial Andhras and their Successors.*

### (c. 100 A. D.—265 A. D.)

The Imperial Andhras or the S'ātavāhanas.
(*According to the succession and periods given in the Purāṇas.*)

Vāsiṣṭhiputra S'rī Pulumāvi II. (c. 116—144 A. D., 29 years.)

Caṭaraphaṇa S'ātakarṇi: c. 144–157 A. D.; 14 years;
(Synchronised with the periods of two usurpers (?) S'iva S'rī and S'ivaskanda S'ātakarṇi.)

Gautamīputra S'rī Yajña S'ātakarṇi
(c. 157–186 A. D. 29 years.)

Vijaya S'rī S'ātakarṇi. (c. 186–191: 6 years.)

Vāsiṣṭhiputra Candra S'rī (c. 191–200 A. D: 10 years)
*

*Of another Branch*
Pulumāvi IV
(c. 200–206 A. D. 7 years.)
(*End.*)

The Andhrajātiyas or the Andhras or the S'rīparvatiyas or the Ikṣvākus. (Andhradesa)

Vāsiṣṭhiputra S'rī S'āntamūla the Great (*As'vamēdhayājin*)
(c. 200–218 A. D. 18 years.)

Māthariputra S'rī Vīrapuruṣadatta
(c. 218–239 A. D. 18 years.)

- Vāsiṣṭhiputra S'rī Bahubala S'āntamūla c. 238–252 A. D.
  - ? Saka usurper Satyasena. 260 A. D.
- *Mahādēvī* Kodabali siri (Kundavalli S'ri *m.* the King of ) Vanavāsa: *Dharmamahārājādhirāja-Vaijayanti pati Kadambānām rājā*, = S'ivaskandavarman.

*Mahāsēnāpati* (Khaṁdanāga) Skanda nāga
Ruler of the S'ātavāhani-raṭha,
(according to the Mekadoni Inscription,
A vassal of Emperor Pulumāvi II.)
*

The Andhrabhṛtyas or the Nāgas or the Cuṭukula-S'ātakarṇis or the Cuṭus of Vanavāsa.
*

Hārītīputra Viṣṇuskanda Cuṭukulānanda S'ātakarṇi. (c. 200–225 A. D.)

- D. Nāgamūlanikā *married* a Mahābhōja of the Kadamba family; name not known.
  - S'ivaskandavarman. (239—252 A. D.)
    - *
    - Mayūras'arman. (Founder of the Kadamba dynasty at Vaijayanti.) c. 310—340 A. D.
- D. name not known. *m.* the Pallava Vīrakūrca or Kumara Viṣṇu I. Bappa, 233–239 A. D. and 252–? A. D. (*As'vamēdhayājin*)
  - S'ivaskandavarman I. (*As'vamēdhayājin*) 252—265 A. D.
- Dhēṇasēna (c. 225–232) (died without issue

inscription of the eleventh year of Emperor Śrī Bahubala Santamūla at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa refers to Mahādēvi Kodabalisiri (Kundavalli Śrī), daughter of Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta and the Queen of Vanavāsa[1]. The King of Vanavāsa is not mentioned by name in that record but he has been identified already with Śivaskandavarman, the Kadamba king of the second Mālavalli inscription. Elsewhere, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Bahubala Śāntamūla's reign is stated to have lasted from *c*. 238 to 252 A. D. According to this date, the eleventh year of his reign would fall about 249 A. D. And on that date Śivaskandavarman was reigning in Vanavāsa. Secondly, two inscriptions dated the 15th year and another dated the 18th year of Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta refer to certain benefactions to the Buddhist Church of Śrīparvata by princess Śānti Śrī of the Pūgīya family, a paternal aunt and mother-in-law of the King, for securing 'victory and long life' (*ayuvadhanike vejayike*) to her son-in-law[2]. The passage *Ikhā kunāṁ sāmi siri Viripurisadatasa ayuvadhanike vejayike*, which occurs in numerous inscriptions of two or more successive years, seems to indicate that the Ikṣvāku monarch was engaged in a great war against a powerful enemy and that consequently his paternal aunt and mother-in-law was most anxious for his welfare and success. According to the chronology of the Ikṣvākus that has been proposed elsewhere, the 15th year of Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta would fall about 234 A. D. That was the year about which Vīrakūrcavarman seized the crown of Vanavāsa by a *coup de main* and prevented the accession of Skanda Nāga Śātakarṇi. If this inference is accepted, Dhēnasēna's death has to be placed sometime prior to that date, that is about 232-3 A.D. Thus it appears that Virakūrcavarman held the throne of Vanavāsa from about 233 to 239 A. D., when he was conquered and driven out of the realm by the Kadamba king Śivaskandavarman.

Prince Skanda Nāga Śātakarṇi ascended the throne of Vaijayanti under the name Śivaskandavarman and assumed the title *Dharmamahārājadhirāja*, 'the rightful supreme king of great

1 *E. I.*, XXI, p. 65, Insc. M series and *E. I.* XX, p. 21, Ins. E.

2 *E. I.*, XX, No. H., p. 24.

kings.' He reigned only for a short time, from *c.* 239—252 A. D. He must have been a middle aged man when he came to the throne, for he is mentioned as a grown-up young man in the Banavāsi record. (*c.* 210 A. D.) He was a powerful king; he conquered the great kingdom of Vanavāsa which evidently extended from Nasik or Aparānta in the north to the Cauveri in the south and from the sea on the west perhaps to the sea on the east. Śivaskandavarman was the first Kadamba king on the throne of Vaijayanti, though his descendants did not regard him as the founder of the house.

S'ivaskandavarman (Skanda Nāga S'ātakarni) the first Kadamba king. c. 239–252 A. D.

Śivaskandavarman's death may be placed with reasonable certainty about 252 A. D. The Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription of his queen, Kodabalisiri, dated the eleventh year of Emperor Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Bahubala Śāntamūla (*c.* 249-50 A D.) refers to him as the reigning king. And there are no inscriptions of the Ikṣvāku monarch dated beyond that year. By the middle of the third century A. D., the Pallavas had already emerged into power as rulers of the newly founded kingdom of Kāñci. The Mayidavōlu Prakrit plates[1] of *Yuvamahārāja* Śivaskandavarman of Kāñci, show that by the date of that record, the Pallavas had conquered Southern Andhradesa as far as the Kṛṣṇa river and superseded the sovereignty of the Ikṣvākus. Accordingly it may be assumed that the Ikṣvākus and their allies, the Kadambas, declined shortly after the eleventh year of Śrī Bahubala Śāntamūla. The Purāṇa account, which states that the Śrīparvatīyas and the Andhrabhṛtyas would simultaneously enjoy the sovereignty for fifty or fifty-two years after the fall of the Imperial Andhras, lends strong support to this inference. With the death of Śivaskandavarman, the political condition of the Deccan completely changed. The newly founded Kadamba dynasty at Vaijayanti declined and did not rise again till the days of Mayūras'arman. The formidable coalition of the three great powers of Dakṣiṇāpatha, the Ikṣvākus, Kadambas and Śaka-Mahākṣatrapas, quickly declined and disappeared. The last of the Ikṣvākus was conquered and the Imperial house of

1 *E. I.*, VI, pp. 84 ff.

Vijayapuri was uprooted by the rising Pallava power. In the north, the Śaka-Mahākṣatrapas also declined; they were so much absorbed in their own domestic troubles that they had no time to interfere in the affairs of the south and come to the rescue of their allies in Vanavāsa and Andhradesa.

On the death of Śivaskandavarman, whether it was due to natural causes or otherwise, the kingdom of Vanavāsa passed once more into the hands of Vīrakūrcavarman, who would seem to have seized it by a *coup de main* overpowering his Kadamba rivals. Thus Vīrakūrca became lord of Vanavāsa for a second time. On this occasion he would appear to have abandoned Vaijayanti, moved eastwards and made Kāñcīpura on the banks of the Vēgavati, the seat of his new government. He was probably the founder of the new city; at any rate he was the first prince who occupied and raised it to the dignity of the imperial capital of the South in a short time. Vīrakūrca would seem to have abandoned Vaijayanti for two reasons. Firstly, the Kadambas were still powerful there. The descendants of Śivaskandavarman might prove a menace to his sovereignty at any moment. Secondly, he had conquered the Ikṣvākus and carved a great empire on the north-east which extended as far as the Kṛṣṇa river in the north; he was therefore in need of a suitable capital in the east to consolidate his power.

Virakūrcavarman becomes king of Vanavāsa for a second time: Establishes the Pallava dynasty at Kāñcipura c. 252 A. D.

Vīrakūrcavarman's claim to the throne of Vanavāsa and his two attempts to secure the succession by a brilliant stroke of his military prowess rested therefore on his nearness of relationship to the Cuṭu king of Vanavāsa. Divested of poetic fancy, the statement of the Vēlūrpālayam inscription means this and nothing more. It cannot be interpreted in any other manner than the above. This interpretation is also supported by another fact. Vīrakūrca's father is Cūtapallava. The names of both the father and son do not sound like real or proper names; they seem to be epithets or titles; and that may be the reason why they are not repeated in the family. These

two Pallava princes, would appear to have become famous and widely known in the realm by their epithets or titles, Cūtapallava and Vīrakūrca, and their personal names were not well known.

Cūtapallava and Vīrakūrca: not proper names but epithets.

That is precisely what the Vēlūrpālayam inscription also states. Vīrakūrca is a compound of two words, *vīra* and *kūrca*, and means 'a bundle of heroism'. Indeed Vīrakūrcavarman was a great soldier and an embodiment of courage and military prowess. It is probable that he was for a long time connected with the Andhrabhṛtya kingdom of Vanavāsa, rendered assistance to the Nāga king in the administration of the realm and acquired the title Vīrakūrca, which soon superseded his personal name. His descendants remembered him for a long time only by that title and not by his proper name. The Vēlūrpālayam inscription accordingly declares that he became celebrated (*Vīrakūrca iti vis'rutāhvayaḥ*) as Vīrakūrca. Similarly, the name Cūtapallava is an epithet; and indeed it is an interesting one. It may have been connected with the name Cuṭu-*kula*. It is possible that Cūta-pallava was the Sanskritised form of the original or earlier term Cuṭu-Pallava, and that in later times when the origin and historical significance of the epithet was forgotten, Cuṭu-Pallava was changed into Cūtapallava by the composers of the formal preambles (*pras'astis*) of the charters of the family. In this manner alone, the meaning and significance of the epithet Cūtapallava seems to be intelligible. If this interpretation is accepted, the original relationship or connection between the ancestors of the Pallava family and the Nāga or Cuṭu or the Andhrabhṛtya kings of Vanavāsa will become apparent. As the Cuṭus were to the Imperial Andhras, so the Pallavas were to the Cuṭu-Śātakarṇi kings. Accordingly one of them came to be known by the epithet Cuṭu-Pallava which in course of time became Cūta-Pallava. This inference finds ample support in another fact as well. The Pallavas of Kāñci who were the descendants of the Cūta-Pallava or Cuṭu-Pallava, adopted the royal insignia and the bull emblem of the Cuṭus. The Vēlūrpālayam inscription states that Vīrakūrca also 'seized the

complete insignia of royalty', of the Nāga king.[1] That Cuṭu-Pallava or Cūta-Pallava of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, an off-shoot of the Nāga family, was long associated in the government of Vanavāsa is referred to by the Vēlūrpālayam record itself. It states: "Thence came into existence the descendants of prince Pallava, whose bar-like arms were skilled in rendering assistance to the Lord of Serpents who was fatigued by the labour of carrying on his head the burden of the earth."[2]

III

The Pallavas; and their original home.

The history of the political events that led to the rise of Vīrakūrca to the sovereignty of the South leads us to the consideration of the questions: Whence did the Pallavas come? Who were the Pallavas and what was their original home? Some scholars believe the ancestral home of the Pallavas to be Andhradesa, in the region of the Kṛṣṇa and the Godavari rivers.[3] Except the fact that the early Pallava kings appear to be reigning in the region on the southern bank of the Kṛṣṇa river, there is no evidence, epigraphical, literary or otherwise, that supports this conclusion. None of the inscriptions of the Pallava dynasty save the Bāhūr plates of Nṛptuṅgavarman speak of the ancestral home of the early Pallavas. The inscription states that from As'vatthāman was born a king named Pallava, who ruled the kings residing in (the region known as) Navakhaṇḍa, together with the ploughmen.'[4] The

1 *S. I. I.*, II, Pt. V. p. 501 ff. v. 6.

2 *Ibid.*

वंशस्ततो वर्तत पल्लवानां रक्षाविधिध्वस्तविपल्लवानाम् ।
भूभारखेदालसपन्नगेन्द्रसाहाय्यनिष्णातभुजार्गलानाम् ॥ v. 4,

Some unascribed square lead coins (Rapson : *C. A D.* pp. 54–55, plate VIII, Nos, 217–232 and some other coins of the feudatories of the Andhra dynasty (*Opi. Cit.* p 57 ff.) contain the figure of a bull (*vṛṣabha*) standing to the proper right and often surmounted by a *nandipāda*. These coins may be ascribed to the Andhrabhṛtyas.

3 V. Venkayya: *The Pallavas* (*A. S. I.*, 1906–07, p 217 ff.) See also Dr. K. R. Subrahmanyam: *Buddhist Remains in Andhra and History of Andhra*, p. 73 ff.

4 *E. I.* XVIII, p. 5, v. 6.

अश्वत्थाम्नस्ततो राजा पल्लवाख्यो बभूव यः ।
ररक्ष नवखण्डस्थान् भूपतीन् सकृषीवलान् ॥

name Navakhaṇḍa has been rendered by some scholars to mean simply 'nine divisons', a description by which ancient India was known to the astronomers, Parās'ara and Varāhamihira, although the term was much older than their time and was afterwards adopted by the compilers of the Purāṇas.[1] The astronomers and the authors of the Puranas therefore do not help us to identify Navakhaṇḍa. Dr. Jayaswal believes that Navakhaṇḍa should be near about Andhradesa in the north, and identifies it with Nawargarh, one of the traditional 'Eighteen Forest Kingdoms of Kosala'.[2] He is eager to find a locality in the north of Andhra, whose situation would be near enough to the so called Bhāras'iva Nāga empire, from where an attack on Andhradesa was easy for the ancestors of Vīrakūrcavarman. This identification is untenable.

The Bāhūr grant itself furnishes the clue for identifying Navakhaṇḍa. One of the earliest descendants of the eponymous prince Pallava was Koṅkaṇika.[3] That name occurs also in the Vāyalūr pillar inscription.[4] But some scholars reject it along with the other names of the record as merely legendary and regard it as probably reminiscent of Koṅkaṇi, Kangani or Kongani, the ancestor of the Western Gaṅga kings. It has therefore no historical value. But against this view there is the fact that the Bāhūr grant does not mention a number of kings, like the Vāyalūr inscription or the Vēlūrpālayam record, in the pedigree of the early Pallavas but that of Koṅkaṇika alone. Koṅkaṇika, therefore, may be an epithet and imply "one who hailed from Koṅkan." The term may be regarded also as signifying 'one who exercised authority in the region or province known as Koṅkan'. It is, therefore, extremely likely that the term, like Vīrakūrca and Cūta-Pallava, came to be regarded as a proper

Koṅkaṇ, the home of the ancestors of the Pallavas.

1 Cunnigham: *Ancient Geography of India*, 2nd edn. p. 6

2 *History of India*, p. 193. 18 Forest kingdoms are referred to in *E. I*, VIII p. 286.

3 *E. I.* XVIII, p. 5, v. 7.

विमलकोङ्कणिकादि तदन्वयादजनि बृन्दमरिप्रमदानतम् ।

4 *E. I.* XVIII, pp. 145 ff. (151), 1. 3, Twentieth name.

or personal name rather than as an epithet, when its true import and historical significance was forgotten in course of time. The eponymous prince, Pallava, might be Suvis'ākha, son of Kulaipa, a Pahlava, who was the minister of Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman. By the date of his rise to power, Suvis'ākha was probably not regarded any longer as a foreigner, though his origin as a Pahlava was still remembered. The Junagadh inscription states that Rudradāman appointed Suvis'ākha to the rulership of the provinces, Surāṣṭra and Anarta[1]. These regions comprise the modern divisions of Kathiawad, Gujerat and North Konkan[2]. As Suvis'ākha was first the ruler of Konkan, his descendants may possibly have remembered him as Koṅkaṇika. His descendants, on account of their long association with Konkan, would have also acquired the appellation Koṅkaṇikas. This view is fully corroborated by the Bāhūr grant referred to above. And this exactly is the claim of the Pahlava minister Suvis'ākha. The Junagadh inscription states :—" Where every one of the ministers of the king, though fully endowed with the qualifications of ministers, were averse to the task of carrying out repairs to the Sudars'ana lake, which was extensively destroyed during a storm sometime ago, and when the people were in despair on account of great distress, Suvis'ākha carried out the work for the benefit of the inhabitants of the town and country. Thus while he endeavoured to increase the spiritual merit and glory of his sovereign by his good government, he also pleased the people by his benevolent acts for them and earned their gratitude and goodwill."[3] Prince Pallava, whom we may identify with the Pahlava Suvis'ākha, was not a king but merely a minister. The Bāhūr grant, therefore, may be regarded as recording a truthful tradition about the earliest members of the Pallava dynasty and their migration from Konkan.

The name Pallava has indeed a remarkable history. The word is written as *Palhava* about 134 A. D. in the Nasik cave

1 *E. I.*, VIII, p. 36 ff.

2 For the extent of Konkan, see *Bom. Gaz.* vol. I, *Introd.* p. 9.

3 *E I.*, VIII, p. 36, text lines 16—20.

inscriptions of the time of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Pulumāvi II[1]. It changed into *Pahlava* about 150 A.D. in the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman, and was almost written like *Pallava*, for we note that the compound letter *hla* resembles *lla* in it. The Mayidavōlu Prakrit grant, which is the earliest record of the Pallavas of Kāñci, solves the difficulty in a simple manner. Therein the word is written as *Palava*. But within a few years after that, the final Sanskrit form came into existence as *Pallava* with double *l* in the Hirahaḍagalli plates. This identity of the names *Pahlava* and *Pallava* and other facts mentioned above show that the ancient kings of Kāñci may possibly have belonged to the same family as Suvis'ākha, the Pahlava. The latter lived about 150 A. D. and within a century after that emerged Vīrakūrcavarman, the founder of the Pallava dynasty of Kañci. The descendants of Suvis'ākha must have moved southwards; one of them was probably Cūta-Pallava.

*Palhava* and *Pahlava* same as *Pallava*, the final Sanskrit form.

The descendants of Suvis'ākha also were probably known as Koṅkaṇikas. This appellation afterwards ceased to be remembered as an epithet but came to be regarded as a personal or proper name. It is clear, therefore, that Konkan was known as Navakhaṇḍa. This identification is further corroborated by a copper-plate inscription of the Śilāhāra king Mārasiṁha of Karād[2]. The Śilāhāra prince Guhala is described, as *Navarājya-samuddharaṇa* which Dr. Fleet translated "the supporter of the nine kingdoms."[3] It seems to me the true import of the epithet has not been correctly interpreted by Dr. Fleet. The Śilāhāras were divided into three branches, the Śilāhāras of Karād, North Konkan and South Konkan. The last mentioned among them were

1 *E. I.* VIII, No. 2, plate 1, p. 60. text line 5. According to the chronology of the later S'ātavāhanas proposed by me, Pulumāvi II reigned between 116 – 144 A. D. for 29 years. The Nasik Cave inscription of Queen Bāla S'rī was dated the 19th year of Pulumāvi II. Thus the date of the Nasik cave inscription would fall about 134 A. D.

2 *Cave Temp. Inscr. W. Ind.* p. 102, text line 15-16.

3 *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts.* pp. 544 ff and 403, n. 3.

considered to be the oldest of the three. The Śilāhāras of Karad, were the rulers of Central Konkan, and therefore the Śilāhāra king Guhala was given the epithet *Navarājya-samuddharaṇa.* This title must be taken to mean *Navakhaṇḍarājya-samuddharaṇa* "the uplifter of the kingdom of Navakhaṇḍa" or Konkan, the middle term *khaṇḍa* having been dropped in ordinary speech. It is also probable that Navakhaṇḍarajya was abbreviated into Navarājya, and that Konkan or Navarajya meant the same as Navakhaṇḍa. Otherwise the epithet *Navarājya-samuddharaṇa* looks hyperbolical and meaningless.

Conclusion.

We shall now briefly put forward the conclusions regarding the origin and the original home of the Pallavas. The Pallavas of Kāñci were not a tribe, class or clan. They were a family of powerful Brāhmaṇas who were probably descended from the Pahlava chief Suvis'ākha and who rose to political power by their military profession and valour. The family would appear to have originated from an alliance of a powerful Brāhman of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* with a Nāga or Pahlava lady of rank[1]. The Rūyakōṭa plates of Skandas'iṣya speak of a liaison between a Nāga maiden and As'vatthāman[2]. The Amarāvati pillar inscription records a romantic union between the celestial nymph Madanī and As'vatthāman[3]. It is a well-known fact that As'vatthāman, son of Drōṇa, remained a bachelor and never married. His romantic union evidently with a Nāga maiden denotes the peculiar origin of the Pallava family. The offspring of that union was Pallava, literally 'a sprout', a term, which again distinctly denotes an attempt to perpetuate the race by a union with a celebrated Brāhmaṇ *gōtra*. The term *Pallava* denotes an offshoot of the main line and not the original line itself. The offspring of the Bhāradvāja As'vatthāman and a Nāga maiden took the *gōtra* of the father for himself and thus became a Bhāradvāja-Pallava or an

1 A number of Pahlava families settled in Western India: and a number of inscriptions of Pallava chiefs are found in the Kanheri Caves. See *Cave Temple Inscr. of Western India.*

2 *E. I.*, V, p. 49.

3 *S. I. I.*, I., No. 32, p. 27 verse 6.

offshoot (*Pallava*) of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*[1]. That the early descendants of the eponymous prince Pallava were Brāhmaṇas is distinctly asserted by the Kās'ākuḍi plates[2]. Vīrakūrca and his son Śivaskandavarman and their immediate descendants were accordingly Brāhmaṇas, like the Kadambas.

We shall not be surprised even if some of the remote ancestors of the Pallavas of Kāñci came from a stock of the Pahlavas. On that account alone the Pallavas cannot be regarded as foreigners. When foreigners settled down in India and accepted the *varṇ-ās'rama-dharma*, they became in course of time pedigreed members of the Aryan society. Instances may be quoted from the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, from the inscriptions and coins, to prove the fact that several foreigners, from the cultured Greeks to the semi-barbarian Śakas, Ābhīras, Kuṣāṇas and the Pahlavas, influenced by the charm of the Brahmanical faith, succumbed to it and became members of the Brahmanical fold. Thus one of the Śaka families that ruled in the Northern Deccan in the first century A. D, the most prominent members of which were Nahapāṇa and his son-in-law Uṣavadatta (Ṛṣabhadatta) would appear to have espoused Brahmanism[3]. The Brāhmaṇa dominated Aryan society of the ancient period was indeed remarkably elastic and flexible. The sage Parās'ara says in the Mahābhārata (Śānti parvan): "The status of high-souled

1 There is an interesting tradition extant in the Andhra country, according to which Brāhmaṇas who have no *gōtra* or forgotten their *gōtra* or who cannot trace their *gōtra* on account of calamities, migration or such other causes are given the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. This practice must have been in existence in Dakṣhiṇāpatha for a very long time, perhaps for the last 2,000 years or more. If this tradition has any historical basis in the distant and hazy past, it should have been in the confusion of the castes which set in in the first century A. D. and which was claimed to have been stopped or prevented by the restoration of the *varṇās'ramadharma* and castes by Emperor Gautamiputra S'rī S'ātakarṇi (*E. I.* VIII, No. 2 p. 60). It is therefore, probable that the ancestors of the Pallavas of Kañci may have been among those who sprang into existence in the first century A. D. or probably earlier than that, and admitted into the Brāhmaṇa fold and given the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* as befitting the noble military profession they carried like the illustrious Drōṇa and As'vatthāman who were themselves Bhāradvājas.

2 *S. I. I.* Vol. II. p. 342ff. verse 18.

3 *E. I.*, VIII, p. 78, (85)-88; also E. I. VII pp. 57—62 for the inscriptions of the S'aka kings. See also for the Origin of the names of Dinika and Nahapāṇa, *I. A.*, XLVIII, p. 78ff.

persons that have cleaned their souls through austerities, O king, cannot be regarded as affected by their low birth. The sages, O monarch, by begetting children hither and thither, conferred upon them the status of the Ṛṣi 'through the power of their own austerities.'........................There had sprung only four original *gōtras*, O king, namely, Aṅgirasa, Kāśyapa, Vasiṣṭha and Bhṛgu. But other *gōtras* came into existence, O king, in consequence of deeds and austerities, and the good people have adopted these appellations."[1] It is thus clear from this passage, that though the remote ancestors of the Pallavas of Kāñcī were Pahlavas and foreigners who settled in India, they entered the Aryan fold, performed the Śrauta rites, became Brāhmaṇas and adopted the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. This inference is fully corroborated by the tradition recorded in the family charters.

The Pallavas were immigrants from the North or properly speaking from Konkan and Anarta in Dakṣiṇāpatha. They came into South India through Kuntala or Vanavāsa. They spoke Prakrit and Sanskrit and professed like the Śātavāhanas the Vedic Brahmanism of the North. Before they migrated to Vanavāsa and settled at Vaijayantīpura, they were already recognised as full-blooded indigenous Brāhmaṇas like the Hārītiputra-Mānavya Kadambas or the Gautamas, Vasiṣṭhas, Māṭharas, Kauṇḍinyas, Kaṇvāyanas and such other pedigreed Brāhmaṇas. Their marriage alliance with the Andhrabhṛtyas leads unmistakably to this conclusion.

1 Chapter 296, verses 12-18.

## CHAPTER II.

### *Genealogy of the Early Pallavas of Kāñci.*

The materials for the reconstruction of the genealogy and the history of the Early Pallavas are still inadequate. There are the inscriptions in Prakrit and Sanskrit languages, which do not furnish us with any more information than mere enumeration of names, often up to four generations. As they do not mention any political events or other synchronisms, it becomes extremely difficult and confusing to construct the genealogy of the Pallava kings on pure lists of names. Nevertheless, contemporaneous records like the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta, the copper-plate grants of some of the Kadamba and Western Gaṅga kings and religious literature of the Jains sometimes furnish a synchronism and help us to determine the genealogical succession and to reconstruct the political history of the dynasty.

The inscriptions of the Early Pallavas are mainly divisible into two groups, and each group represents an epoch in the history of the dynasty. The first group consists of the Prakrit charters and represents the early period of the Pallavas. The second is the age of Sanskrit grants belonging to the next epoch[1].

Early Kings of the Prakrit charters.

The earliest Prakrit inscription of the Pallava dynasty is on copper-plates and comes from Mayidavōlu in Narasaraopeta taluk, Guntur ditrict. It refers to a grant made by *Yuvamahārāja* Śivāskandavarman and is dated in the reign of his unknown predecessor. The grant was issued on the 5th day of the 6th fortnight of the summer season in the tenth year of the king, of whom Śivāskandavarman was the *Yuvamahārāja* or heir-apparent[2]. The next record is on the Hirahaḍagalli plates, coming from Bellary district and belonging to the reign of Sivaskanda-

1 *E. I.* VI. p. 84; *E. I.*, I, p. 2f.; *Ibid.* Vol. VIII, p. 143.

2 *E. I*, VI, p. 84 ff.

varman. This edict also was issued from the capital Kāñcīpura[1]. But by the date of this grant, Śivāskandavarman was reigning as king; he called himself the *Dharmamahārājadhirāja*, 'the rightful supreme king of great kings', of the Pallava family. The grant was made on the fifth day of the 6th fortnight of the rainy season in the eighth year, and written by the privy councillor (*Rahasādhika*) Bhaṭṭiśarman, the *Bhōjaka* (Lord) of Kolivāla. The third Prakrit record of the family comes from Gunapadeya in Kandukur taluk, Nellore district and is now preserved in the British Museum[2]. It is known to the epigraphists as the British Museum plates of Cārudēvi, and belongs to the time of the Pallava king (*Mahārāja* Śrī Vijayakhaṁdavaṁma) Vijaya-Skandavarman. It is not dated; it contains an order by Cārudēvi, wife of the heir-apparent *Yuvamahārāja* Śrī Vijaya-Buddhavarman and mother of the prince Buddhyāṅkura[3]. Vijaya-Skandavarman mentioned in this grant may easily be identified with Sivaskandavarman of the preceeding charters, for the terms *Śiva* and *Vijaya* were mere honorofics and were usually prefixed to the personal names of the kings of the early post-Śātavāhana period. The Prakrit inscriptions of the Pallava kings supply four generations of the family.

1. *Mahārāja* Bappasvāmin.
(*Hirahaḍagalli Prakrit Plates.*)
|
2. *Dharmamāhārajādhirāja* Śiva-Skandavarman or Skandavarman.
(*Hirahaḍagalli* and *Mayidavōlu Plates*)
|
3. *Yuvamahārāja* Vijaya-Buddhavarman = *Queen* Carūdēvi
(*British Museum Plates*)
|
4. Buddhyāṇkura
(*British Museum Plates of Queen Cārudēvi*)

Closely allied to the Prakrit grants and emerging from the Prakrit epoch are three records written in Sanskrit. They are

1 *E. I.*, I, p. 2. ff.

2 *E. I.*, VIII, p. 143f. and plate.

3 The name ending *aṅkura* of this prince is very interesting. Dr. Hultzsch who restores the term writes that *aṅkura* 'a sprout' is synonymous with *Pallava*, which also means 'a sprout'. *E. I.*, VIII, p. 144.) The Pallava kings had a peculiar fancy for this name-ending, for they bore similar surnames as Lalitāṅkura, Nayāṅkura, Taruṇāṅkura etc.

the Darsi fragmentary copper-plate grant of an unknown king, the Oṁgōḍu plates of *Mahārāja* Vijaya-Skandavarman and the Uruvapalli copper-plate grant of *Yuvamahārāja* Viṣṇu-gōpavarman[1]. These charters are written in archaic alphabet which bears a close resemblance to that of the Prakrit grants. The unknown donor of the Darsi fragment appears to be the great-grandson of Mahārāja Vīrkūrcavarman, whose laudatory epithets agree literally with those epithets that are attributed to Śiva-Skandavarman and Vijaya-Skandavarman respectively. The Darsi fragment gives the epithet *sva-bāhubal-ārjjit-ōrjjita-kṣātra-tapōnidhēr vidhi-vihita-sarva-maryādasya sthti-sthita syāmit-ātmanō Mahārājasya*, "who was very pious, who acquired by the power of his arm a mighty treasure of such penance as becomes the warrior caste, who ordained all laws according to sacred scriptures, who was constant in virtue and whose mind was immeasurable," to Vīrakūrcavarman. These epithets are also attributed to later kings; thus they are given to Śiva-Skandavarman by his descendants in the Oṁgōdu grant and to Śiva-Skandavarman's son, Vīravarman, in a later day record even though he is not referred to with the kingly title[2]. This fact coupled with the archaic characters of the Darsi fragment clearly indicates that Vīrakūrcavarman may have been the ancestor, possibly the predecessor of Śiva-Skandavarman, the donor of the Mayidavōlu and Hirahaḍagalli plates. This supposition is confirmed by the occurrence of Vīrakūrca's name in the beginning of the historical pedigrees of the Pallava charters of the later period, and also above the name of Skandaśiṣya who may be identified with Śivaskandavarman[3]. It is therefore probable that Vīrakūrcavarman of the Darsi grant was the same as Vīrakūrcavarman of the Vēlūrpālayam plates, and accordingly the predecessor or possibly the father of Śiva-Skandavarman or Skandavarman. The unknown donor

Kings of the Sanskrit charters.

1 Darsi (*E. I.*, I. pp. 397–98); Oṁgōḍu (*E I.* XV., pp. 249 ff) Uruvapalli (*Ind. Ant.*, V. p. 50 ff.

2 *E. I.*, VIII, p. 159 ff.

3 Vāyalūr Pillar inscription of Rājasimha (*E. I.*, XVIII, p. 145) Paṭṭamangalam grant (*E. I.*, XVIII, p. 115.) Kāśākuḍi Plates of Nandivarman II. (*S I. I.* II, p. 342)

of the Darsi fragment, therefore, may have been a descendant of Skandavarman of the British Museum grant and possibly prince Buddhyāṅkura. The Darsi fragment was issued from the provincial capital Dasanapura. It is unfortunate that the names of the donor, his father and grandfather are lost to us.

The Oṁgōḍu plates of Vijaya Skandavarman, which were issued from the capital, Kāñcīpura, give four generations of the Pallava family, including that of the donor. They are :—

*Mahārāja* Kumāraviṣṇu
|
*Mahārāja* S'rī Skandavarman
|
Vīravarman.
|
*Mahārāja* S'ri Vijaya Skandavarman (donor)

The first king, Kumāraviṣṇu, is mentioned as the offerer of the As'vamēdha rite. The title *As'vamēdhayājī* seems to be a special attribute acquired by the king who had subdued all kings and thereby attained to the dignity of a universal monarch. The first Pallava king who is known to us so far as the offerer of As'vamēdha is Śivaskandavarman of the Hirahaḍagalli Prakrit plates ; and now Kumarāviṣṇu is also mentioned as the offerer of that celebrated rite. The second king, Skandavarman, is stated to have acquired a kingdom by subduing several kings by his valour, (*sva-vīryyādhigata-rājasya*) and described *utsāha - prabhu - mantra - s'aktisaṁpannasya* as "having been endowed with the three kingly qualities." Then his son Vīravarman is described as "one who had acquired celebrity on account of victories gained in many battles, and who had subdued the circle of kings." His son is Vijaya Skandavarman, the donor. The edict is dated the 13th day of the 3rd fortnight of the *hēmanta* season, in the 33rd year of his victorious reign.

We are now confronted with two problems; firstly, the identity of Vīrakūrcavarman of the Darsi fragment and secondly, the relationship between the kings of the Prakrit charters and those mentioned in the Oṁgōḍu grant of Vijaya Skandavarman. The inscriptions of the later Pallavas of the seventh century

and onwards seem to enable us to establish the identity and relationship. The most important of this group are the Vāyalūr Pillar inscription of Narasiṁhavarman II, surnamed Rājasiṁha who flourished towards the close of the eighth century,[1] and the Vēlūrpālayam copper-plate grant of Vijaya-Nandivarman III, of the ninth century. The Vāyalūr inscription is interesting because of the genealogical list recorded in it. It begins with an account of the mythological origin of the Pallavas and traces their genealogy from Viṣṇu down to the eponymous prince Pallava through Aṅgīras, Bṛhaspati, Samyu, Bhāradvāja, Drōṇa and As'vatthāman. Then it records the names of kings who seem to possess a semblance of historicity but about whom there is no reference in any of the other inscriptions of the family. The first of them was As'ōkavarman; in his family were born Harigupta, Bhūtadatta, Sūryavarman, Viṣṇugōpa, Vimala, Konkaṇi, Kālabharta and Cūtapallava in succession; and Cūtapallava's son was Vīrakūrca. Of As'okavarman and his descendants very little is known save their names. The first historical figure, therefore, seems to be Vīrakūrca. The Vēlūrpālayam copper-plate inscription states that Vīrakūrca was the first prince who acquired sovereignty.

Virakūrcavarman: same as Kumāraviṣṇu and Mahārāja Bappasvāmin.

According to the Prakrit inscriptions, it also appears that Śivaskandavarman was not the first king of the Pallava dynasty. There is his unknown predecessor called *Mahārāja* Bappasvāmin in the Hirahaḍagalli plates. The name Bappasvāmin is a compound of two terms *bappa* and *svāmin* and seems to be an honorific title given on account of deep veneration for his father the king, by Śivaskandavarman. It does not appear to be a proper or personal name. *Bappa* means 'father' and the term *svāmin*, which occurs often in the names of the Mahākṣatrapas of Ujjaini and the Ikṣvākus of Vijayapurī, denotes a 'king'. It will be remembered that the Hirahaḍagalli grant does not give the pedigree of the donor; it merely refers to the former gift made by the Great King, Bappasvamin, meaning 'the venerable father who is the king.' This seems to

1 *E. I.* XVIII, pp. 145–152.; *Annual Report S. I. E.* 1909–10, Part II, pp. 77ff.

indicate that though Śivaskandavarman's father's name was too well known in the realm, the people referred to him in great veneration merely as *Mahārāja* Bappasvāmin. His real or personal name must have been therefore not Bappavāmin but something else, and possibly Kumāraviṣṇu. According to the Oṁgōḍu plates, the first king of the Pallava dynasty was not either Skandavarman or Vīrakūrca but Kumāraviṣṇu. As Śivaskandavarman of the Prakrit charters seems to be identical with Skandavarman of the Oṁgōḍu plates, Vīrakūrcavarman of the Darsi fragment, whose identity with Vīrakūrca of the Vāyalūr and Vēlūrpālayam inscriptions seems to be fairly certain, may possibly have been identical with Kumāraviṣṇu of the Oṁgōḍu grant and Bappasvāmin of the Hirahaḍagalli plates, and therefore, presumably the first king or founder of the Pallava dynasty of Kāñci. This view is based upon the assumption, stated above, that the name Vīrakūrca sounds like an epithet rather than a personal or proper name. The name Vīra, it may be noticed, appears also in the third generation of the family in the name of Vīravarman, son of Skandavarman and father of Vijaya Skandavarman. As the custom of naming a child after its grandfather had also obtained in the Pallava dynasty, Vīra or Vīrakūrca might be in all probability the grandfather of Vīravarman and, therefore, father of Skandavarman. Accordingly, Vīrakūrca seems to be the epithet or title of Kumāraviṣṇu. Two of the three Prakrit grants give the name Śivaskandavarman to the second king, while the third calls him Vijaya Skandavarman. It is obvious that all of them refer to one and the same king. The honorifics, Śiva and Vijaya, seem to be mere prefixes to names employed to distinguish one king from another of the same name. Thus it appears, from a consideration of the pedigrees given in the British Museum and Oṁgodu plates, that Śivaskandavarman had two sons, *Yuvamahārāja* Vijaya Buddhavarman and Vīravarman, and that the former was possibly the elder one. Accordingly, we obtain the following pedigree:—

Kumāraviṣṇu, the Virakūrca; or Bappasvamin.

Vijaya or S'iva Skandavarman.

*Yuvamahārāja* Vijaya Buddhavarman
Q. Cārudēvi.
Buddhyāṅkura.
(*Probable donor of the Darsi fragment.*)

Viravarman.
Vijaya Skandavarman.
(*Donor of Oṁgōḍu grant*)

Thus the Prakrit charters, the Darsi plate and the Oṁgōḍu grant have altogether yielded so far two branches and four generations of the Pallava dynasty. The two last mentioned also supply the connection between the kings of the Prakrit inscriptions and those of the Sanskrit copper-plate grants.

The next earliest record of the family which seems to take us further down to two more generations is the Uruvupalli copper-plate grant of *Yuvamahārāja* Viṣṇugōpavarman, dated from the city of Palakkada during the eleventh year of the reign of *Mahārāja* Siṁhavarman.[1] It also gives, like the Oṁgōḍu grant, four generations of the family, including that of the donor: Skandavarman, his son Vīravarman, his son Skandavarman II, then his son *Mahārāja* Siṁhavarman, and afterwards without specifying the relationship, *Yuvamahārāja* Viṣṇugōpavarman. Skandavarman II of this pedigree seems to be evidently identical with Skandavarman I, or Vijaya Skandavarman of the Oṁgōḍu grant. Though the relationship between *Yuvamahārāja* Viṣṇugōpavarman, the heir-apparent and king Siṁhavarman is not specified, it will be seen from the records of the next following generation, that they appear to be sons of Skandavarman II and, therefore, brothers.[2] The Uruvapalli copper-plate grant may be assigned, on palaeographical grounds to the early part of the fourth century A. D.

Now come four copper-plate grants, that belong to the next generation after *Yuvamahārāja* Viṣṇugōpavarman and Siṁhavarman. They are dated in the reign of *Dharmamahārāja* Siṁhavarman. They are, in their chronological order:-the

1 *Ind. Ant.*, V. p. 50f; Referred to in *E. I.*, XV, p. 252.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, V. p. 159. This conclusion is drawn by Dr. Fleet; it is reasonable and probably the relationship is true.

Oṁgōḍu plates (II set) dated the 4th year,[1] the Pikira grant of the 5th year,[2] the Māṅgaḍūr plates of the eighth year,[3] and lastly the Viḷaveṭṭi grant of the tenth year.[4] The genealogy of the donor's family obtained from these records is as follows: Vīravarman, 'the sole hero on earth,' his son Skandavarman, his son *Yuvamahārāja* Viṣṇugōpavarman, and his son *Dharmamahārāja* Siṁhavarman, the donor.

Next comes the Curā copper-plate grant of *Mahārāja* Vijaya Viṣṇugōpavarman which comes from the Guntur district.[5] It seems to add one more generation to the pedigree already known to us. The donor's geneaology is as follows:

Kandavarman (Skandavarman)
|
Viṣṇugōpavarman I
|
Siṁhavarman II
|
Vijaya Viṣṇugōpavarman II (the donor.)

The first three names of this genealogy clearly correspond to the pedigree given in the Oṁgōḍu (II set), Pīkira, Māṅgaḍūr and Viḷaveṭṭi grants considered above. But against this view, however, is the discrepancy in the Uruvupalli grant which mentions Viṣṇugōpavarman (I) with the epithet *Yuvamahārāja* and not as *Mahārāja* as in the Curā plates. This seeming discrepancy can be explained. The characters of the Curā plates appear to be comparatively later than those of the Uruvupalli, Oṁgōḍu (II set), Pīkira and Māṅgaḍūr plates. And the record may have been possibly a copy of an earlier record. Moreover it is possible to suppose that *Yuvamahārāja* Viṣṇugōpavarman succeeded his elder brother on the throne and that Siṁhavarman died without leaving any sons to succeed him. It is also likely that Viṣṇugōpavarman was well known by the former appellation *Yuvamahārāja* and that even after he became

1 *E. I.*, XV. p. 253f.

2 *E. I.*, VIII, p. 159f.

3 *Ind. Ant.*, V. p. 155f.

4 *Anl. Rep*, S. *I. E.* for 1933–34, No. 1 of App. A

5 C. *P.* No. 1913-14; *Ant. Rep*. S. I. E. 1914, p. 82.

king, he was referred to and remembered by the people, only as *Yuvamahārāja* Viṣṇugōpavarman. It is also reasonable to assume that he was for a long time associated with his brother in the administration of the kingdom as his heir-apparent.]

Incidentally, the Allahabad pillar inscription of the emperor Samudragupta furnishes us with the names of two contemporary Pallava princes, *Kāñcēyika Viṣṇugōpa*, 'Viṣṇugōpa, king of Kāñci', and Palakk-Ograsena 'Ugrasēna, lord of Palakka or Palakkada.[1] The Southern expedition of Samudragupta seems to have taken place between 340 and 350 A. D. Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil who follows Harisēna, the composer of the Allahabad inscription, places the invasion of the South in 340 A. D.[2] Vincent A. Smith assigns it to 350 A. D.[3], and Dr. Jayaswal thinks that the expedition may have taken place about 345–46 A. D.[4] The last mentioned date agrees admirably with the chronology of the emperor's reign as well as with the course of events in Vēṅgi and Kāñcī in the South. Viṣṇugōpa of Kāñcī, the contemporary of Samudragupta, appears to be, beyond doubt, the earlier prince of that name in the Pallava family and, therefore, the donor of the Uruvupalli grant. The characters of this charter are decidedly more acrhaic than those of the Curā plates, and, as stated above, belong to the first half of the fourth century A. D. The above identification therefore enables us to fix definitely the date of *Yuvamahārāja* Viṣṇugōpa or Viṣṇugōpavarman I. Both the Uruvupalli charter and the Curā plates show that though Kāñcīpura was the seat of the reigning monarch, the seat of the Pallava viceroy in the southern Andhra country was Palakka or Pālotkaṭa. The city Vijaya Pālotkaṭa seems to be identical with Palakkada of the Uruvapalli or Palakka of the Allahabad inscription. Ugrasēna, lord of Palakka, a contemporary of Samudragupta, does not appear therefore, to belong to a

1 *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 1.

2 *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 70.

3 *Early History of India*, (4th edn.) p. 301.

4 *History of India*, 150 A. D. to 350 A. D., p. 139.

separate dynasty or kingdom as Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil[1] and other scholars assume, but to the same Pallava dynasty of Kāñci. Ugrasēna may have been the heir-apparent of Viṣṇugōpavarman I and probably his eldest son. It is possible that Harisēna did not know the relationship between Viṣṇugōpa and Ugrasēna and thus treated them as kings of two different kingdoms or dynasties. Ugrasēna's name, however, does not appear in the pedigrees of the copper-plate charters so far discovered. But on that account he cannot be regarded as not belonging to the Pallava dynasty or as not having reigned at Kāñci at all. The Amarāvati pillar inscription mentions a certain Ugravarman in the pedigree or list of the Pallava kings recorded in it. Ugravarman may be supposed to be identical with Ugrasena.

The following then is the order of succession of the Pallavas according to the copper-plate charters considered above.

1. Kumāraviṣṇu I, surnamed *Vīrakūrca* and Bappasvāmin. (*As'vamēdhayājin*)
 - 2. *Dharmamahārājadhirāja* S'iva Skandavarman. (I) (*Agniṣṭōma, Vājapēya and As'vamēdhayājin*)
   - 3. Vijaya Buddhavarman I = Queen Cārudēvi.
     - 4. Buddhyāñkura
   - Vīravarman.
     - 5. Vijaya Skandavarman (II)
       - 6. Simhavarman I.
       - 7. *Yuvamahārāja* Viṣṇugōpavarman (I)
         - 8. Ugrasēna or Ugravarman.
         - 9. *Dharmamahārāja* Simhavarman II.
           - Vijaya Viṣṇugōpavarman II.

There remain now two more records to be considered:—The Cendalūru plates of Kumarāviṣṇu II[2] and the Udayēndiram

1 *Ancient History of the Deccan*, pp. 68–69.

2 *E. I.*, VIII, p. 233 ff.

plates of Nandivarman.[1] These two charters were issued from the Imperial city Kāñcipura, but obviously after a long lapse of time, roughly a hundred years, from the date of the original Curā record.

The list of kings of the Cendalūru copper-plate grant

The Cendalūru plates are written in characters which may be assigned to the sixth century A. D., for they are undoubtedly more modern than the alphabet of the Pikira grant.[2] The Cendalūru charter gives the following pedigree :—

Skandavarman.
|
Kumāraviṣṇu I
|
Buddhavarman.
|
Kumāraviṣṇu II (donor)

Confusion about their place in the writings of earlier writers.

There is a good deal of confusion in the writings of our earlier scholars about the place of the pedigree given above. The causes for the confusion seem to be twofold : firstly, the appearance of the name of Skandavarman above that of Kumāraviṣṇu I and, secondly, the utter disregard of the probable age of the record which may be fixed on palaeographical grounds and the course of political events of the period to which it may be assigned. Accordingly, all those who have attempted so far to reconstruct the history and genealogy of the early Pallava kings have been greatly embarassed in their task of identification of the above-mentioned four kings and fixing their proper place in the genealogy of the Early Pallavas. Most of the theories advanced and suppositions made in this task, are more or less arbitrary. Consequently the Pallava genealogy has become utterly confused

1 *E. I.*, III, p. 142f, and *Ind. Ant.* VIII, p. 167f.

2 Dr. Hulzsch is also of the same opinion. He writes : – " The alphabet of the Cendalūru plates is more archaic than those of the Kuram and Kās'ākuḍi plates but resembles those of the Uruvupalli, Māṅgaḍūr and Pīkira grants, from which it differs chiefly in the omission of the horizontal strokes on the top of the letters. But a point which stamps it more modern is the fact that *r* and *k* and subscribed *u* consist of two vertical lines of nearly equal length, while in the Pikira Māṅgadūr and Uruvupalli grants the left line is still considerably shorter." *E. I.*, VIII, p. 234.

utterly confused in their hands. Dr. Krishnswami Aiyengar for instance makes Kumāraviṣṇu I a younger brother of *Yuvamahārāja* Viṣṇugōpa and incidentally also of Siṁhavarman I of the Uruvupalli grant.[1] The same scheme has also been adopted by Mr. Gopalan, and accordingly the following is their arrangement:[2]

Skandas'iṣya or Vijaya Skandavarman II,
*(the donor of the Oṁgōḍu grant.)*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Siṁhavarman I. | *Yuvamahārāja* Viṣṇugōpavarman | Kumāraviṣṇu I. |
| Skandavarman II | Simhavarman II (*Pikira, Māṅgadūr*, II *Oṁgōḍu*) | Buddhavarman |
| Nandivarman I. (*Udayēndiram plates*) | Vijaya Viṣṇugōpavarman II. (*Curā plates.*) | Kuṃaraviṣṇu II. (*Cendalūru plates*) |

In the above scheme both the scholars have obviously overlooked the order of chronological succession. It is indeed curious how both of them could have overlooked the glaring difficulty that presents itself in providing for three sets of contemporaneous kings with simultaneous or synchronomous reigns in the above arrangement. Both the learned Professor and Mr. Gopalan have no doubt arranged the three branches in an arbitrary manner, passing from one branch or list to another and choosing kings in succession in no particular chronological order. Their arrangement is utterly untenable.

Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil proceeds in another way. He argues that it is not improbable that the Pallavas divided themselves into two dynasties, one reigning in the Tamil and the other in the Andhra country.[3] There is no warranty for this presumption. Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil does not explain why the later kings from

1 *Journal of Indian History*, II, p. 142.

2 *History of the Pallavas of Kāñci*, p. 159.

3 *The Pallavas*, p. 17.

the time of Vijaya Skandavarman II or more properly from the time of the unknown donor of the Darsi fragment divided their kingdom and adopted a different course of administration. He does not also state who those kings were that reigned exclusively in the Tamil country. Even if the theory of the division of the kingdom is to be accepted, there is no explanation for the circumstance that none of the Sanskrit charters were dated from any single place in Andhradesa but either from a victorious military camp or a provincial city of the Southern Andhra country. And again, there is no explanation in his theory as to the reason why the Vāyalūr Pillar inscription, whose definite purpose was to describe the ancestry of king Narasiṁhavarman II, surnamed *Rājasiṁha*, who, according to him, was of the Palakkada branch, should go out of the way to include the names of the collateral branch of Kāñci, which was altogether unconnected with it. It is, therefore, difficult to follow Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil's theory of two separate dynasties reigning simultaneously, one in southern Andhradesa and the other in the South and Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam.[1] The dating of some of the Sanskrit charters from places like Dasanapura, Menmātura, Pālōkaṭa, Tāmbrapa and some times from the victorious camp (*Vijaya-skandhāvāra*) does not denote implicitly that the donors of those charters were not kings of Kāñcī. The causes for the dating of their grants from camps and provincial towns must be looked for elsewhere. Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil did not apparently turn his attention to examine this aspect of the problem. He simply advanced the theory of division into two dynasties in order that it might suit his arrangement of the Pallava genealogy. Accordingly, he put forward the following chronology:—[2]

Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil's scheme.

1 See H. Krishna Sastri's *Remarks* in *E. I.*, XVIII, p. 146-47.

2 *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 68.

'Bappa-dēva' (225—250 A. D.)
|
Skandavarman (250—275 A. D.)
|
Buddhavarman (275—300 A. D.)
|
Buddhyāṅkura (300—325 A. D.)
|
Viṣṇugōpa (325—350 A. D.)
|
*Skandavarman* (350—375 A. D.)
|
Kumāraviṣṇu I (375—400 A. D.)
|
- Buddhavarman (400—425 A. D.)
  - Kumāraviṣṇu II (425—450 A. D.)
- Skandavarman
  - Vīravarman
    - Skandavarman (450—475 A. D.
      - Siṁhavarman (475—500 A. D.) *etc.*
      - *Yuvamahārāja* Viṣṇugōpa. *etc.*

This arrangement is open to serious criticism. In this scheme Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil not only places a Skandavarman above Kumāraviṣṇu I, but makes another the son of Viṣṇugōpa and grandson of Buddhyāṅkura. · This is simply arbitrary. Palaeographically, the alphabet of the Cendalūru plates is more modern than that of the Uruvupalli, Pīkira, Māṅgaḍūr, Viḷaveṭṭi and even of the Curā plates.[1] To get over this obvious difficulty, Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil assumes arbitrarily that the Cendalūru plates might be a copy of an earlier record.[2] This assumption, no doubt, admirably suits his purpose but he does not give any reasons why the Cendalūru plates should be regarded as a copy of an earlier charter. Dr. K. R. Subrahmaniam identifies the Skandavarman of the Cendalūru plates with the first Skandavarman of the Oṁgōḍu plates (II set).[3] He then gives the following scheme:—

1 Dr. Hultzsch in *E. I.*, VIII, p. 234.
2 *The Pallavas*, p. 17.
3 *Buddhist Remains in Andhra and History of Andhra*, 225-610 A. D., p. 101.

Kumāraviṣṇu I (*As'vamēdhayājin.*)
- *son* S'ivaskandavarman : (acquired a kingdom.)
  - *son* Kumāraviṣṇu II (*captured Kāñci*)
    - Buddhavarman (*defeated the Cōlas.*)
      - *son* Kumāraviṣṇu III
  - *son* Viravarman (*a great victor*)
    - Skandavarman (*the hero of 100 battles.*)
      - *son* Simhavarman *ac.* 435
        - *son* Skandavarman
          - *son* Nandivarman
            - *etc.*
      - *son* Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa.
        - *son* Simhavarman
          - *son* Viṣṇugōpa.

In the above scheme the obstacle of palaeography in Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil's theory is sought to be avoided, but the learned Professor had to place three kings of the name of Kumāraviṣṇu, all before the fourth century A. D. He himself admits the flaw in advancing the above scheme and states, that in fact, the relation between the early Pallavas, *viz.* Śivaskandavarman, Buddhavarman and Viṣṇugōpa and the later Pallavas, *viz.* Skandavarman, Kumāraviṣṇu and others is not obvious, though it is undoubted that the later Pallavas (of the Sanskrit charters) were lineally descended from the Early Pallavas of the Prakrit charters.[1] As the Doctor simply follows the arrangement of Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil, the above scheme, too, has the same defects as that of the French savant. Both palaeographically and chronologically the above arrangement is defective and perforce must be rejected.

The Rev. H. Heras has his own scheme of the Pallava genealogy.[2] According to him, the Vāyalūr inscription which Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil tries to credit with the greatest historical importance, is of the least importance, as it contains many

1 *Ibid.* p. 102.

2 *The Pallava Genealogy*, p. 8.

repetitions. He believes that every one of the Pallava kings from As'vatthāman and Drōṇa down to the last king of the line had a synonym for his personal name. Prof. Heras is not the first writer who proceeds on this assumption. He follows the views of the earlier writers like Dr. E. Hultzsch and V. Venkayya and enlarges upon them.[1] But without any reference to the chronolgy of the Early Dynasties that reigned immediately after the fall of the Imperial Andhras and before the rise of the Pallavas, and with a belief that all that the Vēlūrpālayam plates record about the early names is literally true, Prof. Heras proceeds on the hypothesis that every one of the early kings had a synonym for his name. Thus, Kalabhartṛ was Bappa, Cūtapallava was Drōṇa, and Vīrakūrca was As'vātthāman and so forth.[2] This *apriori* idea cannot be accepted. This erroneous and baseless idea has led Prof. Heras to numerous untenable conclusions about the Early Pallavas and, even to the confusion of their names and dates. The Vēlūrpālayam plates seem to possess for him the best pedigree and perhaps in the most accurate order, giving fuller information than any other epigraph. The Kās'ākuḍi plates come only second. He, therefore, implicitly accepts the order of kings given in the Vēlūrpālayam charter from Kālabhartā to Buddhavarman. The following is his arrangement :—

Prof. Heras and his scheme.

1 In reconstructing the Pallava pedigree we must get over the idea that the names of the early kings might be synonymous for other names found in the Sanskrit charters. For this reason we have to reject the remarks of the earlier writers like Dr. Hultzsch and V. Venkayya as thoroughly untenable. For instance the remark made by Dr. Hultzsch that As'ōkavarman can scarcely be a historical person but appears to be a modification of the ancient Maurya king As'ōka, is a mere conjecture without any basis. (See. *S. I. I.*, II, p. 342ff.) Similarly, Krishna Sastri's suggestion that Kālabhartṛ is a possible synonym of Kanagōpa who is mentioned in the Kās'akuḍi plates in the group of kings that ruled after As'ōkavarman is one that has to be rejected. Such identifications of the earlier princes on the assumption that they were real historical personages have to fail obviously for the reason that they were made at a time when the chronology of the Early Kings was not properly studied. It is now settled that names of the early kings that preceded Kâlabhartṛ are merely legendary ones and so have no historicity about them.

2 *The Pallava Genealogy*, Chart No. 3.

1. Kālabhartṛ or Kālabhartā
2. Cūtapallava
3. Vīrakūrca
4. Skandas'iṣya
5. Kumāraviṣṇu I.
6. Buddhavarman
7. Vīravarman
8. Skandavarman II.

9. Siṁhavarman I.
11. Skandavarman III
12. Nandavarman I.

10. Viṣṇugōpavarman
13. Siṁhavarman II.
14. Siṁhaviṣṇu
15. Mahēndravarman
(and so on.)

In this scheme the chronological order has been completely set at naught. It is difficult to accept the theory of Prof. Heras namely, that the kings mentioned in Vēlūrpālayam record, from Kālabhartā to Mahēndravarman I were related to one another as father and son.[1] The Jesuit Professor has obviously missed the important fact about the Vēlūrpālayam record. The inscription seems to mention only the great and celebrated kings of the family who had one or more memorable exploits to their credit and not mention their names in the relationship of father and son from the eponymous prince Pallava to Mahēndravarman I. It is therefore very interesting to note that all the kings, commencing from Vīrakūrca down to Siṁhaviṣṇu, are mentioned with one great memorable event or exploit connected with their names. As pointed out above, Kālabhartā or Kālabhartṛ, too, like Cūtapallava seems to represent an epithet and not a personal name. Kālabhartā, may therefore have been the title of the prince whose personal name has been

1 *The Pallava Genealogy*, Chart No. 2.

lost to us. Curiously enough the Vēlūrpālayam plates do not record any historical event connected with their names.

The following is the order of kings according to that inscription :—[1]

Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*.
*
Pallava.
|
As'ōkavarman.
*
Kālabhartā.
|
Cūtapallava.
|
1. *Vīrakūrca*.
|
2. *Skandas'iṣya*.
*
3. *Kumāraviṣṇu*.
|
4. *Buddhavarman*.
|
Viṣṇugōpa.
*
*
*
5. *Nandivarman*.
*
6. *Siṁhavarman*.
|
7. *Siṁhaviṣṇu*.
|
8. *Mahēndravarman*.
|
9. *Narasiṁhavarman* I

1 *S. I. I.*, II, Part V, pp. 501-17, verses 5—11.

अशोकवर्मादिषु देवभूयंगतेषु वंशेष्वथ पार्थिवेषु ।
वंशस्य चूडामणिराविरासीद्भर्त्तेन्दिराया इव काळभर्त्ता ॥ ५
तत्सुताजनि चूतपल्लवाद्वीरकूर्च्च इति विश्रुताह्वयः ।
यः फणीन्द्रसुतया सहाग्रहीद्राजचिह्नमखिलं यशोधनः ॥ ६
अन्ववाय नभश्चन्द्रः स्कन्दशिष्यस्ततोऽभवत् ।
द्विजानां घटिकां राज्ञस्सत्यसेनाज्जहार यः ॥ ७
गृहीतकाञ्चीनगरस्ततोऽभूत्कुमारविष्णुस्समरेषु जिष्णुः ।
भर्त्ता भुवो भूदय बुद्धवर्मा यच्चोळसैन्यार्ण्णवबाडबाग्निः ॥ ८
सविष्णुगोपोच नरेन्द्रबृन्देगतो ततोजायत नन्दिवर्मा ।
अनुग्रहाद्येन पिनाकपाणेः फणाततो दृष्टिविषः फणीन्द्रः ॥ ९

Curiously enough the Vēlūrpālayam plates do not record any historical events connected with the first two kings Aśōkavarman and Kālabhartā. The first prince about whom a historical event is recorded is Vīrakūrca; and the record states: Vīrakūrca married the daughter of the Chief of the Serpents (*i. e*, Nāga king) and quickly seized the kingdom with all the insignia of royalty. The second king, Skandaśiṣya, seized the *ghaṭikā* of the twice-born Brāhmaṇas from king Satyasēna. Then third king Kumāraviṣṇu captured Kāñcīpura and won victories in several battles. The fourth king, Buddhavarman, was like submarine fire to the ocean-like army of the Cōḷas. The fifth king, Nandivarman, caused a powerful venomous snake (*Dṛṣṭiviṣa*) dance by the favour of Pinākapāṇi, *i. e.* Śiva. The sixth king, Siṁhavarman, washed off the pride of his enemies. The seventh king, Siṁhaviṣṇu, quickly seized the country of the Cōḷas made fertile by the Cauveri; and lastly Mahēndravarman's son planted a pillar of victory in the city of Vātāpi. This manner of describing some of the ancestors of the Siṁhaviṣṇu line, must have some significance which our scholars have not considered. The record mentions a few kings in succession and does not always specify the relationship between them. It does not seem that every one of them is related to his predecessor as his son. The inscription mentions the names of certain renowned kings of the Pallava dynasty, apparently with some object. It will be noticed that the record does not leave out even Viṣṇugōpa, though the great event connected with his reign, namely, that of successfully resisting the expedition of Samudragupta is omitted. Thus the genealogy proposed by the Jesuit scholar does not seem to be correct.

The pedigree of the Cendalūru plates is evidently the cause of all the confusion. The names of the kings mentioned in this charter differ from the lists given in the Uruvupalli grant on the

अथप्रथितविक्रमो जगति सिंहवर्माह्वयान्नृपात्परमदापहादजनि सिंहविष्णुर्जयी ।
लसत्क्रमुकमण्डलाः कलमकाननालंकृताः कवीरतनयास्ततो सपदि येन चोळाहृताः ॥ १०
तदात्मजादाविरभून्महेन्द्रादुपेन्द्रकीर्त्तिर्न्नरसिंहवर्मा ।
वातापिमध्ये विजितारिवर्गः स्थितं जयस्तम्भमलंभयद्यः ॥ ११

one hand and the Pīkira, Māṅgaḍūr, Curā and Viḷaveṭṭi on the other. There seems to be no lineal connection whatsoever between the two sets of kings. The name Skandavarman occurs both in the earlier records as well as in the Cendalūru plates which have been assigned to the sixth century. But Kumāraviṣṇu I, Buddhavarman and Kumāraviṣṇu II, who were the direct lineal descendants of Skandavarman according to the Cendalūru list, are not known to the four earlier charters mentioned above. Nor do their names appear in the pedigree of the Kāśākuḍi plates which begin with Siṁhaviṣṇu. In these circumstances our only guide, to determine the place of the pedigree of the Cendalūru plates, is the palaeography of its alphabet. The characters of the Cendalūru plates are decidedly modern and later than those of the Oṁgōḍu (II set), Pīkira, Māṅgaḍūr, Viḷaveṭṭi and even Curā grants; there is no justification, therefore, for assuming that the Cendalūru plates are a copy of an earlier record. The inscription also does not read like that. It gives altogether a new genealogical succession. The kings mentioned in that charter have, therefore, to be assigned to some time in the sixth century. And the connection between the kings of the Curā plates and the Cendalūru grant has to be ascertained with the help of other materials.

Criticism of the early writers.

The Cendalūru plates are dated from Kāñcīpura in the second year of Kumāraviṣṇu II. Here seems to be the clue for determining the date of the grant and the place of its dynastic list in the scheme of succession and chronology in the Pallava family. The father of Kumāraviṣṇu II is Buddhavarman. The Vēlūrpālayam plates refer to a certain Buddhavarman who is called the 'submarine fire to the ocean-like army of the Cōḷas' and to his ancestor Kumāraviṣṇu I "who captured Kāñcīpura and was victorious in several battles like Jiṣṇu." These two kings must be deemed to be different from and certainly later than Kumāraviṣṇu, the ancestor of Vijaya Skandavarman of the Oṁgōḍu charter (I) and *Yuvamahārāja* Vijaya Buddhavarman of the Prakrit grant of Queen Cārudēvi. Accordingly, it would appear that a Kumāraviṣṇu of a later date conquered back the

herditary capital Kāñcīpura which was captured by the Cōḷas in the reign or reigns of his predecessors. It is indeed a notable event in the history of the Pallavas and a great exploit of Kumāraviṣṇu. The later kings of Siṁhaviṣṇu's line remembered it distinctly and were proud of that achievement; but they were not quite definite about the date of the event. That Kumāraviṣṇu conquered back Kāñcīpura from the Cōḷas is also suggested by the epithet *Cōḷa-sainyārṇṇva bāḍabāgniḥ*, attached to the name of his son and successor Buddhavarman. Both the events are narrated in one and the same verse.[1] The inference, therefore, is irresistible. The names of Kumāraviṣṇu II and his son Buddhavarman II fit in without any difficulty in the order of succession in the Pallava genealogy. As already stated, the Cēndulūṛu plates are written in the characters of the sixth century, and as such, the kings mentioned in this grant have to be assigned to the sixth century.

Before the place of the Cendulūru list of kings is determined it is necessary to consider the pedigree recorded in the Udayēndiram plates of Nandivarman. The alphabet of this record is clearly later than that of the Uruvupalli and other Sanskrit charters of Siṁhavarman II. Palaeographically, the alphabet belongs to the same period as the Cendulūru plates, if not even to an earlier date. The Udayēndiram plates furnish the following list of four kings:—Skandavarman I, his son Siṁhavarman, his son Skandavarman II and his son Nandivarman the donor. There is a Skandavarman at the top of the pedigree in both the Cendulūru and Udayēndiram lists but thereafter the two lists differ. The connection between the Udayēndiram and the Cendalūru lists on the one hand, and the connection between these two lists and Vijaya Viṣṇugōpavarman II, the last king of the early Sanskrit charters on the other, have to be determined. The pedigrees of the Cendalūru record and the Udayēndiram plates will be considered in a later section, and their places will be determined in the discussion of the political history of the Pallavas.

1 See n 1 p. 191 *ante* verse 8.

## CHAPTER III.

### *Early Pallava Kings of Prakrit Charters.*

We shall now proceed to trace the Pre-Pallava history of the South and the history of the Pallavas of Kāñci, from the earliest times. There are, however, no materials for the study of the Pre-Pallava history of Kāñcīpura and Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. Kāñcīpura, which is one of the seven holy cities of India (Bharatavarṣa), is believed to have had a history much anterior the beginning of the Christian era. Except the accounts of doubtful authenticity left by the Chinese Pilgrim, Yuvan Chwang, of the antiquity, importance and the visit of the Buddha in the fifth century B. C. and the building of several *stūpas* by the Maurya Emperor As'ōka, and references to it in *Kathāsaritsāgara* and other works there is no definite, conclusive and reliable testimony upon which the existence of Kāñcīpura during the Pre-Pallava period may be established. Kāñcīpura may have existed even long before the Pallavas made it their capital. It is said to have been in existence in the time of Karikāla Cōḷa, whom the Tamil Sangam assigns to the beginning of the Christian era. But those scholars that advance the theory of the Cōḷa rule in the South prior to the advent of the Pallavas do not bring forward any numismatic or epigraphic evidence in support of their contention. Their assumption is based upon the ancient Tamil Sangam literature, the antiquity of which is still doubtful. It is possible to assume that the antiquity of ancient Tamil literature has been exaggerated by its partisans. Karikāla often looms large in ancient Tamil literature; if Karikāla's conflict with the Pallava monarch, Trilōcana, is a historical fact then it has to be assigned to sometime in the last quarter of the fifth century A. D. and certainly not earlier.[1] The Cōḷas, therefore, do not seem to be any where in the South before the advent of the Pallavas. There are no inscriptions to suggest even the contemporaneity of the Cōḷas

Kāñcipura may have existed before the Pallavas.

1 *A. S. I.*, 1906–07, *The Pallavas.*

and Karikāla Cōḷa with the early Pallava kings of the Prakrit charters. The earliest Cōḷa inscriptions range from the seventh century onwards, and are to be found only in the districts of Cuddapah and Kurnool of the Southern Andhra country. The supposed Cōḷa rule in the South before the Pallavas had established themselves in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and the region of the lower Cauveri cannot be accepted as a historical fact. There is no reliable evidence in support of it. Consequently the Pre-Pallava History of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam must be regarded as having been lost in obscurity. On the other hand it appears that Vīrakūrcavarman founded the city of Kāñcī and made it his capital. Kāñcīpura, meaning 'the city, which is the girdle' of the South, is strongly indicative of the Prakrit or Sanskrit origin which supports the above view.[1]

The region called Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam had apparently no appellation during the Pre-Pallava period; at any rate, its ancient name is not referred to in the earliest inscriptions found in that territory. The name Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam itself is of Pallava origin. The region acquired that name only after the Pallava dynasty had established their dominion in the South. The entire region, which came to be called Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam on account of the Pallava dominion over it, would appear to have been covered, during the early centuries, by impenetrable and extensive forests. It was annexed or occupied during the reigns of the Andhra emperors, Gautamiputra and his son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Pulumāvi II, as it lay adjacent to the Mulakarāṣṭra,[2] or Hiraṇyarāṣṭra in the south. The Andhra

1 Partisans of the view that the name Kanchipura is itself a Sanskritised form of some ancient Tamil name like Kāñji or Kacci do not produce any literary or epigraphic evidence in support of that theory. No doubt Kāñci is to day called Conjeevaram, but this name seems to be derived from Kāñcīpuram.

2 Mulakanāḍu or Mulaka was one of the provinces included in the empire of Gautamiputra. (See *E. I.*, VIII, No. 2, p. 60, text line 2) Prof. Rapson (*C. A. D.*, Introd. p. xxxi) is doubtful about the identity of Mulakaraṣṭra. But See Pandit V. Prabhakara Sastri's view (*J.A.H.R S.*, IV. pp. 25–32), on the identification of Mulakanāḍu or Mulaka-rāṣṭra. region embraced the districts of Bellary, Anantapur, Cuddapah and probably Chittoor in early times. It extended even into Kolar district of Mysore on the south-west and Kurnool and Guntur on the north-east. There is in the Andhra country a Brāhmaṇa community known as Mulkināṭis *i. e.* Brāhmaṇas from Mulikināḍu. (*Mulikināṭi* is the genitive form of Mulikināḍu.)

Empire under Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Pulumāvi II would seem to have extended into the regions of the South Pennar and the Cauveri in the extreme south. The provenance of the Andhra coins of the time of Śrī Pulumāvi II in the vicinity of Cuddalore at the mouth of the South Pennar in the South Arcot district corroborates this inference.[1]

The region covering the river systems of the North Pennar, Suvarṇamukhi, and the South Pennar was, according to the local traditions preserved in the Andhra country, covered with wild forests for several centuries before the Christian era and after.[2] Even during the period of Yuan Chwang's visit the northern part of this region, which was called Culiya *i. e.* Cōḷa, was covered with impenetrable jungle.[3] Perhaps this wild country was first annexed by the Śātavāhana generals; and we may assume that to this wild and unsettled province Vīrakūrca was appointed as ruler during the reign of the Andhrbhṛtya king Hārītiputra Viṣṇuskanda Cuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi. This event may be reasonably assigned to about 220 A. D. It was possibly during this period of viceroyalty that Vīrakūrca founded, or occupied the city of Kāñci in the east.

The Vēlūrpālayam inscription states that the descendants of Pallava were military officers under the Nāga kings and that Vīrakūrca seized the kingdom on the decline of the Nāga dynasty. Vīrakūrca's real name has been shown to be Kumāraviṣṇu. He was the descendant of a soldier of fortune who entered the service of the Nāga king of Vanavāsa and, was himself a powerful and ambitious soldier. Vīrakūrca would appear to have served for a long time the Nāga king, his father-in-law, as the ruler of a vast and unsettled territory in the east and, enjoyed that dignity during the reign of his brother-in-law, king Dhēnasēna. Though there is no direct epigraphic evidence in support of

1. Kumāraviṣṇu I, surnamed Vīra-Kūrcavarman, Founder of the Pallava dynasty at Kāñci 220–252; 252–265-A. D.

1 Rapson (C. *A. D.* p. 23f. and *Introd.* p. xxxii) argues correctly that there may have been temporary extension of the Imperial Andhra dominion during the reign of Pulumāvi II in the region of the southern coramandel coast on the strength of the provenance of coins.

2 Dr. N. Venkataramanayya: *Trilōcana Pallava and Karikāla Cōḷa*, p. 8.

3 Watters: *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, pp. 224–25.

this hypothesis, it is not unreasonable to assume it. Elsewhere Dhēnasēna's death has been fixed about 232 A. D. His death threw open the succession to the throne of Vanavāsa apparently to two rival claimants, the Kadamba prince Skanda Nāga Śātakarṇi or Śivaskandavarman and Kumāraviṣṇu or Vīrakūrca of the Pallava family. Kumāraviṣṇu was a powerful soldier and had acquired consequently the epithet *Vīrakūrca* 'the bundle of prowess', by his great and marvellous deeds of valour. He made a sudden, powerful and vigorous attack on Vaijayantīpura, defeated and overpowered his rival Śivaskandavarman and quickly became the lord of the great kingdom of Vanavāsa. It must have been by a brilliant *coupe de etat* that he became the supreme lord of the South. This event may have taken place about 233 A. D.

Vīrakūrcavarman, as stated elsewhere, remained on the throne for sometime and enjoyed the sovereignty of Vanavāsa. There are no recorded events of this period. Nevertheless, it may be believed that Vīrakūrca's reign was not peaceful and that he spent his time in fighting his rival Skandanāga Śātakarṇi and his ally Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta. The Kadamba prince, seems to have conquered Kumāraviṣṇu at last and crowned himself as *Dharmamahārājadhirāja* of Vaijayanti. The death of the Kadamba king, *c.* 252 A. D. presented another opportunity to Kumāraviṣṇu, who was evidently marking time to fall upon Vaijayanti, to overthrow the descendants of Śivaskandavarman and seized the sovereignty of Vanavāsa once more by a sudden and vigorous attack. It may not be unreasonable to assume, as stated elsewhere, that at this juncture the descendants of the Kadamba king sought the help of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Bahubala Śāntamūla to oppose the Pallava usurper for a second time. But on this occasion Virakūrcavarman proved himself to be more formidable and stronger than his Kadamba rivals and their allies. Within a few years he conquered and destroyed his enemies and thus made himself the paramount king of the South. The Ikṣvāku monarch, too, would seem to have been disastrously defeated and destroyed in the protracted struggle that ensued. Thus the sovereignty of the Kadambas was shortlived; rather it was eclipsed by the rise of the impetuous Pallava conqueror

Vīrakūrca. But while the Kadamba dynasty revived after sometime, the Ikṣvākus did not. They were completely wiped out by the Pallava kings.

Kumāraviṣṇu's tenure on the throne of Kāñcīpura, however, would not seem to have been peaceful. From the day of his accession he was at war with the Kadambas in the west and their allies, the Ikṣvākus, in the north. By slow degrees he conquered the territories of his opponents in the north, west and south and extended his sway over the entire South India. His empire was bounded on the north by the Tungabhadra and the Kṛṣṇa rivers; on the south, it included perhaps the region of the lower Cauveri. Southern Andhradesa was annexed to his empire by his valiant son who destroyed the Ikṣvākus by his fierce valour. Kumāra Viṣṇu was a resolute and valiant prince who by the strength of his arms could subdue the entire circle of hostile kings gradually, and then celebrate the As'vamēdha rite. His As'vamēdha sacrifice would seem to mark the fall of the Kadamba power. Thus he became the most powerful monarch of the day in Southern India. His descendants therefore regarded him rightly as the founder of the dynasty on the throne of kāñcīpura.[1] They remembered him and the steps by which he acquired the sovereignty of the South, and thus in the formal preambles they affixed the epithet, *vikram-ākranta anya-nṛpa Śrī nilayānām Pallavānām* 'the Pallavas who acquired the fortune of other kings by their prowess', to themselves. Vīrakūrcavarman's As'vamēdha would appear to have taken place about the tenth year of his reign, c. 263 A. D. About that year his son, *Yuvamahārāja* Śivaskandavarman issued an edict from Kāñcīpura to the officer of his father stationed at Dhaṁñakaḍa (Dhaṇakaṭaka) in Andhrāpatha. The order, dated the tenth year of his father's reign, appears on the Mayidavolu copper-plates. This enables us incidentally to fix the date of the conquest of

1 The Paṭṭamangalam grant (*E. I.*, XVIII, p. 115) and the Kās'ākuḍi plates (*S. I. I.* III p. 342) mention Vīrakūrca at the top of the pedigree and thereby suggest that the Pallava kings descended from him. The Vāyalūr pillar inscription (*E. I.* XVIII p. 145) in spite of its confusion and long list of names, places Vīrakūrca at the top of the historical pedigree. There is no doubt, therefore, that he was the first crowned king of the dynasty and founder of his line at Kāñcīpura.

the southern provinces of the Ikṣvāku kingdom with certainty about 260 A.D.

Kumāraviṣṇu I is distinctly described as an *As'vamēdhayājī* in the Oṁgōḍu charter of his great-grandson. The Hirahaḍagalli Prakrit plates of his son describe him as *anēka-hiraṇakoṭi-go-hala-sata-sahassa-padāyino*, "the giver of many crores of gold, of one hundred thousand ploughshares and kine" and *appatihata-sāsanassa* "one whose commands were unimpeded". These epithets were evidently borrowed from the Ikṣvākus. The first emperor of the Ikṣvāku dynasty, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śāntamūla the Great, is described in exactly similar terms as *Agihot-Agiṭhoma-Vājapēy-Asamēdha-yājisa aneka - hiraṇa - koṭi - go-sata sahısa-hala-satasa (hasa) padāyisa savathēṣu apatihata-saṁkapassa*, "the offerer of Agnihotra, Agniṣṭoma, Vājapēya and the As'vamēdha, the giver of many crores of gold, of one hundred thousand kine and a hundred thousand ploughshares of land and who is of unimpeded purpose in all his aims."[1] The adoption of the Ikṣvāku titles by the Pallava kings, particularly of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śāntamūla the Great, denotes plainly that Kumāraviṣṇu, and his son, Śivaskandavarman, conquered and destroyed the Ikṣvākus and appropriated their epithets. And what is more, it indicates that they emulated Śrī Śāntamūla's noble deeds and great exploits. Śivaskandavarman himself is also described in his Hirahadagalli record as *Aggiṭṭhoma-Vajapey-Assamedhayāji*, "the offerer of Agniṣṭoma, Vājapēya and As'vamēdha sacrifices". These epithets are not mere boasts. They also denote that the early Pallavas were Brahmaṇas.

Among the members of the Pallava dynasty, Kumāraviṣṇu I and his son alone claim the celebration and offering of the renowned Vedic rites. The celebration of the As'vamēdha and other Vedic sacrifices is not an ordinary exploit. According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the offering of the Vājapēya bestows upon the sacrificer a superior kind of kingship called *sāmrājya* universal kingship Sir A. B. Kieth points out that As'vamēdha is an old and famous rite which kings alone can bring to increase

1 *E. I.*, XV, p. 16 (No. C 3) text line 1 and p. 21 (No. E, text line 2.)

their realms.[1] This claim, therefore, must denote that the Early Pallava kings were great and powerful monarchs, who attained the imperial dignity of universal sovereignty in the South. More than that, it establishes the fact that the Pallavas were the immediate political successors of the Imperial Ikṣvākus in Southern Andhradesa and the Andhrabhṛtyas in Southern Vanavāsa. The reign of Kumāraviṣṇu I may be assumed to have lasted till *c.* 265 A. D. according to the date that has been assigned to the Mayidavōlu copper-plate charter of his time. He must have been an aged person by that date, for his political and military career commenced about 220 A. D. as pointed out above. Even if he was about thirty-five years of age when he was first appointed to the rulership of the eastern provinces during the reign of his father-in-law, Viṣṇuskanda Śātakarṇi, he would be eighty years old at the time of his death. Kumāraviṣṇu, therefore, was considerably advanced in age when he founded the kingdom of Kāñcī, *c.* 252, and consequently, we may assume that his reign lasted about fifteen years. On his death, his son, Śivaskandavarman I who was already associated with him as the *Yuvamahārāja*, succeeded peacefully to the throne and assumed the old Kadamba title, *Dharmamahārājadhirāja*.[2] The records of Śivaskandavarman I do not supply any information about the political condition of the South, or any events of his reign. All that is available from them is that he and his father reigned over a large kingdom which extended over Mysore in the west, Southern Andhradesa as far as the Kṛṣṇa river in the east and Tungabhadra in the north.

2. S'ivaskanda-varman I. c. 265—275 A. D.

A study of the contents and the identification of the localities mentioned in the Hirahaḍagalli plates of Śivaskanda-

1 *Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas and Upanishads*, Vol. II, p. 343.

2 It was not a new title which the Kadamba S'ivaskandavarman had coined as Dr. Jayaswal seems to think and attach undue importance or significance. He believes that the epithet *dharmamahārājadhirāja* was a hindu edition or a hindu counter-title of the Kuṣān '*Dēvaputra ṣāhānu-ṣāhi* , (*History of India*, p. 185). There is nothing in the Pallava history to support Dr. Jayaswal's suggestion. S'ivaskandavarman I simply copied it from Vanavāsa.

varman is interesting. It is also important, because the noteworthy features and the historical importance of the charter become apparent. The inscription records an order of the righteous supreme king of great kings (*dharmamahārājādhirāja*) Śivaskandavarman of the Pallavas, a Bhāradvāja, from Kāñcīpura, addressed to the royal princes (*rājakumāra*), generals (*sēnāpati*), rulers of districts (*raṭhika*), customs house officers (*māṁḍabika*), local prefects (*dēs'-ādhika*) and others, to the free-holders of various villagers (*gāma-gāmabhōjaka*), herdsmen (*vallava*), cowherds (*go-vallava*), ministers (*amacca*), guards (*ārakhādhikata*), captains (*gumika*), *tuthikas*, *neyikas* and all others employed in service, to spies (*saṁcārāṁtaka*) and soldiers (*bhadamanusa*), that he has given a garden (*vāḍaka*) in the village (*gāma*), the settlement (*koḍuṁka*) of Cillareka in the Sātāhani district (*raṭṭha*), that was formerly given by the Mahāraja Bappasvāmin, along with some more fields in Apiṭṭi to certain Brāhmaṇas (*Baṁhāna*), who were inhabitants of Āpiṭṭi and freeholders (*bhōjaka*) of the settlement Cillareka. The donees, whose shares are specified, are Goḷas'armārya, Agnis'armārya of the Ātrēya *gōtra*, Māṭhara, and his son-in-law Agnīla, Kālas'arman of the Hārīta *gōtra*, Kumāras'arman of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, the four brothers, Kumāranandin, Kumāras'arman, Koṭṭas'arman, Śaktis'arman of the Kaus'ika *gōtra*, Bhaṭṭi of the Kās'yapa *gōtra*, Skandakōṭi of Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, Skandārddha, Bappa, Dattārya, Nandyārya, Rudras'arman of the Vatsya *gōtra*, Dāmārya, Sālas'armārya, Harimitra, Nāganandin, Gōḷi, Skandavarman, and Svāmyārya. The gift consisted of a garden in Cillareka-*koḍuṁka* and was made as a means for the increase of merit, longevity, power and fame of his own family and race. The gift also consisted of the income from the garden which was to be divided and enjoyed in the manner specified. This garden in Cillareka-*koḍuṁka*, which belonged to the Brāhmaṇas headed by Agnis'armārya, was commanded to be freed thenceforth from taxes, freed from taking sweet and sour milk......freed from troubles about salt and sugar, freed from forced labour,......freed from the taking of oxen in succession, freed from the taking of grass and wood, freed from the taking of vegetables and flowers.

With these and other immunities of the eighteen kinds, it was ordered to be exempted and caused to be exempted by the inhabitants of the province Śātavāhani-raṭha, by the inhabitants of Āpiṭṭi and Cillareka-*koḍuṁka*. The gift consisted also of one *nivartana* of land in Āpiṭṭi for a threshing floor, one *nivartana* for a house for four labourers receiving half the produce, and two *kolikas*, the meaning of which is not clear.[1] The edict was prepared by the Privy Councillor (*Rahasādhika*) Bhaṭṭiśarman, the Kolivāla *bhōjaka*, "freeholder or Lord of the village of Kolivāla." Though the historical information which the grant conveys is very scanty, it is particularly useful in interpreting the history of Southern India of this period. The Pallava king, in the 8th year of his reign, confirmed and enlarged a donation made formerly by his father Mahārāja Bappasvāmin, by libation of water, to certain Brāhmaṇas who were the free-holders of the village of Cillareka.

Sātavāhani-raṭha or Sātavāhani-hāra was the ancient name for the region now covered by the Bellary, Anantpaur and other neighbouring districts. The region would seem to have acquired the name because it was the home-land or home province of the Śātavāhana family.[2] This identification is supported by the discovery of the Mekadoni Stone inscription and the Hirahadagalli Prakrit plates in that region. The two inscriptions are separated by a long distance of time of more than a century. It is evident that the villages mentioned in the Hirahaḍagalli charter as belonging to the district of Sātavāhani, must be only in that region. But Prof. H. Heras S. J. has identified the village Āpiṭṭi with Appikaṭla in Bāpaṭla taluk, Guntur district.[3] The identification is obviously faulty and untenable for more than one reason. Prof. Heras has

1 *Kolikā* corresponds to Sanskrit *kaulikaḥ*, and may mean 'weavers ; but it is also possible to think of the well known tribe of the Kolis who were slaves. *E. I*, I. p. 2f. See the footnote No. 25.)

2 See Dr. N. Venkataramaṇayya in *JAHRS*., X. pp 89–99, in his interesting paper on *Karṇāṭa* comes to the same conclusion as the above.

3 *Journal of the University of Bombay*, IV, Part IV, pp. 14–16.

evidently proceeded on the similarity of sound between Appikaṭla and Āpiṭṭi. Accordingly he wants to establish connection between the Early Pallavas and the Southern Andhradesa on this ground. But there is no epigraphic evidence to show that Karmarāṣṭra, Kammakaraṭha or Kammanāḍu in which Bāpaṭla taluk is situated was ever known as Sātavāhani-raṭha or Sātavāhani-hāra. The earliest reference to this region by the name Karmarāṣṭra is in the Jaggayyapēṭa marble pillar inscription of the *upāsaka*, Siddhārtha, dated the 20th year of the reign of Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta.[1] Several inscriptions written on copper-plates and stone and found in the Guntur district refer to that region as Karamarāṣṭra and Kammanāḍu.[2] And not a single inscription refers to this region by the name Sātavāhani-raṭha. On the other hand Mekadona (Mekadoni) is in Adoni taluk in the eastern extreme, and Hirahaḍagalli is in the extreme west of the Bellary district; and in both the inscriptions the Sātavāhani-*hāra* or *raṭha* is mentioned as the name of the region in which they are found. Curiously enough, Prof. Heras ignores all this material. Moreover Bāpaṭla does not seem to have any connection with Mahārāja Bappasvāmin. Bāpaṭla is a corrupt form of the Sanskrit name Bhāvapaṭṭana, the city of god Viṣṇu under the name Bhāvanārāyaṇasvāmin. The name of the deity occurs in almost all the inscriptions of the place.[3] The original name of the town was not Bhāvapaṭṭana or Bāpatla but Prēṁpalli Bhāvapaṭṭana became Bhāpaṭṭana, Bāpaṭna and at last Bāpaṭla. In Telugu language, *n* and *l* are interchangeable, and, therefore, Bāpaṭla is a corrupt form of Bhāvapaṭṭaṇa and has absolutely no reference whatever to Bappasvāmin. Similarly with regard to Appikaṭla, Prof. Heras proceeds on a wrong assumption. Appikaṭla cannot be identified with Āpiṭṭi. In the first place, Appikaṭla seems to be the earlier form of

Identification of S'ātavāhani-hāra or S'ātavahani raṣṭra.

1 *A. S. S. I.*, I. p. 110.

2 *S. I. I.*, VI. Nos. 124, (1.20) 129 (1.4), 128 (1.8), 134 (1.3) 139 (4) etc. Polamūru Grant of Mādhavavarman III. *Bhārati*, VII, Part 2, pp. 463–480. XVIII, Part, pp. 302–315. Also *JAHRS*, VI, pp. 17ff. (*C. P.* No 7 of 1913–14.)

3 *S. I. I.*, VI. Nos. 127–200.

Appikaṭla.[1] Appikaṭla seems to be a compund of two terms *appi* and *kaṭla* : the former term may be a perverted form of a proper name while the latter term means, in Telugu, 'a ridge', 'mound' or a 'bund'. Appikaṭla or Appikaṭṭa cannot therefore properly represent Āpiṭṭi. Secondly, Āpiṭṭi is situated in the Śātavāhani-rāṣṭra along with the other village Cillareka. The provenance of the Hirahaḍagalli plates and the Jungli-guṇḍu inscription at Mekadoni fully supports the inference that Āpiṭṭi and Cillareka lay in the region of the Bellary district. Cillareka seems to be represented in the village name Cillarege which still survives as a housename of a family of Andhra-Karṇāṭaka Brāhmaṇas of the Madhwa sect hailing from Bellary and the neighbouring districts. The village name ending *iṭṭi* or *aṭṭi* is very common in the extreme western taluks of the Bellary district. There are to be found villages with that name-ending like Hiribannimaṭṭi, Modulakaṭṭi, Duggavaṭṭi and the like. Āpiṭṭi, therefore, may have lain in that part of the Bellary district; and it may have been deserted in course of time by its inhabitants and thus gone out of existence.

The above identification of the localities of the Hirahaḍagalli grant and the general purport of the charter reminds us of the circumstances in which the second Mālavalli pillar inscription of the reign of the Kadamba king, Śivaskandavarman, came into being. The Hirahaḍagalli plates mention the renewal and confirmation of an apparently earlier gift "which was made by the Mahārāja Bappasvamin formerly, as a means of acquiring merit, longevity, power and fame of his own family and race." Śivaskandavarman I refers to the former gift of his father which consisted of some fields in the southern quarter (*sīmā*) of the village Cillareka-*koḍuṁka* in the province of Śātavāhani-ṛaṣṭra and makes an additional grant to the Brāhmaṇas of Āpiṭṭi, chief among whom was Agniśarman of Ātrēya *gōtra*. He also entreats:—" And further, I pray both the future great warriors of our Pallava race who may rule..............as well as kings,

Śivaskandavarman restores the grant, made by his father Vīrakūrca.

1 *Opi. Cit.* No. 61.

differing from us in descent, saying unto them: "To him among you, blessings, who in his time makes the people act according to the rule written above." Thus the Hirahaḍagalli charter reads very much like the Mālavalli record of the Kadamba king. The enjoyment of the gift made by Mahārāja Bappasvāmin would appear to have been interrupted by some hostile power and Śivaskandavarman restored, confirmed and enlarged the gift after he came to know of it. It would also appear that by his edict, Śivaskandavarman conferred upon the *bhōjakas* of Āpiṭṭi and Cillareka-*koḍuṁka* certain additional privileges which were not apparently enjoyed by them before. The former gift of Mahārāja Bappasvāmin, was probably made by him during his reign in Vanavāsa, between *c.* 233 and 239 A. D. Śivaskandavarman I confirmed and enlarged the former gift in the 8th year of his reign, on the 5th day of the 6th fortnight of the rainy season. The date of this grant may be assigned to about 270 A. D. The interval between the original grant of Mahārāja Bappasvamin and the re-grant by his son may have been, therefore, three to four decades. Śivaskandavarman took extraordinary measures of precaution, on the occasion of his re-grant, to protect the charity in future from any molestation. He addressed the command in person (*sayamānatam*) to all those officers of the province who were concerned in his good government, from the provincial ruler down to local officers, including the inhabitants of the villages and the district concerned and warned them to protect the gift for all time to come.

This inference is confirmed by another fact namely, that the villages Āpiṭṭi and Cilleraka-*koḍuṁka* lay in Śātavāhanirāṣṭra, not far from Vaijayanti, the capital of Vanavāsa. The provenance of the plates in Hirahaḍagalli suggests the view pointedly that the two above-mentioned villages lay most probably in or about modern Hirahaḍagalli taluk in the extreme west of the Bellary district which adjoins the North Kanara district on the west wherein is situated Banavāsi, the ancient Vaijayantīpura. The distance between Banavāsi and Hirahaḍagalli does not seem to be more than fifty miles as the crow

flies. It is quite probable that when Śivaskandavarman, the Kadamba king, defeated and drove Kumāraviṣṇu I out of Vanavāsa, he would have also disturbed the enjoyment of the gift made by his Pallava rival.

The most notable exploit of Śivaskandavarman I seems to be the conquest of the Ikṣvākus and the complete destruction of their sovereignty in Andhradesa. There is, however, no epigraphic or numismatic evidence recording this event. Nevertheless, this fact may be easily inferred from the materials that are available to us. The Hirahaḍagalli charter gives Śivaskandavarman two significant epithets which deserve examination. He is called the *Dharmamahārājādhirāja* like the Kadamba king Śivaskandavarman. If the Kadamba monarch had assumed the title of *Dharmamahārājādhirāja*, meaning 'the righteous supreme king of great kings' in the kingdom of Vanavāsa after overthrowing Vīrakūrca the usurper, Śiva-Skandavarman, the Pallava, assumed it apparently after he had destroyed the descendants of the Kadamba king who opposed him and his father, and made himself the undisputed lord of the South. Therefore the title *Dharmamahārājādhirāja* of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman seems to denote the conquest of the Kadambas of Vaijayanti. Similarly the epithet *Agniṣṭōma-Vājapēy-Ās'vamēdhayājī* seems to suggest the destruction of the Imperial Ikṣvākus. The first Ikṣvāku king, Śrī Śāntamūla the Great, celebrated these great Vedic rites and acquired the title. The descendants of that monarch remembered his great exploits and glorious military achievements. And it would appear that Śrī Śāntamūla offered the celebrated rites, Vājapēya and As'vamēdha, and established himself as the *samrāṭ* or Emperor in Dakṣiṇāpatha. The Ikṣvāku emperor destroyed the Śātavāhanas before he offered the As'vamēdha. In the same manner, the Pallava monarch, after uprooting the Imperial Ikṣvākus and annexing their southern dominions, celebrated the As'vamēdha and assumed the imperial dignity. That is not all. The Vēlūrpālayam record seems to corroborate this conjecture. The inscription states: "Skandas'iṣya, son of Vīra-

S'ivaskandavarma's achievements.

kūrca, seized from king Satyasēna the *ghaṭika* of the twice-born Brāhmaṇas." The name Skandas'iṣya does not appear in the Prakrit charters. It appears only in the Rāyakōṭa plates of Skandas'iṣya[1] among all the numerous Sanskrit charters of the Pallava family besides the Vēlūrpālayam record. This shows that Skandas'iṣya was not altogether a new name but was one which was already in existence in the family. Possibly, it may have been a variant of the well known name Skandavarman. According to the Rāyakōṭa plates, Skandas'iṣya was the son of As'vatthāman by a Nāga lady. This statement is obviously at variance with the story of As'vatthāman's liaison with a Nāga maiden and the birth of the eponymous prince Pallava. However, if we substitute Vīrakūrca for As'vatthāman in the above statement, Skandas'iṣya, the off-spring of the Nāga lady becomes identical with Śivaskanda-varman I. Skandas'iṣya or Śivaskandavarman captured the *ghaṭikā* of the twice-born Brāhmaṇas from king Satyasēna. The *ghaṭikā* was evidently a celebrated one in ancient times and perhaps was also well known to the writer of the Vēlūrpālayam record. In the whole range of the ancient history of the Deccan, there was only one city renowned in the early period whose name ended with the term *ghaṭika* or *ghaṭaka*, and that is mentioned in the Amarāvatī pillar inscription of Siṁhavarman.[2] The city is called Dhānyaghaṭa(ka) and is situated on the river Kṛṣṇa Beṇṇā or Kṛṣṇa. It is probable, therefore, that the *ghaṭika* of the twice-born Brāhmaṇas in the kingdom of Satyasēna was the same as Dhāyaghaṭaka or Dhanakaṭaka, the capital of the Imperial Andhra dynasty. It was a renowned city of Dakṣiṇāpatha in the early period. Its importance as a place of Brahmanical and Buddhist religions and cultures was superseded only by the rise of Kāñcīpura further south. From the inscriptions it appears that Dhanakaṭaka or Dhānya-ghaṭaka was commonly known as mere Kaḍaka, Kaṭaka, Ghaṭaka or Ghaṭika. The Prakrit plates of Queen Cārudēvī refer to this city apparently, under the name Kaḍa(ka).[3]

1 *E. I.*, Vol. V. p. 49.

2 *S. I. I.*, I. p. 23.

3 *E. I.*, VIII, p. 143, text line 4.

Kaḍaka may be Andhri or Pais'āci variant of both Ghaṭaka and Kaṭaka. Dhānyaghaṭaka lay in the dominions of the Ikṣvākus and was not far removed from their capital, Vijayapuri, on the southern bank of the Kṛṣṇa river. There are no kings of the name of Satyasēna among the Ikṣvākus or any other Southern dynasty that held sway over Andhradesa. But the suffix *sēna* in the king's name is suggestive of his Śaka origin. King Satyasēna, therefore, of the Vēlūrpālayam inscription may be assumed to be a Śaka pretender who usurped the sovereignty of Andhradesa during the dark period of political confusion that followed the Pallava conquest and destruction of the Ikṣvāku dynasty. Skandas'iṣya's conquest of Satyasēna and the capture of Dhānyaghaṭaka was, therefore, a notable achievment, for it meant the annexation of Southern Andhradesa to the Pallava kingdom. And, as will be seen in the succeeding chapters, Dhānyaghaṭaka or Dhanakaṭaka enjoyed the importance of being the seat of the Pallava viceroy on the Kṛṣṇa river till the disappearance of the last vestiges of the Pallava dominion in Southern Andhradesa about the beginning of the seventh century A. D.

It would thus seem that Śivaskandavarman first destroyed the Ikṣvākus and later the Śaka usurper Satyasēna. The Ikṣvākus, as stated elsewhere, espoused the cause of the Kadambas and their feudatories on more than one occasion, on account of their nearness of kinship, against their natural enemies the Pallavas. The Pallavas bore therefore unremitting hostility to the Ikṣvākus, and after a period of protracted wars, crushed their power and destroyed them in the end. The period of Kumāraviṣṇu I and that of his son Śivaskandavarman, from about 250 to 270 A. D. marked evidently the protracted hostilities between the aggressive Pallavas and the declining Ikṣvākus. In the end, the Ikṣvākus succumbed under the fierce and frequent onslaughts of the Pallavas and finally disappeared. The event may be placed with approximate certainty at 270 A. D. about the middle of Śivaskandavarman's reign. And to the same date may be ascribed the offering of the Vājapeya and As'vamēdha rites by the Pallava monarch.

Though the final destruction of the Ikṣvāku power in Andhradesa was not an accomplished fact till about 270 A. D. the conquest of the Southern Andhra country was almost complete even during the reign of Maharaja Bappasvāmin. By the date of the Mayidavōlu plates, Southern Andhradesa had already been annexed to the Pallava kingdom, for the edict was addressed to the *vyāpṛta* (*Pkt. vyāpita*), ruler of the province stationed at Dhanakaḍa(ka) or Dhanakaṭaka. Though Śivaskandavarman I was then the heir-apparent and his father was alive on the date of this grant, he would appear to be the *de facto* ruler and conqueror of the Southern Andhradesa. The edict records a gift of the village Viripara in the Andhra country (Andhrāpatha) to two Brāhmaṇas, Puvakoṭujà (Pūrvakōṭyārya) and Gōnandija (Gōnandyārya) of the Agnivēśya *gōtra* made by the *Yuvamahārāja* Śivaskandavarman, for conferring on himself victory in war and, for increasing his merit, length of life and power. The village Viripara is identical with Vipparla in Narasaraopeta taluk, Guntur district and is not far from Mayidavōlu, where the plates were found. The village was granted as a *brahmadēya*, with exemption from all taxes and imposts. The edict was commanded in person, by the heir-apparent and was carried out by himself as its *ājñapti* 'executor.' The charter may be assigned approximately to 260 A. D.

The establishment of the Pallava dynasty at Kāñcipura marks the beginning of a new and important epoch in the ancient history of South India. During the Pre-Pallava epoch, the history of the South was enveloped in darkness. The anicent history of South India practically begins with the rise of Vīrakūrcavarman to sovereignty about the middle of the third century A. D. Vīrakūrcavarman and his son would appear to have had a definite administrative, economic and religious policy of their own, based on the lines of the Imperial Andhras, Andhrabhṛtyas and Ikṣvākus. Vīrakūrcavarman gave a strong impetus, not so much to the revival as some scholars opine, as to the establishment of orthodox Brahmanism and Vedic rites in his kingdom, particularly in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and further south. The Pallavas, having been essentially a northern

family, patronised northern culture, language, religion and even administrative organisation.[1] Mahārāja Bappasvāmin is stated to have given away many crores of gold and one hundred thousand *halas* of land and cows.[2] The giving away of gold implies the striking and issue of new coinage, and the distribution of land suggests the pursuit of a definite scheme or policy of reclamation of impenetrable forest lands of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, and founding of new villages, spread of agriculture, colonisation of new tracts and establishment of Brahmanical settlements all over his vast kingdom in the same manner as the Ikṣvākus did in the earlier epoch. The Pallavas made their capital an important city, the centre of Brahmanical, Buddhist and Northern cultures in the South. Kāñcīpura soon became celebrated and the counterpart of Vārānasi in the South.

Śivaskandavarman I was in one sense a greater and more powerful monarch than his father. He is entitled to the epithet, the Great. Like the Imperial Ikṣvākus, he would appear to have claimed the title of *cakravartin*, 'emperor' in the South. His sway probably extended over a larger area than that of his father. Though there is no evidence to show conclusively how far his kingdom extended, it is reasonable to assume that it extended as far as the Cauveri in the South. Apparently on account of the Pallava dominion over that area, the South Pennar acquired its name after the North Pennar (Pinākini or Pennā) of the Nellore district in the north. Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil, however, believes that the Pallava kingdom extended more into the Deccan than in the Tamil country and that there is nothing to prove that it comprised the banks of the Cauveri, for the Cauveri region was occupied by the Cōḷas.[3] But the Cōḷas did not emerge into the political arena or occupy the Cauveri region till the middle of the fifth century A. D. On the contrary though it appears that the Pallava dominion lay in the Deccan beyond the Kṛṣṇa and the Tungabhadra, there is no evidence either of epigraphy or of numismatics to

1 *Jour. of Ind, History*, Vol. II. pp. 19–66.

2 *E. I.*, Vol, I. p. 2f.

3 *The Pallavas*, p. 14.

support the theory of the Cōḷa occupation of the Cauveri region earlier than that of the Early Pallavas.

Śivaskandavarman I could not have reigned longer than ten years, for he would seem to have been well advanced in age even on the date of his accession. And it may be remembered that most of his life was spent in fighting and conquering new territories of hostile kings during the lifetime of his father. His father acquired the sovereignty of Vanavāsa about 233 A. D; and if Śivaskandavarman was thirty-five or forty years old at that time, he would be at least seventy years old at his death. (*c.* 275 A. D.) Probably he was about sixty years of age on the date of his accession to the throne of Kāñci. His Hirahaḍagalli plates were issued in the 8th year of his reign. Considering all these facts, a reign of ten years may be reasonably allotted to Śivaskandavarman I.

*Add* the following between the paragraphs 1 & 2 on p. 213

Queen Cārudēvī's grant is dated some year, the figure or figures denoting the date being illegible and unfortunately, irretrievably lost. The date belongs to the reign of the king, her father-in-law, Vijaya-Skandavarman. The inscription contains an order of Queen Cārudēvī, wife of the heir-apparent *Yuvamahārāja* Vijaya-Buddhavarman and mother of Prince Buddhyāṅkura, (*literally*, the off-spring of Buddha). It refers to a gift of four *nivartanas* of land that was to be ploughed by a person named Ātuka, and which lay on the northern side of the drinking-well, and below the 'King's' Tank, or *Rāja-taḍāka*, to the god Nārāyana of the Kūḷi-Mahātāraka temple at Dālūra. The record states that the edict was executed by the officer Rōhiṇīgupta, and issued from the city Kaḍaka or Kaṭaka, which may be supposed to be the same as Dhanakaṭaka or (Prakrit,) Dhaṁñakaḍa. It is interesting that the field granted belonged to Dhanakaṭaka which lies in the Sattenapalli taluk, Guntur district, while the abode of the deity seems to be identical with Dāmalūru on the other side of the river Kṛṣṇa, in Bezwada taluk, Kistna district.

CHAPTER IV.

## *The Early Pallavas of the Sanskrit Charters.*

(The Descendants of Śivaskandavarman the Great; *c.* 275–400.)

From the British Museum Prakrit plates of queen Cārudēvī and the Sanskrit charters of the early period, it appears that Śivaskandavarman I had two sons, Vijaya Buddhavarman and Vīravarman, and that the former had succeeded him on the throne. Cārudēvī's Prakrit grant is written in characters which are less ornamental than those of the Hirahaḍagalli and Mayidavōlu plates but which undoubtedly belong to about the same period as those records belong. It is this fact that enables us to assume that Vijaya Buddhavarman was the son and successor of Śivaskandavarman the Great. Cārudēvī's grant belongs to the reign of her father-in-law and therefore may be assigned to *c.* 270 A. D. On this account, some scholars believe that Vijaya Buddhavarman, her lord, was dead by that date. But this view is not convincing. The lady was evidently proud of being the queen of the heir-apparent and more than that of being the mother of the living prince Buddhyāṅkura, who was probably a grown-up youth by that date. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to suppose that Vijaya Buddhavarman was not only alive on the date of his queen's grant but also survived to succeed his father on the throne. His accession may be placed about 275 A. D. Śivaskandavarman I was old enough at the time of his death to possess a son well advanced in age and a grown-up grandson. We may also assume that while the aged emperor reigned in Kāñcī, his heir-apparent ruled in the Southern Andhra country as viceroy *Yuvamahārāja*. Vijaya Buddhavarman's capital may have been Dhanakaṭaka at this period.

3. Vijaya Buddhavarman. c. 275—285. A. D.

A long reign of the grandfather and a short period of ten years for the father would seem to have made it possible for Vijaya Buddhavarman to ascend the throne. Accordingly a reign of about ten years may be allotted to him. We have

already identified the unknown donor of the Darsi fragment as Buddhyāṅkura : thus both the princes mentioned in the British Museum Plates are supposed to be crowned kings. This conclusion is supported by the fact that Vīravarman, the younger son of Śivaskandavarman I, does not appear to have been anointed as king. The appellation *Mahāraja* is altogether omitted to him in the record of his son, Vijaya Skandavarman.[1] In all the Pallava charters he is described merely as a great soldier, the only hero on earth, who obtained innumerable victories on battlefields. This description suggests that Vīravarman did not at all reign but died early without coming to the throne. It also indicates that the reigns of Vijaya Buddhavarman and his son Buddhyāṅkura were crowded with wars.

It is probable that Vijaya Buddhavarman died on battlefield fighting, and his son Buddhyāṅkura succeeded him early in life. The old enemies of the family probably rose and attempted to destroy the Pallava dominion in the Southern Andhra country and Vanavāsa. The period of Vijaya Buddhavarman and his son Buddhyāṅkura, therefore, would seem to synchronise with the short-lived glory of the Bṛhatphalāyanas of Kōḍūra in Andhradesa. Buddhyāṅkura, does not seem to be the proper name of the king, for literally it means, 'the offspring of Buddha'. The real name of the king is lost to us. It may have been Siṁhavarman, which occurs in the next generation of the family. For the present, it is a mere conjecture. Buddhyāṅkura may have possibly reigned for about a decade and died leaving no heir to succeed him. That seems to be the reason for the succession to have passed on to the descendants of his uncle, Vīravarman, after his death.

4. Buddhyāṅkura c. 285–295 A. D.

The Darsi fragment dated from the provincial city, Dasanapura, (*Dasanapur-ādhiṣṭhāna*) shows that by that date the Pallavas of Kāñci had encountered a formidable hostile power in Andhradesa and the struggle for wresting back the Southern Andhra country had commenced. It would appear that

1 *E. I.*, XV., p. 249f.

immediately after the death of Śivaskandavarman I, the Pallavas were dislodged from their northern provinces lying between the Mannēru and Kṛṣṇa rivers in Andhradesa. This was evidently due to the rise of a powerful but short-lived dynasty of the Bṛhatphalāyanas. Only a single king of the line called Jayavarman is known to history from his Koṇḍamudi Prakrit plates.[1] He seems to have been a contemporary of Vijaya Buddhavarman and his successor, Buddhyāṅkura. The archaic alphabet and Prakrit language of the Koṇḍamudi grant closely resemble those of the Mayidavolu and Hirahaḍagalli plates. This circumstance conclusively proves the inference that king Jayavarman must have lived in the same period as these two early Pallava kings.[2] Jayavarman's reign may not have lasted more than a decade, *c.* 275—285 A. D.

The Bṛhatphalāyanas disappeared altogether from the political horizon within a decade or two after their meteoric rise under king Jayavarman. They were succeeded in the rulership of Southern Andhradesa by the kings of the Ānanda *gōtra* who, having inherited hostilities from the Bṛhatphalāyanas, continued the struggle against the Pallavas. But they too quickly succumbed in the protracted hostilities. The great kings of the Ananda family who successfully resisted the Pallavas for a short time would appear to be Dāmōdaravarman[3] and his unknown predecessor. Buddhyāṅkura and his paternal uncle, Vīravarman, would have lost their lives during the long wars with the Bṛhatphalayanas and the Anandas. Probably it was not until a long time had elapsed during the reign of Vijaya Skandavarman II that the Pallavas conquered the Ananda kings and regained their lost territories in Southern Andhradesa.

Vijaya Skandavarman II, son of Vīravarman, was probably the successor of Buddhyāṅkura. He ascended the throne early in his life and reigned for a long time. This inference is suggested by his charter which is dated the thirty-third year of his victorious

1 *E. I.*, VI, p. 315f with plates.

2 See below Book III. Chapter I.

3 *E. I.*, XVII, p. 327f. with plates. See below Book III. Chapter I.

reign. It appears from a record of the time of his great grandson that he was also known as Kandavarman.[1] Vijaya Skandavarman's reign seems to mark the beginning of the period of the Sanskrit charters. It seems to mark also the transition from the earlier Prakrit epoch to the period of Sanskrit charters. There are no records of the Pallava dynasty however, of this period to denote the change or transition of the intervening epoch. But there is evidence of the transition from Prakrit to Sanskrit in the records of other dynasties. The change to Sanskrit is apparent even in the Hirahaḍagalli plates. While the entire charter is in Prakrit, there is a single sentence, a *maṅgaḷavākya*, in Sanskrit invoking peace and prosperity, at the end. It runs thus: *Svasti gō-brāhmaṇa-lēkhaka vācaka s'rōtribhyaḥ iti*, 'Welfare to cows, Brāhmaṇas, the writer, the reader and the hearers.' The same feature of the transition may be noticed also in the Prakrit form of the family name, as *Palava* in the Mayidavōlu plates, and as *Pallava* in the Hirahaḍagalli grant. The latter is the final Sanskritised form of the Prakrit term. The transition may be noticed also in the Koṇḍamudi plates of the Bṛhatphalāyana king and in the Maṭṭepād plates of Dāmōdaravarman. In the former record the name of the king appears as legend on the seal in Sanskrit as *Bṛhaphalāyanasa gōtrasya Mahārāja Śrī Jayavarmaṇaḥ*, 'Of the Mahārāja, Śrī Jayavarman of the Bṛhatphalāyana *gōtra*.' In the latter grant the language used is Sanskrit but the names of the donees are in Prakrit. The change from Prakrit to Sanskrit covers the intervening period, which may be assigned on philological and palaeographical grounds to about the close of the third or the beginning of the fourth century A. D. During this transitory period the Pallava dominion in Andhradesa seems to have been threatened first by the Bṛhatphalayanas and then by the Ānanda kings.

5. Vijaya Skandavarman II
c. 295—330 A. D.

Vijaya Skandavarman's reign witnesed a great political upheaval in the west in the rise of the Kadambas for a second time under Mayūras'arman. This event has been assigned to a slightly later date, as 345 A. D. in a recent text-book by

1 The Curā copper-plate grant, C. P. No. of 1913–14; *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1913–14.

Mr. Moraes.[1] He believes that the great confusion that followed the southern expedition of Samudragupta, *c.* 340 or 345 A. D., would have presented a splendid opportunity for the Kadamba Mayūras'arman to pave his way for the establishment of an independent Kadamba kingdom in the west. But the probability seems to be far from it. There is no epigraphic or literary evidence of any political confusion in the South consequent upon the southern expedition of the Gupta Emperor Samudragupta. On the contrary the coalition of all the kings and their feudatories of Dakṣiṇāpatha appears to have been successful in resisting Samudragupta's march into the South. The rise of Mayūras'arman seems to have nothing to do with the invasion of Samudragupta; it seems to have been the result of other causes. These causes appear to be the revival of hostilities between the Kadambas and the Pallavas. The descendants of Śivaskandavarman, the Kadamba king of Vaijayanti, who regarded themselves as the rightful heirs to the throne of Vanavāsa, were evidently waiting for an opportunity to strike the Pallavas and recover their lost homeland. The death of Śivaskandavarman synchronised with the rise of Vīrakūrcavarman about 252 A. D. and the establishment of the Pallava dynasty. The interval between the fall of Śivaskandavarman and the rise of Mayūras'arman in the dawn of the fourth century would appear to be about half a century as we shall presently see.

Rise of the Kadambas.

The Candrāvalli rock inscription of the time of Mayūras'arman supports the above view. The inscription is no doubt a genuine record of Mayūras'arman. It is engraved on a rock at a secluded spot at Candrāvalli, Chittaldrug district, Mysore.[2] The inscription records the construction of a tank by enclosing the surrounding hills and ridges into a vast catchment area, by the Kadamba king Mayūras'arman, who had defeated Trekuṭa, Ābhīra, Pallava, Pāriyātrika, Śakasthāna,

Candrāvalli incription of Mayūras'arman.

1 *The Kadamba Kula*, pp. 15–18.

2 *Mysore Arch. Rept.* 1929, pp. 50ff.

Saiyindaka, Punāṭa and Mokari. These geographical names apparently denote the kingdoms of these regions and are well known. The reference to Trekuṭa is interesting; it is important in as much as it enables us to determine the date of Mayūras'arman. Trekūṭa seems to be the same as Traikūṭaka or Trikūṭa. The commencement of the Trekuṭa or Traikūṭaka era is placed in 249 A. D. The era has been identified with the Kalacuri or Cēdi era on the one hand,[1] and with the Vākaṭaka era on the other.[2] The Traikūṭakas appear to be different from the Ābhīras, though some scholars believe that the Traikūṭaka era marks the consolidation of the Ābhīra and the Traikūṭaka dynasties.[3] As Mayūras'arman is said to have defeated the Traikūṭaka king he must have obviously flourished after the Traikūṭaka era had been founded. Mayūras'arman, therefore, could not have reigned before the commencement of the Traikūṭaka era, that is to say before the establishment of the Traikūṭaka dynasty in Aparānta and Southern and Central Gujerat. The reference to Śakasthāna which probably meant the Mahākṣatrapa kingdom in Western Malwa, and Mokari, the Maukhari king of Eastern Malwa, corroborates the above inference. There was a break in the direct line of the Kṣatrapas of Ujjaini after Vis'vasēna in the dawn of the fourth century, and that might have been possibly the result of the *dig-vijaya* of Mayūras'arman. The rise of Mayūras'arman may be, therefore, placed about the first decade in the fourth century.[4] Thus from about 255 or 260 A. D. to about 310 A. D. the interval is about fifty or sixty years. During this period a succession of powerful kings occupied the throne of Kāñcīpura. The first two kings celebrated the As'vamēdha rite and assumed imperial dignity. The weak descendants of the Kadamba Śivaskandavarman had to bide their time; the opportunity came during the reigns of Śivaskandavarman's immediate successors, when

1 Rapson: *C. A. D. Introd.* p. clix.

2 Jayaswal: *History of India*, p. 99.

3 Rapson: *C. A. D.* Introduction, p. clxii.

4 *Jour. of Ind. Hist.* XIII, Part 2, Mr. M. Govinda Pai (*The Genealogy and Chronology of the Early Kadambas of Banavasi*) believes that Mayūras'arman reigned between 180 and 210 A. D. In the face of the Candrāvalli rock inscription Mr. Govinda Pais date is untenable.

the Bṛhatphalāyanas of Andhradesa and the Ānandas of Kandarapura rose against the Pallavas. At a time when the Pallavas were most harassed in the fierce fighting in the north during the reign of Vijaya Skandavarman, Mayūras'arman seized the opportunity to defeat the Pallava armies and establish himself at Vaijayanti. The ancient kingdom of Vanavāsa or at any rate the southern part of it, which formed part of the great Pallava Empire for over three quarters of a century was for ever lost during the reign of this king. Henceforth Vaijayanti became an independent kingdom under the newly established Kadamba dynasty which was destined to play a glorious and important part in the history of Southern India for well nigh three centuries.

Mayūras'arman and the Establishment of the Kadamba dynasty at Vaijayanti.

The events that led to the rise of the Kadambas and the establishment of a paramount kingdom are minutely described in a Kadamba record found at Talguṇḍa in Shikārpur district, Mysore[1] The Talguṇḍa pillar inscription is a record dated during the reign of Śāntivarman, the eldest son of Kākustha varman of the Kadamba dynasty. It is engraved on a very hard grey granite stone pillar which stands in front of the ruined Praṇaves'vara temple. It is one of the earliest records of the family. According to it the Kadambas were a family of devout Brāhmaṇas, the sons of Hāritī (*Hāritīputra*), who trod the path of the three Vedas, born in the *gōtra* of Mānavya, the foremost of Ṛṣis. "Their hair was constantly wet with the final purificatory baths after several kinds of sacrificial rites. They dived deep into the sacred lore, kindled the sacred fire, and drank the *sōma* juice according to the precept. They studied the Vedas and the six Vēdāṅgas. There grew a *kadamba* tree with blooming flowers on a spot near their dwelling house from tending which they acquired its name Kadamba for their family and its qualities. In this Kadamba

The Talguṇḍa inscription of the reign of S'āntivarman.

1 *E. I.*, VIII, p. 24ff; *E. C.*, VII, pp. 200ff.

family, whose original home was the village of Sthānakuṇḍūra (the modern Talguṇḍa) there arose a learned and distinguished chief, by name Mayūras'arman. Once upon a time Mayūras'arman went with his *guru* (preceptor) Vīras'arman to the city of the Pallava lords (*Pallavēndra-purī*); with intent to study fully the sacred writings there, he entered a *ghaṭika* as a mendicant. There, exasperated by a fierce quarrel with a Pallava horseman, Mayūras'arman deplored the feebleness of the Brāhmaṇas. He then quickly abandoned his priestly avocation, and 'unsheathed a flaming sword eager to conquer the earth.' He swiftly defeated in battle the frontier guards of the Pallava lords and occupied the inaccessible forest country stretching to the gates of the city of Śrīparvata. He then levied tribute from the circle of kings headed by the Great Bāṇa (*Bṛhad-Bāṇa*), evidently a powerful feudatory of the Pallavas, and caused much trouble by his frequent raids into the Pallava dominions. The Pallava king, finding it impossible to subdue even when he had taken the field with a large army and recognising his valour and ability, made a compact with him by which he took Mayūras'arman into his service. But thereafter too, Mayūras'arman gave trouble to the Pallava kings and eventually received a large territory of his own, bounded by the sea on the west and by the Prēhāra on the east, of which he was crowned king.

The foregoing account may not be literally the true history of the Kadambas and the rise of Mayūras'arman. It is apparently a poetic version; but Kubja, the composer of the poetry of the inscription evidently knew something of the history of the country and the circumstances that led to the rise of Mayūras'arman. It is particularly clear when the poet tells us in the beginning that Mayūras'arman belonged to *Kadambasēnānī bṛhad-anvaya* "the great Kadamba lineage of the leaders of armies". This statement must be understood to mean that the Kadambas were originally employed in all probability in the military service of the Andhrabhṛtyas. This is proved by the fact that the Kadamba Śivaskandavarman and his father described as *Mahāraṭhi* and *Mahābhōja* in the Kanhēri record would

appear to be military officers of the Cuṭu-Śātakarṇi monarchs. Again when the inscription states that Kākusthavarman constructed the tank near the shrine of the god Bhava (Śiva) where the Śātakarṇi and other pious kings worshipped, we are at once reminded of the Cuṭu-Nāga or Cuṭu-Śātakarṇi dynasty. And the Śātakarṇi referred to in the record may be probably identical with king Hāritīputra Viṣṇuskanda Cuṭu-kulānanda Śātakarṇi of the Mānavya *gōtra*. The hostility of the Kadambas to the Pallavas would seem to be not the result of any events or confusion connected with the invasion of the South by Samudragupta but the outcome of old feuds between the Kadambas of Vaijayanti and the Pallava dynasty of Kāñcīpura. The Kadambas bore relentless hatred for the Pallavas from the very beginning, and regarded them as their natural enemies.

It appears that the original home of the Kadambas was Sthānakuṇḍūra or Talgunda itself.[1] Apart from the statement in the inscription, the fact is also borne out by the situation of Talguṇḍa itself at a short distance from the Kadamba capital, Vaijayanti. The reference to king Śātakarṇi, who worshipped Śiva at that spot and the setting up of the pillar with a record of the family history at the same site are circumstances that corroborate the inference. Moreover, the composer of the record, Kubja, seems to suggest that the Kadamba family was descended from king Śātakarṇi or Viṣṇuskanda Śātakarṇi.

Poet Kubja's description of Mayūraśarman's visit to Pallavēndrapurī, the 'city of the Pallava lords' and the subsequent events that led to the "fulfilment of the vow which secured his purpose" (vv. 15–16) seem to indicate that the Kadambas being unable to take the field openly against their powerful adversary, the Pallava king, planned a strategic movement against him and finally succeeded in destroying the Pallava dominion of the Kadamba country. Mayūraśarman's vow, therefore, was not merely the result of his unexpected combat with the Pallava horseman but of deep-seated hostility

1 *E. C.*, VII, Introduction, p. 8.

that surged the heart of the Kadamba royal family for nearly a quarter of a century. The 'city of the Pallava lords' has been identified with Kāñcī,[1] but this identification is neither sound nor tenable. The inscription evidently refers to the provincial capital of the Pallava viceroy, and that seems to be the reason for its being called Pallavēndrapurī instead of Kāñcīpura. The poet makes no mistake about this: he refers to Kāñcīpura in another connection. Pallavēndrapurī may not be identical also with Vaijayanti; it seems to have been a different locality altogether, possibly situated on the borders of Vanavāsa in Anantapur or Bellary districts. It must have been deserted or destroyed in later times by the Kadambas and thus traces of it are lost for ever. It was apparently the seat of the Pallava viceroy on the west in Śātavāhani-raṣṭra.[2] It was this Pallavēndrapurī that Mayūras'arman entered to study the military strength of the Pallavas secretly rather than the religious writings, before he launched his offensive against them by means of guerilla warfare. The encounter with the haughty Pallava horseman would then seem to be a pretext for the commencement of hostilities.

Mayūras'arman's exploits.

Mayūras'arman took advantage of the political condition of the Pallava Empire, for at this juncture the Pallava king was engaged in protracted hostilities with the Bṛhatphalāyanas and Ānandas of Andhradesa. It was a period of life or death struggle for both the Pallavas and their enemies in Andhradesa. At that point Mayūras'arman gathered an army, openly took the field, "defeated the frontier guards of the Pallavas and occupied the inaccessible forests stretching as far as the gates of Śrīparavata" or Vijayapuri. He then reduced the *Bṛhad-Bāṇa* or the Great Bāṇa Chief and other feudatory kings and caused much trouble to the Pallava king by his raids. The Great Bāṇa king's territory lay probably to the west or north by west of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, in the modern districts of North Arcot,

1 Lewis Rice assumes (*E. C.*, VII, p. 8) and Prof. Kielhorn (*E. I.* Vol. VIII, p. 27) accepts the view that Pallavēndrapurī was Kāñcipura. The tenor of the inscription does not at all warrant this inference.

2 The Hirahaḍagalli plates seem to refer he capital of Sātavāhani-hāra.

and Chittoor in the Madras Presidency and Nandidrug in Mysore. The capital of the Bāṇa dynasty would seem to have been Tiruvāḷḷam, the ancient Bāṇapura, which is situated about forty miles west by north of Kāñcīpura.[1] The reduction of the Great Bāṇa Chief to subjection and the occupation of the South-western Andhra country as far as Vijayapurī caused considerable alarm to the Pallava king who, quickly realising the menace, took the field with a large army. The result of this was a protracted struggle. This period of wars against Mayūraśarman would seem to synchronise with the closing years of king Buddhyāṅkura. Both Buddhyāṅkura and his cousin Vīravarman, probably died during this period. And as a result of these military reverses, the Pallava power was considerably crippled. It was during this period apparently that the Bṛhatphalāyanas and the Ānandas rose in the Southern Andhra country and dislodged the Pallavas from their territorial possessions. It was at this juncture, *c.* 295 A. D., that Vijaya Skandavarman ascended the throne of Kāñcī. Soon after this, he would appear to have made peace with Mayūraśarman. The Kadamba Chief thereupon entered service of the Pallava king and was recognised as the commander of armies, *Mahāsēnāpati*, and ruler of the Western Provinces which he had occupied. The treaty with the Kadamba gave the Pallava king the respite he needed. For he was desperately engaged in the fight to put down the stubborn revolt or resistance in Southern Andhra country.

But Mayūraśarman was not content with his subordinate position under the Pallava king. As the Candrāvalli inscription states, Mayūraśarman soon after commenced the career of conquest, and performed *dig-vijaya* Unable to oppose him, Vijaya Skandavarman ceded to the Kadamba prince the territory which he had conquered by the strength of his arms and recognised his sovereignty in the west. That territory appears to be identical with the province of Vanavāsa which was bounded by the sea on the west and by the Prēhāra, probably the river Hagari, a tributary of the Tungabhadra, on

1 S. *I. I.*, III p. 89. Dr. E. Hultzsch makes the identification.

the east.[1] Thus the period of Mayūras'arman's rise and the events that led eventually to the establishment of the Kadamba dynasty at Vaijayanti may be assigned to about 290—330 A. D.

The Establishment of the Kadamba dynasty. c. 310 A. D.

And this period synchronises with the reigns of Buddhyāṅkura, *c.* 285-295 A. D. and Vijaya Skandavarman *c.* 295-310 A. D. according to the Pallava chronology adopted by us. It is probable that Mayūras'arman was a youth of barely twenty or twenty-five years when he set out ambitiously to conquer the Pallavas of Kāñcī and restore the Kadamba sovereignty in Vanavāsa once more. He was probably a middle aged person when he crowned himself on the throne of Vaijayanti. His anointment may be reasonably assigned to 310 A. D.

The reign of Vijaya Skandavarman witnessed the fall of the Ānandas on the one hand and the rise of a new power called the Śālaṅkāyanas in Northern Andhradesa on the other. It would appear that while the rise of the Śālaṅkāyanas accelerated the decline of the Anandas it rapidly paved the way for the establishment of the Kadamba dynasty firmly on the throne of Vaijayanti. When once he was hemmed in by troubles in the north as well as in the west, the Pallava monarch would seem to have conciliated his formidable foes. He made peace with

Rise of the S'ālaṅkāyanas and the fall of the Ānandas.

Mayūras'arman by recognising his sovereignty and ceding back the territory which formed part of the kingdom of Vanavāsa and, simultaneously concluded a defensive alliance with the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja Dēvavarman against the Ānandas of Kandarapura. The Śālaṅkāyanas rose in Vēṅgi, the region lying to the north of the Kṛṣṇa, in Northern Andhradesa, early in the fourth century A. D. Dēvavarman, the founder of the

1 Hagari may be a corrupt variant of Prēhāra itself, for in Kannada language *pa* and *ha* are interchangeable. This change might have been as follows: Prēhāra, Prāhāra, Hagara and finally Hagiri. See also *E. I.*, VIII, p. 29, *n.* 1. But against this view there is another interpretation. The suffix *hāra* seems to suggest that Prēhāra might be the name of a province or territorial division. If this view is accepted Prēhāra may be identified with Paru-hāra or Paru-viṣaya which corresponds to the Anantapur district at the present day. Even then the boundary between the Kadamba and Pallava kingdoms may to have lain somewhere across the Anantapur district.

house, conquered the neighbouring dynasties like the Anandas, performed *dig-vijaya* in the Eastern Deccan and celebrated the event by an As'vamēdha sacrifice. The last mentioned event would seem to mark the establishment of a paramount Śālaṅkāyana kingdom in Vēṅgi. Thus the Ānandas were crushed by their formidable neighbours and reduced to a subordinate position. It would appear that the Pallava and the Śālaṅkāyana kings entered into a treaty by which they agreed to keep the river Kṛṣṇa as the boundary between their respective dominions in Andhradesa. Thenceforward, the Śālaṅkāyanas and the Pallavas remained allies, till the former were completely overthrown by the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, roughly a century later.

Of the reign of Vijaya Skandavarman there is a single record. It is dated the 13th day of the third fortnight, of the winter season (*hēmanta*) in the thirty-third year of his reign, from the victorious camp, Tāmbrapasthāna. The place is identical with Tāmbrapa or Tāmbrapura which was the ancient name of Cēbrole (Cēṁbrōlu), Guntur district.[1]

The Oṁgōḍu grant of Vijaya-Skandavarman II.

Vijaya Skandavarman is described as one who was true to his word, 'who day by day increased the store of religious merit by gifts of gold, cows and land, who had always desired to serve the gods and Brāhmaṇas and who ably understood the purport of all *Śāstras*. The inscription records that king Vijaya Skandavarman informed the officers of Karmarāṣṭra and residents of Oṁgōḍu of his command orally (*vacanēna*) that the village (Oṁgōḍu) was given away by him as a *sāttvika* gift,[2] with the eighteen kinds of exemptions to the learned Brāhmaṇa, Gōḷas'arman of the Kās'yapa *gōtra*, who was a student of two Vedas and well versed

1 Tāmbrapasthāna and Tāmbrapura were evidently the oldest names. Tāmbrapa, an abbreviation of the preceding names, marks, the earliest stage of the phonetical or philological change of the word into Cēṁbrōlu of the inscriptions of the tenth century. (*E. I.* XV., p. 158 and 367) In course of time the *anusvāra* in the middle of the term was dropped and to-day the village is called Cēbrōu, (Cebrole) (See also *E. I.*, VI, p. 39, text line 144)

2 Monier Williams gives to the word *sāttvika*, the meaning 'an offering or oblation without pouring (libation) of water,'. This may be the kind of gift that was intended here, for the inscription omits the usual reference to the pouring of gold and water, a necessary accompaniment of a *dāna* or gift. (*E. I.* XV, p.250, n. 4.)

in the Six *aṅgas*. The inscription also states that the village had been converted into a *brahmadēya*, and that the fields ploughed already as *dēvabhōga* or land given to the gods and temples had been excluded. The eighteen kinds of exemptions (*aṭhārasa-jāti-parihārehi*) of the *brahmadēya* and *dēvabhōga* tenures are mentioned in the Mayidavōlu and Hirahaḍagalli plates.[1] The record contains like the Hirahaḍagalli plates a warning to all, that whoever transgressed the king's order would meet with corporal punishment. Evidently Vijaya Skandavarman was in the provincial capital, Tāmprapasthāna, in Andhradesa on the date of the charter.

6 Siṁhavarman I
c. 330–342 A. D.

Vijaya Skandavarman left apparently two sons: Siṁhavarman I who succeeded him on the throne and *Yuvamahārāja* Viṣṇugōpavarman I, the donor of the Uruvupalli plates. Siṁhavarman I is mentioned in the Uruvupalli grant as the *Mahārāja* and presumably, therefore, was the eldest son. As the grant is dated the 11th year, it is probable that his reign did not exceed twelve years. The Uruvupalli plates record the grant of *Yuvamahārāja* Viṣṇugōpavarman issued from his residence at Palakkada, the provincial capital, situated somewhere in Andhradesa. The edict is addressed to the villagers of Uruvupalli in Muṇḍarāṣṭra. It records the grant of the entire village of Uruvupalli consisting of 200 *nivartanas* of land as *devabhōga* to the temple of Viṣṇuhāradēva founded by his general Viṣṇuvarman at Keṇḍukūra with the exemption of the eighteen kinds of immunities. The boundaries of the village are given thereafter in great detail. Palakkada appears to be a Pais'aci or Prakrit form of the Sanskrit name Pallavakaṭaka, the city of the Pallavas.[2] And the form Palakka, which occurs in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta, seems to be the same as Palakkada. In the same manner Palōtkaṭa, from which *Dharmamahārāja* Vijaya Viṣṇugōpavarman issued the Curā

1 Mayidavolu plates, text line 13f. Hirahaḍagalli plates, text line 35;

2 In the prakrit records found in Andhradesa the letters *da* and *ḍa* are written alike. And *ḍa* in ancient Prakrit is softened in *ṭa* in Sanskrit. See *E.I.* Vol. VI. p. 85. Compare Dhaṁñakaḍa in the Mayidavōlu plates which is the same as Dhanakaṭaka (*Opi. Cit.* line 3 p. 86)

grant seems to be another corrupt form of the same Sanskrit appellation. Harisēna, the composer of the Allahabad *pras'asti*, must have heard the name of the city inadvertently or imperfectly, and not being able to understand the meaning or significance of the name, dropped the last syllable *da* in transcribing the word. For the present, however, the identity of Pallavakaṭaka, Palōtkaṭa or Palakkada must remain obscure. It is extremely likely that the city had been either destroyed or deserted and thus gone out of existence long ago. Muṇḍarāṣṭra[1] seems to be the ancient name for the coastal strip of the Nellore district which extends from the Svarṇamukhī in the south to the Mannēru in the north, as almost all the localities mentioned in this charter as well as in the other records of this period seem to lie in this region. Muṇḍarāṣṭra seems, therefore, to correspond to the modern taluks of Gūḍūr, Nellore, Rāpūr, Kōvūr, Kanigiri, Ātmakūr and others in Nellore, and parts of Nāyuḍupēṭa and Kālahasti taluks of the neighbouring Chinglepùt and Chittoor districts. From the description of the boundaries, it appears also that Uruvupalli lay on the northern bank of the river Suprayōga which was the ancient name for the Penna (North Pennar) or Pinākini.[2] Like the other localities

1 The name Muṇḍarāṣṭra is not new to the epigraphists. It occurs in a number of inscriptions of the Nellore district. Muṇḍarāṣṭra of the Pallava period became Muṇḍanāḍu or Muṇḍaināḍu in later times; the suffix *nāḍu* the Telugu term for, 'district' having displaced the Sanskrit 'rāṣṭra', during the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. See *Nellore Insc.* Vol. II. Nos. N. 19, N. 31, N. 61, N. 71, N. 72, N. 120, N. 121; *Ibid.* Vol. III, Nos. R. 8. See also *S. I. I.*, VI, No. 173 (Bāpaṭla).

2 That Suprayōga was the ancient name of the river Penna, Pinākiṇī or the North Pennar in Nellore district is proved by the Purāṇa statement. Pandit V. Prabhākara Sastri was the first to make this identification while editing *Bhagavadajjukam*, when he came across word Suprayōga. The following passage

गोदावरी भीमरथी कृष्णवेण्या तथापरा
तुङ्गभद्रा सुप्रयोगा वाह्या कावेर्यथापगा
सह्यपादाद्विनिष्क्रान्ता इत्येताः सरिदुत्तमाः ॥

occurs in the *Mārkaṇḍēyapurāṇa*. (Chap. 54, v. 26f.) The *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* (I, 2. 17) *Vāyupurāṇa* (45, 104); *Matsyapurāṇa* (114, 29) also mention this river. In the *Mahābhārata* also the river is mentioned after Vēṇā and Kṛṣṇavēṇā. (See *Bhīṣma*, 9,14-21 and *Vanaparvan*, 222, 24–26) The above statement of the *Mārkaṇḍēyapurāṇa* shows that like the Gōdāvari, Kṛṣṇa, Bhīmarathī, Cauveri and the others the river Suprayōga too takes its rise in the Sahyādri Mountains, the local and ancient name for the Western Ghats. As a matter of fact, the only large and important river between the Kṛṣṇa and the Cauveri is the Penna or Pinākini and it rises in the eastern slopes of the Mysore plateau which form part of the Sahyādri Mountains.

referred to in the grant Uruvupalli too had gone out of existence. It is wrong to identify Keṇḍukūra with the modern Kandukūru, the head-quarters of the taluk in the north, situated about two miles from the southern bank of the river Pālēru. Keṇḍukūra and Koṇḍamuruvuḍu which lay evidently in the vicinity of Uruvupalli on the Penna must have been therefore long ago deserted, and cannot be identified.

There are no recorded events of the reign of Siṁhavarman I. But it is possible to assume that his period was as disturbed as that of his father. According to the chronology of the Kaḍambas proposed by us elsewhere, Siṁhavarman was a contemporary of Kaṅgavarman, the son and successor of Mayūras'arman.[1] It is thus possible to believe that the Pallava monarch, taking advantage of the peace in the northern dominions and the alliance with the Śālaṅkāyanas, would have turned his attention to the west with the desire of wresting back the ceded territories from the Kadambas, after the death of the implacable opponent Mayūras'arman. Siṁhavarman would have accordingly entrusted the administration of the northern and eastern provinces of his kingdom to his brother *Yuvamahārāja* Viṣṇugōpavarman and himself directed the campaign against the Kadambas in the west.

Siṁhavarman I had no children apparently: that circumstance explains the anointment of his younger brother Viṣṇugōpavarman as *Yuvamahārāja* or the heir-apparent. Some scholars believe that this prince, on account of his title *Yuvamahārāja*[2] or *Yuvarāja*,[3] would seem to have never been crowned as *Mahārāja*. But this view is not tenable, for the Curā grant of his grandson gives him the title *Mahārāja*.[4] In the Allahabad inscription, a Viṣṇugōpa, ruler of Kāñci, is mentioned. It is, therefore, evident that Viṣṇugōpavarman I was anointed king. He would have attained great celebrity as the *Yuvamahārāja* of his elder brother and thereafter, popularly

1 See below Chapter VI.

2 *E. I.*, XV, p. 252, text line 12; *Ind. Ant.* V, p. 50ff. text line 16.

3 *Ind. Ant.* V, p. 155ff. text line 9; *E. I.*, VIII, p. 159, text line 9.

4 C. P. No 3 of App. A, of 1913-14; *vide*, also p. 6, para 9 and p. 82, para 1.

known by that epithet alone, even after he had ascended the throne. That seems to be the reason why the title *Yuvamahārāja* was uniformally given to him in all the records of his son and successor, Siṁhavarman II. Yet another reason seems to be that the epithet was intended to distinguish him from the princes of that name in the family. His Uruvupalli grant gives him the title *Dharma-Yuvamahārāja*, which is somewhat peculiar. To him a reign of about eighteen years, from *c.* 342 to 360 A. D. may be reasonably allotted, for his predecessor as well as his successor had apparently short tenures of about twelve and ten years respectively on the throne. Viṣṇugōpavarman I was undoubtedly a great monarch. The Vēlūrpālayam record mentions his name also among the renowned princes of the family, though the great achievement of his period is omitted. Viṣṇugōpavarman I was a contemporary of Samudragupta. When the news of the Gupta emperor's march into the South, through Dakṣiṇa-Kōsala, reached Vēṅgi, Viṣṇugōpavarman I and his ally, the Śālaṅkāyana king Hastivarman, assembled together a great confederacy of all the independent and quasi-independent kings of the Eastern Deccan and offered a formidable resistance somewhere in the northern Andhradesa, which quickly forced the invader to retire.

7. *Dharma-Yuvamahārāja* Viṣṇugōpavarman or Viṣṇugōpavarman I. c. 342—360 A. D.

It appears that by the time of Siṁhavarman I, the formal preamble or the *praśasti* of the Pallava charters came to be finally settled. The preamble of the Uruvupalli grant differs materially from that of the Oṁgōḍu plates of Vijaya Skandavarman. It is also probable that Siṁhavarman I and his younger brother *Yuvamahārāja* Viṣṇugōpavarman, had caused the formal portion of the family charters to be drwan up, embodying the glorious exploits, lofty principles of good government and noble deeds of their illustrious predecesors. The new preamble appears partially for the first time in the Darsi fragment as *paramabrahmaṇyasya sva - bāhu - bal-ārjjit-ōrjjita kṣātra-tapōnidhēr-vidhi-vihita sarvamaryādasya* "one, who though endowed with the highest Brāhmaṇ-hood, attained

by his valour and the strength of his arms the position of a Kṣatriya." This denotes evidently that by the dates of the unknown donor of the Darsi fragment and the Oṁgōḍu plates (I set), that is about the beginning of the fourth century, the Pallava dynasty became degraded as Kṣatriyas. This conjecture finds further support in a statement of the Talguṇḍa Pillar inscription. Mayūras'arman, the Brāhmaṇa chief, seems to refer to the Pallavas who sank to the level of Kṣatriyas and deplores the weakness of the Brāhmaṇas in the Kali Age.[1] The first two kings of the Pallava family appear to be doubltess, Brāhmaṇas. The Kās'ākuḍi plates assert this fact in unmistakable terms.[2] In later times, the successors of Śivaskandavarman the Great became degraded as Kṣatriyas, having abandoned their Brahmanical rites on account of their pre-occupation with continued wars against their opponents on all sides of their kingdom. For that reason, probably the Kadambas regarded the Pallavas as Kṣatriyas in the dawn of the fourth century. The writers of the Pallava charters of the successors of Siṁhavarman I added the epithet, *param-ōḍattānvayānām yath=āvadāhṛta anēka as'vamēdhānām Pallavānām*, "The Pallavas who are the most exalted race, who had completed with full ceremonies several As'vamēdhas". This epithet is evidently remniscent of the great exploits of the illustrious ancestors of the donors, Kumāraviṣṇu I and Śivaskandavarman I. And later still, the As'vamēdha was substituted by *kratu* and a new phrase *sva-bhuja-draviṇ-ōrjjita-prathita-pratiṣṭōdbhūta-yas'asām yath-āvadāhṛta anēka kratūnām Śatakratu-kalpānām Śrīvallabhānām Pallavānām*, "The Pallavas who possessed wondrous fame, which has been acquired by the strength of their arms and has become celebrated and established, and who are the favourites of the goddess of fortune, who have performed many sacrifices[3] according to the proper rules and who are almost equal to Śatakratu" was added.

1 *E. I.*, VIII, p. 25f. v. 11.

तत्रपल्लवाश्वसंस्थेन कलहेण तीव्रेण रोषितः कलियुगे ।
स्मिन्नहो बत क्षत्रात्परिपेलवा विप्रतायतः ॥

2 तेजः परं ब्राह्मकुलोत्थितोपि सक्षात्रमुच्छैरभजत्स्वभावि ॥

3 *Ind. Ant.* V., p. 155, text line 15–16; Satakratu is one who is honoured by a hundred sacrifices (*Kratus*) and therefore meant 'Indra'. l. 18.

The successor of *Yuvamahārāja* Viṣṇugōpavarman was probably Ugravarman or Ugrasēna. Both these names are familiar to us. Ugravarman is mentioned in the Amarāvati pillar inscription,[1] and the name Ugrasēna occurs in the Allahabad pillar inscription.[2] Both the names seem to refer to one and the same monarch who was probably known both as Ugrasēna and Ugravarman. Though Ugrasena was not heard of again after the repulsion of Samudragupta's expedition, it is probable that he survived his father and reigned at Kāñci afterwards. Ugrasēna therefore would seem to be a contemporary and possibly an adversary of the Kadamba king Kaṅgavarman. The epithet attached to Kaṅgavarman in the Talguṇḍa pillar inscription[3] plainly suggests the above inference. During the period of this king, Ugravarman was probably at war with the Kadambas. The epithet *ugra-samar-ōddhura-prāṁśu-cēṣṭitaḥ* and the fact that all his feudatories remained loyal to him during his period of trial strongly suggest that Kaṅgavarman's reign was crowded with continued wars against the Pallavas. The adjective *ugra* in the above epithet seems to be suggestive of the name of Ugravarman or Ugrasena and the wars with him. If this inference is true, it would mean that Ugravarman, first as his father's viceroy at Pallavakaṭaka or Palakkada from 342 to 360 A. D. and later as king of Kāñci from about 360 to 363 A. D., was a contemporary of Kaṅgavarman of Vaijayanti, (*c.* 340—355 A. D).[4] It would also appear for the same reason that Ugravarman's reign was short and that it ended in a disastrous defeat for the Pallavas. Ugravarman died childless and the succession for that reason apparently passed on to his younger brother Siṁhavarman II. The death of Ugravarman would seem to mark the close of the second epoch in the history of the hostilities of the Early Pallavas of Kāñci and the Kadambas of

8. Ugravarman or Ugrasēna. c. 360—363. A. D.

1 *S. I. I.*, Vol. I. p. 25f.

2 *C. I. I.*, No. 1, text line 19.

3 *Talguṇḍa Pillar ins. of Śāntivarman*, vv. 23 and 24.

4 See Chapter VI below.

Vaijayanti, which commenced during the reign of Vijaya-Skandavarman II.

Siṁhavarman II ascended the throne on the death of his elder brother. Almost all the family charters give him the title *Dharmamahārāja*, which is somewhat peculiar and interesting; it may be interpreted as 'King by virtue of the *Dharma*' of the orthodox laws, religion and civilization. The significance of this title as well as of the epithets *Dharmamahārājādhirāja* and *Dharmayuvamahārāja* is not quite clear from the inscriptions. The title *Dharmamahārājādhirāja* is undoubtedly superior to *Dharmamahārāja*, for it means "the rightful overlord or emperor of *mahārājas* or kings." This title which the first Kadamba monarch Śivaskandavarman and the Pallava king Śivasakandavarman I adopted on the assumption of sovereignty is certainly an imperial one. This title with a slight variation as *Dharmamahārājadhirāja* is also given to the first Western Gaṅga king, Koṅgaṇivarman.[1] Dr. Fleet commenting on the significance of the epithet says that it means "a *mahārājādhirāja* by, or in respect of religion," or "a pious or righteous *Mahārājādhirāja*."[2] Dr Jayaswal is of the opinion that it was a Hindu edition or rather a Hindu counter-title of the Kuṣāṇa *Daivaputra Ṣāhi Ṣāhānuṣāhi* and the idea behind it was an importation from the North.[3] The title, in my opinion, may not be the Hindu counterpart of the Śaka title. The Hindu monarch had a recognised kingly *Dharma* from bygone ages. The Kadambas, who first invented the title, would seem to have proclaimed their strict adherence to the orthodox Brahmanical ideas of law, civilization and religion, for they lived in the period of Vedic revival in which aggressive Brahmanism of the post-Ikṣvāku and post-Andhrabhṛtya epoch showed no tolerance of Buddhism. These orthodox ideas of Brahmanical laws, religion, and civilization as well as the ideal of lofty

9. *Dharmamahārāja* Siṁhavarman II, c. 363—385 A. D. and the significance of the title *Dharmamahārāja*

1 *E. I.*, XXIV, pp. 233ff. text line.

2 *Ind. Ant.* V, p. 163, f-n. 2.

3 *History of India*, 184.

virtues and pious kingly character which the Pallavas held before themselves in common with their neighbours, the Early Kadambas and the Western Gaṅgas seem to be clearly set forth in the significant epithets in the formal preambles or *pras'astis* of their charters. Thus the epithets, *vihita-sarva-maryādasya, sthiti-sthita-syāmitātmanaḥ*; *daiva dvija-guru-vṛidh-ōpacāyinaḥ*; *vivṛddha - vinayasy - ānēka gō - hiraṇya - bhūmyādi - pradānaiḥ pravṛddha-dharma-sañcayasya, prajāpālana-dakṣasya*; *Lōkapāḷānām pañcama lōkapālasya*; *satyātmanaḥ*; *mahātmanaḥ*; *Bhagavad-bhakti-sadbhāva-sambhāvita-sakala-kaḷyāṇasya prajā-saṁrañjana - paripālan - ōdyōga satata - satsa vrata - dīkṣitasya Kaliyuga - dōṣāvasanna - dharmōddharaṇa nitya - sannaddhasya*; *rājarṣi - guṇa sarva - sandōha - vijigīṣuḥ*; *Dharma - vijigīṣuḥ*; *Bhagavat-pādānudhyātaḥ*, "One who is an excellent worshipper of the Supreme Spirit; who conforms to all the injunctions that are prescribed; who is firm in the steadiness of conduct, who is broad-minded; who nourishes the gods, the twice-born (Brāhmaṇas), the spiritual preceptors and the old men; who is of great affability; who acquired much piety. *i. e.*, merit (*dharma*) by gifts of cows, gold land and other things; who is skilfull in protecting his subjects; who is the fifth *Lōkapāla* of the Lōkāpālas;[1] who is true - hearted and high - minded; who possessed all prosperity, produced by his devotion towards the Holy One and by his goodness; who is always initiated into the charitable vows of the occupation of pleasing and protecting his subjects; who is always *jealous in supporting religion which had been brought to death's door by the sins of the Kali Age*; who is desirous of surpassing all collection of meritorious qualities of kingly saints; who is always desirous of surpassing religion itself; who is an excellent worshipper of the Holy One, (Viṣṇu)," clearly bear out the significance of the title *Dharmamahārāja*. The Pallava kings assumed the title with the full consciousness of its spiritual, moral and political significance and with a desire to maintain righteousness, morality and high-mindedness in their realm. The assumption of the title *Dharmamahārāja* would also seem to imply the revival of Vedic rituals and

1 The *lōkapālas* are the presiding deities of the four cardinal directions, Indra of the east, Yama of the south, Vāruṇa of the west and Kubēra of the north.

Brahmanical ideals, and the abhorrence of all faiths which did not conform to the lofty Brahmanical ideals.

Of the reign of Siṁhavarman II there are four grants. As none of these are dated beyond the tenth year of his reign it is likely that he did not reign for more than fifteen years, from *c.* 370 to 385 A. D. Three grants of his period out of the four, namely the Māṅgaḍūr, Pīkira and Oṁgōḍu plates have been published with translations, and the fourth, the Viḷavetti grant, is unpublished.[1] The earliest of these is the Oṁgōḍu grant (II set) dated the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Vais'ākha in the fourth year, from the camp of victory pitched somewhere in Kamarāṣṭra, apparently during a campaign in Southern Andhradesa. The record states that Siṁhavarman II granted on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun, probably the one that occurred on the new moon *tithi* of Caitra that immediately preceded the fifth tithi of the bright fortnight of Vais'ākha, the village of Oṁgōḍu to the Brāhamaṇa, Dēvas'arman of the Kās'yapa *gōtra* and a student of Chandōga (Sāmavēda), who was well versed in all Sastras and an inhabitant of Kuṇḍūra, and that the grant was made "for the increase of longevity, power and victory" of the king. Oṁgōḍu seems to be identical with Oṁgōlu or Ongole, the headquarters of the taluk in Guntur district. It is described in the charter by its boundaries, the village Koḍikiṁ on the east, Nāṟacēḍu on the south, Kaḍākuḍuru on the west and Peṇukapaṟṟu on the north. Of these villages, Koḍikiṁ alone can be identified to-day; it corresponds to the modern Koṇiki near Ongole. The fact that Oṁgōḍu was the object of a grant for a second time by a later Pallava king after a lapse of about fifty years, although the previous holdings in the village had been expressly excluded, seems to indicate that the enjoyment of the village by the descendants of the former donee was interrupted. It might be that owing to the intervention of some hostile power, the descendants of Gōḷasarman, the origanl donee abandoned the *brahmadēya*, or that his lineage had become extinct. The

1 C. P. No. 1 of 1933-34. See *Annl. Rept. on S. I. E.* for 1933-34, Part II, p. 30. The inscription has since been edited soon in the *E. I.*, XXIV, p. 296ff.

former view seems to be probable, for both Gōḷasarman and Dēvasarman, the two donees, belong to the same Kāsyapa *gōtra*, and are separated by three decades roughly. The date of this grant may be equated to Friday, April 6, 368 A. D. The accession of Siṁhavarman II has been fixed by us approximately in 363 A. D. Within the proximity of this date, there was only a single eclipse of the sun on the new-moon *tithi* of Caitra in 368 A. D.; and there were no eclipses of the sun at all for a decade either before or after that date. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the eclipse intended in the charter was the one that occured on Friday, April 6, 368 A. D. Accordingly the date on which the grant was engraved on copper-plates would be Wednesday, April 11, 368 A. D., If therefore this date fell in the fifth year of reign, the accession of Siṁhavarman II would have to be placed sometime during 363-64 A. D.

The second grant of the king was dated in the 5th year of his reign from the camp of victory pitched at Mēnmātura in Muṇḍarāṣṭra.[1] Mēnmātura seems to be identical with Manmaḍugu, now a deserted village and full of antiquities on the left bank of the river Pālēru in Kanigiri taluk, Nellore district.[2] The village site is situated half a mile to the west of the Pāmūru-Kanigiri Road at mile 5 from Kanigiri. It is stated in this record that, *Dharmamahārāja* Siṁhavarman II, on the third day of the bright fortnight of the month of Ās'vayuja in the 5th year of his reign, granted the village of Pīkira in Muṇḍarāṣṭra, having exempted it from all taxes and immunities to the Brāhmaṇa, Viḷās'arman of the Taittirīya Śākha (Yajurvēda), of the Kās'yapa *gōtra*, for the increase of his long life, power and victory. The boundaries of this village are not mentioned; hence the identification of the village is rather difficult. Nevertheless we are tempted to identify the place with Pigilam, a small *agrahāra* in the Veṅkaṭagiri zamīndāri, lying on the Gūḍūr-Kālahasti railway line near Vendōḍu, in

1 *E. I.*, VIII, p. 159f.

2 The identification of the localities mentioned in this record as well as in the other charters of the king is made with the help of the Topographical Survey Maps for Nellore District, No. 57 N, NW 5-6, NE, 9-10; 57-0, NE. 9-10 etc.

Nellore district. The third record was dated in the 8th year, at Dasanapura.[1] It was probably the capital of a Pallava governor in Southern Andhradesa. While camping in this city, king Siṁhavarman II issued the command to the villagers of Māngaḍūr in Vēṅgōrāṣṭra and to the several officers of the locality, by which he constituted the village into a *brahmadēya* and gave it away with freedom from all taxes, with the exception of the land that was already ploughed and enjoyed as the possession of god, on the condition that it should be enjoyed by those Brāhmaṇas who resided in that village. The donees were eight Brahmanas, all described by their names and specific *gōtras*, *sūtras* and the Vēda to which they belonged. The names of the donees are: Rudras'arman of the Ātrēya *gōtra*, Tūrkas'arman of the Vatsya *gōtra*, Dāmas'arman of the Kaus'ika *gōtra*, Yajñas'arman of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, Bhavakōṭigōpa of the Pārās'arya *gōtra* and Bhartṛs'arman of the Kās'yapa *gōtra*, Śivadattas'arman of the Audamēghi *gōtra* and Ṣaṣṭhikumāra of the Gautama *gōtra*. Of these Bhartṛs'arman is said to belong to Vājasaneya *Śākha* ; Śivadattas'arman to Sāmavēda, and Ṣaṣṭhikumāra to Hiraṇyakēs'i *sūtra* ; and the rest are stated to follow the Apastamba *sūtra*. The edict which was the oral order of the king was engraved on copper-plate by the officer Nēmi. Dasanapura may be identified with Darsi, the head-quarters of the taluk, in the north of the Nellore district. Māṅgaḍūr seems to be the same as Mogaḷḷūru in Kanigiri taluk, situated about three miles from the southern bank of the river Pālēru, and four miles to the due west of Manamaḍugu. Māṅgaḍūru is said to belong to Vēṅgōraṣṭra. Evidently the hinterland of the Nellore district and the adjoining territory of the Cuddapah and Chittoor districts was known as Vēṅgōrāṣṭra in the ancient period. The territory which thus lay on either side of the Eastern Ghats would seem to have acquired that appellation on account of the celebrated hill Veṅgaḍam, Tiruveṅgaḍam, or Tirumala, an off-shoot of the Eastern Ghats, locally called Vēlugoṇḍalu. If this identification is accepted, it would mean that Vēṅgōrāṣṭra cannot be identified

1 *Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 154f.

with Vēṅgi as Dr. Fleet and others have attempted to do in the past.[1] At no period of the history of the Pallavas, did their dominion extend north of the Kṛṣṇa. Vēṅgōrāṣṭra even as a corrupt form of Vēṅgi-viṣaya never appears in any record lithic or copper-plate.

The last record of king Siṁhavarman II is on the Bucci-reḍḍipālem plates, known as the Viḷavetti grant.[2] It is dated the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa in the tenth year of his victorious reign, from the camp pitched at the provincial city (*adhiṣṭhāna*) of Paddukkara, or Vijaya Paddukkara. It registers the gift of the village Viḷavaṭṭi, in Muṇḍarāṣṭra, together with its hamlet (*sa-grāsakaḥ*) with several taxes duly specified, which were the property of the king, to the Brāhmaṇa, Viṣṇuśarman of the Gautama *gōtra* and the Chandōga *Śākha*, for the increase of long life, strength and victory. The chief interest in the grant is the enumeration of the several taxes which the king was entitled to collect from the village and which were given away by him to the donee. The king's edict runs thus: " Whichever taxes are payable in this village by the metal and leather workers (*lōha-carmakāraḥ*) from the licensed dealers in cloths in shops (*āpaṇa-paṭṭakāra*), from the makers or dealers in upper garments or heavy blankets (*prāvārañcāraḥ*) from rope makers or dealers in ropes (*rajjupratihāraḥ*) from the shop-keepers of the market in general (*āpaṇājīvika*); taxes payable by the makers of ploughs and other implements of agriculture (*nāhalāmukhadharaka*); by the supervisors of water sources *i. e.* those who are in charge of water supply for agriculture (*kūpadarśaka*), by weavers (*tantravāya* or *tantuvāya*); taxes on gambling (*dyūta*), on marriage (*vivāha*), on barbers (*nāpita*); and all dues payable either in kind or in service by all the artisans and others (*sarva-parihāra-kara-dēyāni*), and all such privileges that by custom belong to me, have been given away as a *brahmadēya* to this Brāhmaṇa. The officers of Vaṭṭa-grāma, that is apparently Viḷavaṭṭa-grama the village granted, shall

1 *Ind. Ant.*, XX, p 93.

2 C. P. No. 1 of 1933-34; *Annl. Rept. S. I. E.*, 1933-34, Part II, p. 30.

accordingly obey my command. Others shall duly render and cause all the dues properly rendered or paid to the donee. Whoever transgresses this command of mine shall suffer corporal punishment." The inscription states that the order of the gift was made by word of mouth by the king, which was reduced to writing on the copper-plate by the Private Secretary (*rahasyādhikṛta*), Acyuta. The identification of the two localities mentioned in this record offers considerable difficulty. Viḷavatti of the Muṇḍarāṣṭra may in all probability be the same as Viḍavalūru, a village which lies about 12 miles to the east of Vavvēru where the plates were discovered. Paddukkara cannot be identified; it must have been a city of considerable importance in early times, and possibly the metropolis of Muṇḍarāṣṭra. Viḍuvalūru and Vavvēru are in the Kōvur taluk of the Nellore district.

The fact that all the four grants of the king were dated either from a camp of victory pitched immediately after a battle or provincial city evidently denotes that the short reign of Siṁhavarman II was spent in battlefields and in military campaigns in the northern provinces, Karmarāṣṭra, Muṇḍarāṣṭra and Vēṅgōraṣṭra in Southern Andhradesa. Who the enemies of Siṁhavarman II were, it is not possible to say correctly. The Kadamba contemporary of this king was Bhagīratha, and the Kadamba records of this period do not refer to any hostilities between the Pallavas and the Kadambas. The Kadamba country was far away from the Southern Andhra sub-provinces. The hostilities between the Kadambas and the Pallavas did not revive till the reign of Kṛṣṇavarman I. (*c.* 420–450 A. D.) of the Kadamba dynasty, who on account of his aggressive policy intended to bring the Western Gaṅga dynasty under his overlordship. The Pallava frontiers on the west during the reign of Siṁhavarman II were therefore enjoying peace. It was only in the north-east, in the Andhra country, that the Pallavas had to fight continuously with their powerful and

Outbreak of protracted and fierce hostilities in southern Andhradesa between the Pallavas and their neighbours. c. 380–400 A. D.

turbulent feudatories and hostile neighbours. It was for this reason that though Kāñcīpura was their capital, the Pallava kings from the days of the unknown donor of the Darsi fragment and Vijaya Skandavarman II of the Oṁgōḍu plates (Ist set) down to the beginning of the fifth century stayed longer in their provincial capitals in Andhradesa. The enemies of the Pallava king have therefore to be looked for only in Southern Andhradesa. The period of Siṁhavarman II to synchronised with the reigns of the Ānanda king, 'Attivarman of Kandarapura, (*c.* 390—415 A. D.)[1] and the Śālaṅkāyana king Caṇḍavarman, *c.* 370 and 395 A. D. It would appear that Attivarman rose to power at this period, overthrew the Pallava governor in Karmarāṣṭra and declared himself independent.[2] Consequently the Pallavas during the reigns of Siṁhavarman II and his successor lost their dominion in Karmarāṣṭra and other northern subprovinces to the Ānanda king of Kandarapura. And it seems also that Siṁhavarman II and his successor Vijaya Viṣṇugōpavarman spent all their lives in battlefields in the north, fighting Attivarman and his allies, to establish their sway once more in the northern provinces. All the four or five records of this period found in Southern Andhradesa amply support this conjecture. Though the Śālaṅakāyanas were not the enemies of the Pallavas but continued to be their allies, new enemies appear to have sprung up on the scene. They were probably the Cōḷas of Cōḷavāḍi[3] and the Cōḷas of Hiraṇyarāṣṭra or Rēnāḍu.[4] For, within a quarter of a century, that is to say, about the close of the fifth century, the Cōḷas rose and swept the Pallava king-

1 *Ind. Ant.*, IX. p. 102f.

2 See Below Book III, Chapter II.

3 The Telugu poem *Paṇḍitārādhyacaritra* of Pālkurki Sōmanātha refers to Cōḷavāḷi or Cōḷavāḍi of which the ancient capital was Pānugallu, the modern Mahabūbnagar in the Nizams Dominions. See *Mahimāprakarṇa*, the episode of Dhavaḷēs'u Nāmayya. My friend, Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, Reader in Indian History, University of Madras throws a suggestion that Cōḷa-vāḍi or Jōḷa-vāḍi seems to be the name of a military tenure that was in vogee in the ancient period. He refers to two such other tenures Vēla-vāḍi and Leṅka-vāḍi. The question is interesting and needs further elucidation. For the present, however, I firmly believe that the Cōḷas migrated from the north, from the territory that lay in the northern bank of the Kṛṣṇa river.

4 *E. I.*, XI, p. 337ff. (Mālepāḍu plates of Puṇyakumāra) : *Journ. Ind. Hist.* XV, pp. 30-49 and part II. (Madras Museum Plates of the Cōḷas of Rēnāḍu.)

dom like a whirlwind and completely eclipsed their glory. It is possible therefore to suppose that the Cōḷas of Hiraṇayaraṣṭra began to give trouble to the Pallàva kingdom even at this early period on the frontiers of Vēṅgōrāṣṭra which lay contiguous with it on the west.

The successor of Siṁhavarman was his son Vijaya Viṣṇu-gōpavarman II. There is a single grant of his time, the Curā plates, which comes from Narasaraopet taluk, Guntur district. In reality the record seems to be a copy of a grant, made about the beginning of the seventh century. The inscription records that the king *Dharmamahārāja* Vijaya Viṣṇugōpavarman, while staying in his residence at the victorious city Palōtkaṭa, gave away one hundred and eight *nivartanas* of land together with a house site and garden (*vāṭika*) in the village of Curā in Karmarāṣṭra, to the Brāhmaṇ, Cāmis'arman, who was the son of Dvēdya Vṛddhas'arman and grandson of Viṣṇus'arman and was a resident of Kuṇḍūru, who belonged to the Kās'yapa *gōtra* and was well versed in the four Vedas, as a *brahmadēya* exempting it from all obligations (*parihārair-upēta*), on the occasion of *uttarāyaṇa*. The gift was made for the success of the king's arms, longevity and strength. The record is not dated; it is therefore impossible to say how long he reigned. However, a reign of fifteen years, from *c.* 385—400 A. D. may be adopted as probable. The dating of the edict from Palōtkaṭa presumably in Karma-rāṣṭra, the omission of the regnal year, and the fact that the present charter seems to be a copy of an earlier record, all these indicate that the Pallavas were involved in a fierce and protracted struggle for the possession of Karmarāṣṭra and other sub-provinces in the north, with a new power that had already risen on the southern bank of the Kṛṣṇa river. The new power, as stated above, seems to be the Ānandas of Kandarapura under king Attivarman. To Attivarman a reign of two decades approximately has been assigned, about the turn of the fourth to the fifth century A. D. But soon after this, the Kandara king would appear to have been overthrown, not by the Pallava king of Kāñci but by a new and formidable power, the Viṣṇukuṇḍins,

10. Vijaya Viṣṇu-gopavarman II: c. 385—400 A. D.

who even threatened the destruction of the Pallava sovereignty in Southern Andhradesa completely. About the same time the Viṣṇukuṇḍins also, overthrew the Śālaṅkāyanas, the allies of the Pallavas, and established themselves firmly in the northern Andhra country. The Viṣṇukuṇḍin kingdom included Southern Andhradesa which was till lately in the possession of the Pallavas. The struggle for dominion in the south between the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and the Pallavas is a dark chapter in the history of the early Pallavas. There are no records of the Pallava dynasty of the period following the death of Vijaya Viṣṇugōpavarman II till the rise of Kumaraviṣṇu III in the dawn of the sixth century.

CHAPTER V.

## *Chronology of the Later Pallava kings of the Sanskrit Charters.*

## *c.* 400—630 A. D.

There does not seem to have been really a gap in the history of the Pallavas during the fifth century, though the period may have been the most troubled and eventful epoch. Scholars who have written about this period previously have not presented a connceted, continuous and plausible account. To them the confusing dynastic lists in the numerous charters of this period have been perplexing. Every one of the earlier writers has produced his own scheme of the genealogy and chronology of the Pallavas, but his conscience has not been satisfied. The records of this period will therefore be examined afresh, so as to arrive at a satisfactory scheme of chronology of the later Pallavas, of the Sanskrit charters as they are called.

The Amarāvati Stone pillar inscription.

There is a stone inscription of a certain king Siṁhavarman of the Pallava dynasty found at Amarāvati and deposited in the Madras Museum.[1] It opens with an invocation to the Lord Buddha, and contains a mythical genealogy of the Pallava dynasty from Brahman to the eponymous Pallava, in exactly the same manner as the Vāyalūr pillar inscription, the Vēlūrpālayam and the Kās'ākuḍi copper-plates. Then, the story of the romantic union of As'vatthāman with the celestial nymph Madanī and the birth of Pallava is narrated in a manner similar to the account that appears in the Rāyakōṭa plates of Skandas'iṣya.[2] The inscription then gives a succession of seven kings in the following order:—

1 S. *I. I.*, I, No. 32. p. 25f.

2 *E. I.* V., p. 52f.

Pallava.

son

1. Mahēndravarman

son

2. Simhavarman I

son

3. Arkavarman

*

*without specifying relationship*

4. Ugravarman

*

*without specifying relationship*

5. Simhaviṣṇu

son

6. Nandivarman

*

*without specifying relationship*

7. Simhavarman II, *(the donor.)*

The above genealogy does not agree with the pedigrees we have in the other Sanskrit copper-plate records. The Amarāvati inscription is not dated but it has been assigned to about the tenth or eleventh century by the epigraphists on palaeographical grounds.[1] The occurrence of names of kings like Mahēndravarman, Simhaviṣṇu and Nandivarman, who are not known to have reigned before the last quarter of the sixth century, prior to Simhavarman II the donor, at such an uncertain and early date has caused a good deal of embarrassment to the historians who have consequently abandoned the above information as utterly untrustworthy. In spite of these imperfections, however, the record seems to contain a historical fact which cannot be easily overlooked. This inscription seems to be an imperfect copy of an earlier record which must have

1 The date of this grant has been a matter of great controversy. See *E. I.*, X, p. 43, and Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, in *Bhārati*, Vol. V. part 2, pp. 271–282. also pp. 937–38. These two learned writers differ from one another. Dr. Hultzsch assigns the record to about 1100 A. D. while Dr. N. Venkataramanayya gives 1250 A. D. as the probable date of the record. Both these dates are untenable. There was no Pallava rule either in Andhradesa or in Tamil country in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It is an anachronism to place Simhavarman in such a late period.

been either lost or destroyed by accident. The record states that Siṁhavarman the donor, on his return from an expedition to the North, came to Dhānyakaṭaka or Amarāvati, the place sacred to the Buddha, and there, having worshipped the Lord, made a donation and set up the statue of the Buddha. It is obvious that Siṁhavarman II of this record is different from the two Siṁhavarmans, already known to us from the Sanskrit copper-plates reviewed in the preceding chapter. This monarch is called a worshipper of the Buddha, and the record speaks of his successful expedition to the North. We shall now attempt to answer the questions: Who was this Siṁhavarman? When did he reign? And what was the occasion for his expedition to the North?

The synchronism of the *Lōkavibhāga*, and the Penukoṇḍa plates.

12. Siṁhavarman III. c. 436—460 A. D.

An interesting synchronism which has been recently discovered seems to throw some light on the obscure chronology of the Pallava kings of the fifth century as well as on the reigns of the two illustrious kings named, Siṁhavarman and Skandavarman. The synchronism appears in the Western Gaṅga copper-plate grant of Mādhava II, which comes from Penukoṇḍa in Anantapur district.[1] It adds much to our knowledge of the times, and helps us to fix approximately the date of the Pallava contemporary kings of this period. Two Pallava kings, Siṁhavarman and Skandavarman, are stated in this record to have respectively anointed the two kings, Ayyavarman and Mādhava II on the Western Gaṅga throne, almost successively. The Western Gaṅga chronology constructed by Lewis Rice on the very unreliable material supplied by the *Koṅgudēs'arājakkal* or 'the Chronicle of Koṅgudēs'a' and some Gaṅga copper-plate records supposed to be spurious, is not likely to throw much light on the date of these Pallava kings, assigning as it does king Mādhava II to the third century A. D. or thereabouts. The characters of the Penukoṇḍa copper-plates clearly point to the fifth century as their probable period, and it is, therefore, impossible to accept the Western Gaṅga chronology put forward by Lewis Rice.[2]

1 Lewis Rice in *E. I.*, XIV, pp. 331-340. *Anl. Rep. S. I. E.* for 1913-14. p. 83, para 4.
2 Krishna Sastri in *E. I.*, XV, p. 253ff.

Dr. Fleet, who has discussed this grant fully, resorts to a literary quotation from a Digambara Jaina work called *Lōkavibhāga*, which refers to the twenty-second year of a certain Pallava king named Siṁhavarman, lord of Kāñcīpura, as corresponding to the Śaka year 380, *i. e*, 458 A. D.[1] This synchronism is a very reasonable datum upon which the period of this Siṁhavarman, can be accurately determined. This king evidently came to the throne in 436-7 A. D. and reigned at least for twenty-two years and possibly even more. It is not improbable, therefore, to suppose that Siṁhavarman reigned for twenty-four or twenty-five years, bringing his period to a close in 460 A. D. His successor, it is said, was Skandavarman, and to him likewise an average reign of twenty or twenty-five years may also be allotted. His period, *c.* 460—485 A. D., accordingly synchronised with that of the Western Gaṅga king, Mādhava II, whose Penukoṇḍa copper-plate grant has been assigned to about the same period. Dr. Fleet after a thorough examination of the characters, language, and orthography concludes that the record may be definitely assigned to 475 A. D. and says that "it seems a very good date for it."[2] Siṁhavarman and Skandavarman, therefore seem to have flourished between 436 and *c.* 485 A. D. as contemporaries of the Western Gaṅga kings Mādhava I, his son Ayyavarman, his son Viṣṇugōpa[3] and lastly his son Mādhava II.

Krishna Sastri, however, proceeds differently. The Penukoṇḍa plates and the synchronism of *Lokavibhāga*, according to him, seem to refer to the reign of Siṁhavarman II, the donor of the second set of Oṁgōḍu plates.[4] But he is not sure of

1 Fleet: *JRAS.*, 1915, pp. 471–475. It is interesting to note that the precise date on which the task of copying the book was completed is given in the book itself. The details of the date yield to calculation. The date has been equated to 25th August 458 A. D. by Dr. Fleet, by correcting the previous calculation of Prof. S'as'i Pāl Jhā of Benares who had equated it to 1st March, 458 A. D. In either case the year is 458 A. D. and therefore Siṁhavarman's reign must have commenced only in 436–37 A. D.

2 *J R A S*, 1915, p. 482.

3 Lewis Rice thinks that Viṣṇugōpa's name is omitted by mistake in the Penukoṇḍa plates. (*E. I.*, XIV, pp. 331–340) We shall refer to this topic at a later stage in the discussion on the Western Gaṅga genealogy.

4 *E. I.*, XV, p. 252f., (253.)

that. He remarks: "If the initial date derived from the *Lōkavibhāga* for Siṁhavarman II is to be accepted, there must have been in 440 A. D., the fourth year of the king, a Solar eclipse in the month of Caitra. This, however, does not happen to be the fact." He, therefore, belittles the chronological value of the date of the *Lōkavibhāga* and rejects the initial date 436–37 A.D. for Siṁhavarman II as utterly improbable. So far as the initial date of Siṁhavarman II is concerned, Krishna Sastri is correct. But his *a priori* assumption that Siṁhavarman II, the donor of the Oṁgōḍu plates (II set) was the Siṁhavarman mentioned in the *Lōkavibhāga* and the Penukoṇḍa plates is wrong. According to the choronology proposed above, the reign of Siṁhavarman II, falls in the fourth century, roughly about 363–385 A. D. According to this scheme, there was an eclipse of the sun on the new moon day of Caitra in the fourth year of his reign, if the Oṁgōḍu grant of Siṁhavarman II is to be taken as having been made on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun, as Krishna Sastri rightly assumes, on Friday, April 6, 368 A. D. Siṁhavarman of the *Lōkavibhāga* synchronism, therefore, must obviously be different from the donor of the Oṁgōḍu plates, (II set).

It is reasonable to suppose that Simhavarman of the *Lōkavibhāga* synchronism was identical with the *second* Siṁhavarman, of the Amarāvati pillar inscription. If this assumption is to be accepted, this Siṁhavarman becomes Siṁhavarman III. And he must be regarded as a very powerful monarch who restored the prestige of his family sometime after the death of his ancestor, Vijaya Viṣṇugōpavarman II or his successors. The interval between the reign of Vijaya Viṣṇugōpavarman II and the accession of Siṁhavarman III about 436–37 A. D is a dark period in the history of the Pallavas, which synchronises with the rise of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins in Andhradesa. Siṁhavarman III seems to have been a contemporary of the great Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch, Mādhavavarman I, who carved out for himself a vast and independent kingdom by overthrowing the Śālaṅkāyanas and other powers in Andhradesa

and assumed the imperial role by celebrating eleven As'vamēdha sacrifices. The Amarāvati pillar inscription states that Siṁhavarman (III) led an expedition to the North, conquered his enemies and apparently annexed Karmarāṣtra to his dominions once again after an interval of about half a century from the date of Vijaya Viṣṇugōpavarman's death. This great event may be assigned with approximate certainty to 460 A. D., when Mādahavavarman II, the young king of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, ascended the throne of Andhradesa.

Skandavarman of the Penukoṇḍa plates = Vijaya Skandavarman IV, c. 460—495 A. D.

The synchronism of the *Lōkavibhāga* and the Penukoṇḍa plates of Mādhava II enables us to fix also the date of the accession of Siṁhavarman III in 436-37 A. D. They also help us to determine the place of these kings in the genealogy of the Early Pallavas. Siṁhavarman's father's name is not mentioned anywhere. But there may not be any serious doubt as to his being a remote descendant of Vijaya Viṣṇugōpavarman. Be that as it may, the Penukoṇḍa plates do not even disclose the exact relationship between Siṁhavarman who anointed Ayyavarman and, Skandavarman that placed Mādhava II on the Western Gaṅga throne. But it is extremely likely that Skandavarman was the son and successor of Siṁhavarman III. For, there are other records of the family which fairly support this conjecture. The Udayēndiram plates of Nandivarman, seem to furnish the link between the donor Nandivarman and Skandavarman of the Penukoṇḍa plates. The grant gives the following pedigree :—

Skandavarman (I)
|
Siṁhavarman
|
Skandavarman (II.)
|
Nandivarman (*the donor.*)

In the above list Siṁhavarman and Skandavarman II are mentioned in the succession of father and son. As the characters of this record definitely belong to a period later than those of the Oṁgōḍu, Pīkira, Māṅgaḍūr and other charters that have been so far considered, the *first* Skandavarman may be taken

to be the father of Siṁhavarman of the *Lōkavibhāga*, and Skandavarman II may be regarded as Skandavarman IV of the Penukoṇḍa plates. This is the only manner in which the kings mentioned in the Penukoṇḍa plates, the *Lōkavibhāga* and the Udayēndiram grant might be linked with Vijaya Viṣṇugōpavarman II.

Though the line of Kumāraviṣṇu II of Cendalūru plates has been once before this considered, the pedigree recorded in it has not been given the proper place. The record gives four generations including that of the donor.

Skandavarman, '*the only hero on earth*'.
|
Kumāraviṣṇu I.
|
Buddhavarman
|
Kumaraviṣṇu II, *the donor*.

The alphabet of the Cendalūru record is undoubtedly more modern than that of the Oṁgōḍu, Pīkira and Māṅgaḍūr plates. The Cendalūru plates have, therefore, to be assigned to a much later date, roughly to the beginning of the sixth century. Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil, however, takes this charter to be a copy of an earlier record; he does not give any reasons whatsoever for his assumption. It is merely a supposition made manifestly to suit his purpose. This *a priori* assumption is untenable. The language and the palaeography of the record is against the view of its being a copy of a prior grant. Skandavarman of this record, who is described as *the sole hero* on earth like Vīravarman of the earlier charters, may be identified with Skandavarman II, the father of Nandivarman of the Udayēndiram grant. This identification as will be seem presently rests on the facts furnished by certain contemporary and later records. Now putting together the lists of the Udayēndiram and Cendalūru plates respectively and connecting the pedigree thus derived with Vijaya Viṣṇugōpavarman II, we obtain the following genealogy:—

Vijaya Viṣṇugōpavarman II

*

Skandavarman III
(*Udayēndiram*)

|

Siṁhavarman III
(*Lōkavibhāga, Amarāvati pillar & Penukoṇḍa*)

|

Skandavarman IV
*Penukoṇḍa & Cendalūru plates*)

|

Kumāraviṣṇu II — Nandivarman (*Udayendiram*)

Kumāraviṣṇu II
|
Buddhavarman II
(*Vēlūrpālayam plates*)
|
Kumāraviṣṇu III. (*donor of the Cendalūru plates.*)

It is not possible to determine precisely, in the present state of our knowledge, the manner in which Siṁhavarman III was related to Vijaya Viṣṇugōpavarman II: but it may not be unreasonable to assume that the former was a descendant of a collateral branch.

It will be remembered that the Vēlūrpālayam record (v-9) speaks of a Nandivarman, "after a host of kings, including Viṣṇugōpa, had passed away", and then abruptly introduces Siṁhavarman, the ancestor of Vijaya Nandivarman II, the donor of that grant. This Siṁhavarman seems to be a different person altogether,—not the same Siṁhavarman mentioned in the *Lōkavibhāga* and the Penukoṇḍa plates. He must therefore be regarded, for purposes of our study, as a later Simhavarman and accordingly as Siṁhavarman IV. As the Vēlūrpālayam grant does not specify the relationship between Siṁhavarman IV and Nandivarman (I) on the one hand, and the other kings mentioned as having preceded Nandivarman I on the other, Siṁhavarman IV may be regarded as the founder of his own line on the throne of Kāñci after the death of Kumāraviṣṇu III and to belong to a collateral branch. For the same reason, he must be taken to be different from Simhavarman III of the pedigree constructed from the lists of the Udayēndiram and Cendalūru plates. Accordingly the pedigree given on the following pages is obtained; and for the present it may be regarded as a reasonably accurate genealogy of the Pallava dynasty.

## The Genealogy of the Pallava King of Kanci: *C.* 250—630 A. D

Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*

*

As'vatthāman.

|

P a l l a v a.

*

Kālabharta.

|

Cūta-Pallava.

|

1. V ī r a k ū r c a v a r m a n. *c.* 200—252 A. D.

(married a Nāga princess, d. of the King of Vanavāsa ;)

(Dars'i & Vēlūrupālayam)

=K u m ā r a V i ṣ ṇ u (I) *As'vamēdhayājin, King of Kāñcī.*

=Mahārāja B a p p a s v ā m i n *c.* 252—265 A. D.

(Hirahadagalli & Mayidavolu)

|

2. Ś i v a S k a n d a v a r m a n (I) The Great *c.* 265—275 A. D.

*Dharmamahārājādhirāja, As'vamēdhayājin* ;

(Mayidavōlu, Hirahaḍagalli & Oṁgōḍu I set.)

3. Yuvamahārāja
B u d d h a v a r m a n I. *c.* 275—285 A. D.
Queen Cārudēvi.
(British Museum Plates.)

Vīravarman
(Uruvupalli)

4. Buddhyāṅkura. *c.* 295—330 A. D.
(British Musuem)

5. Vijaya Skandavarman (II) *c.* 285—295 A. D.
(Uruvapalli & Oṁgōḍu I set.)

6. S i ṁ h a v a r m a n (I) *c.* 330—342 A. D.
(Uruvupalli)

7. Yuvamahārāja
V i ṣ ṇ u g ō p a v a r m a n (I) *c.* 342—360
(Uruvupalli & Curā)

8. U g r a v a r m a n or Ugrasēna, *c.* 360—363 A. D.
(Amaravāti Pillar)

9. *Dharmamahārāja*
S i ṁ h a v a r m a n II, c. 363—385 A. D.
(Oṁgōḍu, Pīkira, Māṅgaḍūr, Viḷavaṭṭi & Curā)

10 V i j a y a V i ṣ ṇ u g ō p a v a r m a n (II) *c.* 385—400 A. D.
(Curā)

*

11. S k a n d a v a r m a n III, *c.* 425–436–37 A. D.
(Udayēndiram)

12. S i ṁ h a v a r m a n III, 436–37—460 A. D.
(*Lōkavibhāga*, Penukoṇḍa plates and Amarāvati Pillar)

13. Vijaya Skandavarman IV, *c.* 460—495 A. D.
(*Lōkavibhāga* & Penugoṇḍa Plates.)
*identified as* Trilōcana Pallava, Trinayana Pallava *or* Mukkanṭi Kāḍuveṭṭi.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 14. Śantivara *or* Śāntivarman, *c.* 495—503 A. D. surnamed Caṇḍadaṇḍa. (Hebbati & Halsi) | 15. Kumara Viṣṇu II *c.* 503—520 A. D. (Vēlūrpālayam & Cendalūru) | 16. Nandivarman (I) *c.* 520—535 A. D. (Vēlūrpālayam) |

17. Buddhavarman II *c.* 535—545 A. D.
(Vēlūrpālayam & Cendalūru)

18. Kumāra Viṣṇu III. *c.* 545—550 A. D.
(Cendalūru)

*

19. Siṁhavarman I IV *c.* 560—580 A. D.
Vēlūrpālayam & Vāyalūr Pillar

20. Siṁhaviṣṇu *c.* 580—600 A. D.
Vēlūrpālayam & Vāyalūr Pillar

21. Mahēndravarman I, 600—630 A. D.
*or* Mahēndravikramavarman
(Amarāvati.)

*etc.* *etc.* *etc.*

## CHAPTER VI.

## *The History of the Contemporary Kadambas and the Jāhnavīyas.*

(Circa 340—503 A. D.)

Let us now turn to the history of the contemporary Kadambas of Vaijayanti and the Jāhnavīyas or the Early Western Gaṅgas of Talakkaḍa, as it seems to throw considerable light on the otherwise obscure chronology of the Pallava kings of the fifth century. With the death of Vijaya Viṣṇugōpavarman (II) and the dawn of the fifth century apparently there began troubles for the Pallava dynasty. Early in the fifth century, a new power called the Jāhnavīyas sprang into existence in the Punnāṭa-Pannāṭa country or South Mysore. The new dynasty played a conspicuous part in the protracted hostilities between the Pallavas and the Kadambas, during this fifth century. Roughly half a century later, there sprang another new and formidable power, the Cōḷas, who burst upon the Pallava Empire like a violent storm suddenly, and eclipsed its glory for about three decades or more. The Cōḷas were a great power, destined to play a glorious part in the history of the South for well nigh eight centuries. The fifth century was thus an eventful epoch in the history of South India and the Pallavas.

While dealing with the reign of Ugravarman, reference had been made to the contemporary Kadamba kings, Kaṅgavarman (c. 340-355 A.D.) and his son Bhagīratha (c. 355-380 A.D.). The Talguṇḍa inscription[1] seems to suggest that Kaṅgavarman's reign was obscured by interminable wars, when it states that, "he performed lofty great exploits in terrible wars." The same record also states that Bhagīratha enlarged the boundaries of the Kadamba kingdom by annexing the neighbouring territories, and consolidating the entire Kadamba country under his banner. The entire Kadamba country referred to is apparently the

The Kadambas of Kuntala.

1. Verses 22-23.

ancient kingdom of Vanavāsa or Kuntala, which was bounded by the river Bhīmarathi in the north and the Vēdavati or probably the Hēmāvati, in South Mysore, and of which Vaijayant, or Vanavāsa, the modern Banavāsi, was the capital. Bhagīratha appears to have reigned for a long period, for he revived the ancient name of his kingdom after he had conquered it, and assumed the title *Kuntalēsvara* or the 'Lord of Kuntala'.

Bhagīratha's attempt to consolidate the kingdom of Kuntala brought him into hostile contact with the Vākaṭaka emperor, Pṛthvīsēna I (c. 344—370 A. D.), who vanquished and levied tribute from him.[1] This event may be placed about 360 A. D. But Bhagīratha retrieved the fortunes of his house on the death of the Vākaṭaka emperor and acquired the epithet *Kadamba-bhūmi-vadhū-rucit-aikanāthaḥ*, "the one lord dear to the bride, the Kadamba Country", in the words of Kubja, the author of the Talguṇḍa pillar inscription. This veiled poetic expression is thus very significant. And when the poet says that "Bhagīratha was Sagara's chief descendant in person, secretly born in the Kadamba family as king", he seems to refer to the king's achievements, namely, the conquest and consolidation of the entire Kuntala or Kadamba country. Bhagīratha, therefore, appears to have survived Pṛthvīsēna I, by at least a decade, to achieve his life's purpose.

4. Bhagīratha 355-380 A. D.

Bhagīratha left two sons: Raghu and Kākusthavarman. The former succeeded him on the throne, and being probably childless, anointed his younger brother Kākusthavarman as the *Yuvarāja* or heir-apparent. Raghu, it is said, subdued his enemies and made the country highly prosperous.[2] There were during his reign (c. 380-390 A. D.) innumerable wars; and for that reason his tenure on the throne was probably short. The Talguṇḍa pillar inscription states that Raghu was always victorious in

5. Raghu 380—390 A. D.

1. *A. S. W. I.*, IV, pp 55 and 154. 8th verse of Ajanta Cave (No. 16) inscription. Both Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil (*Anc. Hist. Deccan*, pp. 99-100) and Mr. Moraes (*The Kadamba Kula*, p. 18) who follows him, make Kaṅgavarman the unfortunate adversary of the Vākaṭaka emperor. The revised chronology of the Kadambas and the tenor of the Talguṇḍa record support only the view that has been adopted by me.

2. *The Talguṇḍa Pillar Inscription*, verse 25.

wars, but does not mention the names of his opponents. Raghu, it is also stated, received, "slashing cuts on his face during one of those severe fights."[1] The enemies of Raghu were probably the Jāhnavīyas who were rising to power in South Mysore and trying to throw off the yoke of the Kadambas. The Punnāṭa country would appear to have formed part of the Kadamba dominions, for it was included in the list of kingdoms conquered by Mayūras'arman according to the Candrāvalli rock inscription. This conjecture is based on the fact that like Raghu, his contemporary king Koṅgaṇivarman, the first Jāhnavīya king, also claimed "to have fought fierce enemies and received wounds in battle which adorned his body with their marks."[2] It is, therefore, probable that the enemies of Raghu were not the Pallavas who at this juncture would seem to be too busily engaged in a fierce struggle with the Ānanda kings of Kandarapura in Southern Andhra-desa, to interfere in the affairs of Kuntala. Raghu's period therefore was occupied by interminable wars against the Jāhnavīyas, and his death in circa 390 A. D. paved the way for the rise of the Jāhnavīya power in Gaṅgāvāḍi in the next decade.

6. Kākusthavarman 390—415 A. D.

Raghu having died childless, the succession passed on to his younger brother Kākusthavarman, who was already the heir-apparent to the throne. The new king, while he was still the *Yuvarāja*, nearly escaped death in one of the fierce combats of his brother's wars. On that occasion, which synchronised with the 80th year of the Kadamba sovereignty, Kākusthavarman as *Yuvarāja* granted a field in the village of Khēṭagrāma to his general Śṛtakīrti as a reward for saving his life.[3] The new king's accession marked the beginning of the ascendancy of the Kadambas. His long reign, c. 390—415 A D, brought peace, prosperity and glory to Kuntala. *Kuntalādhipati*

1. *Opi. Cit.* v. 26.

2. *E. I.* XIV, p. 331. Compare the description of this king, *labdha vraṇa bhūṣaṇasya* with that of Raghu *arāti-s'astr-ōllikhita-mukha* that appears in the Talguṇḍa pillar inscription.

3. *Ind. Ant.* VI, No. 20, p. 24.

or the Lord of Kuntala, was henceforth reckoned as a mighty power in Dakṣiṇāpatha by the Imperial Guptas and their kinsmen, the Vākaṭakas of Central India. Kākusthavarman was a contemporary of Candragupta II, surnamed Vikramāditya, the Gupta emperor of Northern India, from c. 380 to 414 A.D.[1] Both these monarchs ascended the thrones of their respective kingdoms almost simultaneously; and they died too almost simultaneously. Candragupta-Vikramāditya was a great and powerful king. He extended the boundaries of his empire by destroying the Śaka-Kṣatrapas of Malwa and subjugating the provinces of Gujarat, and Surāṣṭra or Kathiawad. The conquest of these remote provinces must have occupied several years; and the consolidation of his conquests may be assumed to have been an accomplished fact by about 395 A. D.[2] The incorporation of the western provinces in the vast empire brought Candragupta-Vikramāditya into contact with the Vākaṭakas on the one hand and the Kadambas on the other. The Gupta emperor foresaw that a confederacy of kings brought together by ties of kinship would be a formidable check against the inroads of the barbarian Hūṇa hordes, who were gathering on the north-west and who threatened to spread a flood of destruction over his empire in Āryāvarta. Accordingly, he embarked upon a policy of political alliances by dynastic marriages. He gave his daughter Prabhāvatīguptā in marriage to Rudrasēna II, the Vākaṭaka king of Central India. The marriage may have taken place about 390 A. D.[3] About the same time, Candragupta II sought an alliance for his crown prince Kumāragupta I in Dakṣhiṇāpatha with the

1. Recent writers have placed Candragupta's accession in 389 A. D. But the above date is not in accordance with the chronology of the Imperial Guptas. (See Fleet. "Summary of the results of the Gupta Era in *Ind. Ant.*, XVII, p. 363f.; and R. D. Banerjee: "The Chronology of the Imperial Guptas." in the *Annals of Bhandarkar Or. Res. Inst. Poona*, pp. 67-80. But Vincent A Smith in the *Early History of India* 4th edn. p. 345, places the accession in 380 A.D. which I accept as a more probable date. Candragupta II appears to have been connected with the administration of the empire for some years previously, even during the reign of his father.

2. V. A. Smith: *Early History of India*, 4th edn. p. 307.

3. According to V. A. Smith (*JRAS.*, 1914, p. 326) the marriage took place about 395 A. D. I prefer to assign to the event a slightly earlier date, 390 A.D. as that would suit better the political events of the period.

hand of a Kadamba princess, daughter of Kākusthavarman.[1] The celebrated poet Kālidāsa was an ambassador to the court of Kākusthavarman.[2] The imperial embassy bore the desired result. The lady from Kuntala became the consort of the heir-apparent Kumāragupta I[3]. This marriage may have taken place about 400 A. D., shortly after the death of the Vākaṭaka king Rudrasēna II.[4] Kākusthavarman, according to the Talguṇḍa pillar inscription, had more daughters than one, and one of them may have been married to the Western Gaṅga king, Mādhava I., (425—450 A. D.,) of the newly established dynasty of Talakkaḍa on the Cauveri.[5] This supposition is supported by the discovery of a genuine copper-plate of king Mādhavavarman, dated the first year of his reign, which has been assigned on palæographical grounds to about fourth-fifth century A. D.[6] As a result of these marriages, the Kadambas came into intimate contact with the Jāhnavīya Kings, Koṅgaṇivarman and Bhagīratha in the South and the Imperial Guptas and Vākaṭakas in the North. And thus the hostilities between the Western Gaṅgas and the Kadambas also came to an end. The

1. Talguṇḍa Pillar inscription of s'āntivarman : *E. I.*, VIII, p. 33ff., verse 31. It is said that a daughter of Kākusthavarman adorned the royal family of the Imperial Guptas.

2. The historic embassy is mentioned in Bhōja's *Sṛṅgāraprakās'ikā*. See K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyer : A study of Kalidasa in relation to Political Science. (*Madras Oriental Conference Proceedings*, (1924) pp. 6ff. See also H. Heras, S J.: The Relations between the Guptas, Kadambas and Vākaṭakas, in *J. B. O. R. S*, XII, pp. 459ff. The author of *The Kadamba Kula* makes Bhagiratha receive the embassy of Kālidāsa from the court of the Gupta emperor according to his scheme of the Kadamba Chronology. (pp. 19-22) It is unreasonable to assume that Bhagiratha and not Kākusthavarman was a contemporary and an ally of Candragupta II, and that he as the Lord of Kuntala consented to the proposed dynastic alliance with the Gupta emperor.

3. Rev. H. Heras (*J. B. O. R. S.*, XII, pp. 455-463) believes, like me, that this princess was most probably married to Kumāragupta I.

4. The reason for this assumption is that the Gupta emperor may have felt the necessity of strengthening his position once again, for the successors of Rudrasēna II were infants and the Vākaṭaka kingdom itself came under the regency of a woman, Prabhāvatiguptā, his own daughter.

5. Jayaswal : *History of India*, p. 198. He assumes that one of the Kadamba princesses was the wife of Koṅgaṇivarman, the first king or founder of the Western Gaṅga family. I cannot agree with him for reasons already stated in dealing with the reigns of Bhagiratha and Raghu.

6. Sāsanakōṭa plates of the Gaṅga king Mādhavavarman I. : *E. I.* XXIV, pp. 234ff.

power, prestige and influence of the Kadambas was considerably enhanced. Thus commenced the glory of the Kadambas during the reign of Kākusthavarman who was undoubtedly the foremost sovereign of his day in Southern India. Verily his fame, in the words of the poet Kubja, was proclaimed everywhere on the earth.

Kākusthavarman's long reign seems to be remarkable for another reason as well. There arose the new dynasty to which reference has already been made, namely the Jāhnavīyas of Talakkaḍa about the dawn of the fifth century. Though the Kadambas did not help the establishment or the rise of the new power and on the contrary even opposed their rise during the reigns of Bhagīratha and Raghu, they seem to have befriended them during the reign of Kākusthavarman. Evidently, the Jāhnavīyas proved to be too formidable an adversary to be subdued by Kākusthavarman. They were probably encouraged and assisted in their hostilities against the Kadambas by the Pallavas. And that appears to be also the cause for the change in the policy of the Kadambas in the reign of Kākusthavarman. The change in the policy may have been inspired also by the untimely death of Raghu in the conflict with the Jāhnavīyas.

The Jāhnavīyas of Gaṅgavāḍi.

The new dynasty called themselves as having been born in the Jāhnavīya-*kula* or Jāhnavēya-*kula*; and therefore, they are called the Gaṅgas or the Jāhnavīyas. They belonged to the Kāṇvāyana-*gōtra*. They assumed the kingly title *Dharma-Mahādhirāja*, which is a peculiar epithet like the *Dharmamahārājadhirāja* of the Early Kadambas and the Pallavas. The first king of the Jāhnavīya dynasty established himself as the ruler of the Paṇṇāṭa-Punnāṭa and the adjoining territory which acquired the name Gaṅgavāḍi in later times. He was Koṅgaṇivarma-*Dharma-Mahādhirāja*. He acquired the country by conquest, (*sva-bhuja-java-jaya-janita-sujana-janapadasya*) having fought terrible enemies (*dārun-āri-gaṇa*) successfully. He was (*vidāraṇa-raṇ-ōpalabdha-vraṇa-bhūṣaṇaḥ*) "adorned with ornaments which were marks of wounds received in battle." His son was *Mahādhirāja* Mādhava I, who was deeply learned in sacred and

politic literature. He was skilled in expounding and applying in practice the science of *Nītis'āstra* (Polity) and was the author of a commentary on *Dattaka-sūtra*, a treatise by Dattaka. Mādhava's son was Āryavarman or Harivarman, who fought several wars and whose body was decorated with wounds received in numerous battlefields.[1] Harivarman's son was Viṣṇugōpa; his son was the illustrious king *Mahādhirāja*-Mādhava II surnamed Siṁhavarman.

Jāhṇavēyas (*Gaṅga-kula*)
|
Kāṇvāyana-*gōtra*
*

1. *Dharmamahādhirāja* Koṅgaṇivarman I. 410–225 A.D.
|
2. Mādhava I. 425–450
|
3. Āyyavarman or Āryavarman or Harivarman. 450–470
|
4. Viṣṇugōpa. 470–472
|
5. Mādhava II surnamed Simhavarman. 472–535
|
6 Avinita. 535–580
|
7. Durvinita. 580–630

*etc. etc.*

Kākusthavarman not only recognised the sovereignty of the newly established dynasty in the south or south-east of his kingdom but even treated it, as has been stated above, as a friendly power by entering into a marital alliance with Koṅgaṇivarman. He accordingly gave his daughter to the heir-apparent Mādhava I. The marriage may be assumed to have taken place about 410 A. D. Kākustha-varman's alliance with the Jāhnavīya king, simultaneously with the formation of a powerful coalition of the Imperial Guptas, Kadambas and Vākaṭakas of the North, augmented the prestige of the Kadambas which had become consequently a

1. *E. I.* XXIV. pp. 233ff. text lines 6–10.
'स्वभुजवीर्योत्पाटितावगृहीतारिश्रीयशसा नानाशास्त्रार्थसद्भावाधिगमप्रणीतमतिविशेषेण विद्वत्कविकाञ्चन निकषोपलभूतेन विशेषतोप्यनवशेषस्य नीतिशास्त्रस्य यथावद्वक्तृ प्रयोक्तृ कुशलेन'
2. *E. I.*, XIV, p. 331ff. '*anēka yuddh-ōpalabdha vraṇa s'arīrasya.*'

menace to the integrity of the Pallava kingdom. Kākusthavarman's contemporary on the throne of Kāñci is not known from any record, contemporary or otherwise. Vijaya Viṣṇugōpavarman II died about the beginning of the fifth century A.D.; and nothing is known about his immediate successors or descendants. The Pallavas at this period seem to have suffered crushing reverses in the wars with their enemies in the west and in the north. So crushing was the defeat that was inflicted and so terrible was the destruction of the kingdom that followed the death of Vijaya Viṣṇugōpavarman II, that the Pallava sovereignty was completely eclipsed for a long time by the glory of the Kadambas and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. The history of the Pallavas during the first three or probably four decades of the fifth century is thus enveloped in darkness. From the the death of Vijaya Viṣṇugōpavarman II, *c.* 400 A. D., till the rise of Siṁhavarman III, about 436-37 A.D. or for a long time afterwards the Pallava kings seem to have successively suffered disaster and humiliation at the hands of their adversaries, the Kadambas and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. And therefore this period is a dark chapter in the history of the Pallavas.

7. Śāntivarman c. 415-420 A.D.

Kākusthavarman had two sons: Śāntivarman and Kṛṣṇavarman I, who reigned successively after him.[1] Śāntivarman was a powerful prince but would appear to have met with untimely death probably at the hands of his foes. It is probable that the unknown Pallava king of this period renewed hostilities with the Kadambas on the death of Kākusthavarman, took the field with a large army, defeated and slew Śāntivarman in the end. But the glory of the Pallavas on this occasion was doubtless shortlived as we shall presently see. The reign of Śāntivarman was probably short: To him a reign of about five years, c. 415—420 A.D. may be assigned.

Śāntivarman had certainly more sons than one: Mṛgēśavarman[2] and others. But they were all too young to succeed

1. Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil (*Ancient History of the Deccan* p.95) is also of the same view.
2. The Halsi grant of Mṛgēśavarman, (*Ind. Ant.* VI, Sanskrit and old Canarese inscriptions. No. XXI,) calls the king the dear eldest son of Śāntivarman.

him immediately on the throne of Vaijayanti in those troublous times.[1] The succession, therefore, passed to his younger brother Kṛṣṇavarman I, the greatest king of the family.[2] He was already a grown up person, and was a most accomplished, energetic and capable prince. He was therefore best fitted to take up the reins of the Kadamba kingdom which his grandfather and father had conquered and extended, at that critical juncture. Kṛṣṇavarman I conquered and perhaps slew the Pallava king who defeated and destroyed his elder brother, and carried on the war probably against his successor also. He crushed the power of the Pallavas so completely in successive encounters that he was able to celebrate his glory by an As'vamēdha rite. Kṛṣṇavarman I, according to a contemporary record of his son *Yuvarajā* Dēvavarman, "acquired and enjoyed a heritage that was not enjoyed by the persons of the Nāga descent", meaning probably the Cuṭus or the Andhrabhṛtyas.[3] Indeed it was so, for all the records of the dynasty call him unanimously *As'vamēdhayājin*, "the offerer of the As'vamedha". Kṛṣṇavarman I, the most powerful monarch would undoubtedly have reigned at least for thirty years, from *c.* 420 to 450 A.D. if not more to have completed his conquests and annexations and to celebrate the As'vamedha.[4] Kṛṣṇavarman I is described

8. Kṛṣṇavarman I.
*As'vamēdhayājin.*
c. 420-450 A.D.

1. The Halmidi stone inscription (*Mys. Arch. Rept.* 1936 p. 72ff.) of the reign of Kākusthavarman speaks of Mṛgēs'a and Nāga, Governors of Naridavile province. Could these be the sons of S'āntivarman?

2. There seems to be no basis for the theory advanced by Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil (*Ancient History of the Deccan* p. 104) and Mr. G. Moraes (*The Kadamba Kula*, pp. 30-31 & 35-36) of division of the Kadamba kingdom between the senior and junior branches who ruled simultaneously at Vaijayanti, Triparvata, Palās'ika or elsewhere. I think the history of the Kadambas has to be studied from a different viewpoint, with reference to the political history of the Pallava dynasty on the one hand and the Western Gaṅgas and others on the other.

3. Devegere plates of *Yuvarāja* Vijaya Dēvavarman (*Ind. Ant.* VIII, p. 31).

4. *E. C.* VI, p. 91; *E. C.* V., Bl. 121; *E. C.* V. *Be.* 245) Mr. Moraes (*The Kadamba Kula*, pp. 37ff. and the genealogical chart facing p. 15) allots a period of five years to Kṛṣṇavarman I which is too short a reign for a great king who conquered his enemies and celebrated the renowned As'vamēda sacrifice. The offering of an As'vameda is not a simple affair, and to the king who is said to have celebrated the As'vamēdha a reign of at least twenty five years should be allotted. I consider that the adjustment of the reign of Kṛṣṇavarman I according to *The Kadamba Kula* is faulty. I have therefore adopted a new scheme.

by the epithet *vikasita-sacchatr-āvataṁsa Dakṣiṇāpatha vasumatī vasupatiḥ* 'the sovereign of the region Dakṣiṇāpatha, who was adorned with the excellent wide spread umbrella of (supreme sovereignty)' in a record of his son Viṣṇuvarman.[1] The epithet *Dakṣiṇāpatha vasumatī-vasupatiḥ* was an imperial title like *Dakṣiṇāpathēs'vara* which the Imperial Andhras assumed and by which they were known in Ancient India.[2] The assumption of that epithet shows that Kṛṣṇvarman I rose to imperial dignity; and, as will be presently seen, he amply deserved the title. The political ascendancy of the Kadambas reached its zenith during the reign of this great monarch, though it was shaken considerably towards it end. Kṛṣṇavarman I pursued his father's policy of securing allies by dynastic marriages. He himself married a Kēkaya princess, a daughter or sister of Śivanandivarman, lord of the feudatory Kēkaya family who had connections with the illustrious Ikṣvākus of Andhradesa.[3] One of his queens was his own niece, a Gaṅga princess, daughter of Madhava I. Kṛṣṇavarman I was known as *Kuntalādhipati* or *Kuntalēs'vara* to his neighbours. His daughter, princess Ajjhitabhaṭṭārikā, was married to the Vākaṭaka king Narēndrasēna, *c.* 415—470 A. D.[4] The Vākaṭakas themselves were related to the powerful Viṣṇukundin king Mādhavavarman I of Andhradesa. It also appears that a Vākaṭaka princess, who may be identified as a sister of Narēndrasēna was married to Madhavavarman I.[5] The Vākaṭakas were also related to Kumāragupta I, whose sister, princess Prabhāvatīguptā, was the grandmother (father's mother) of Narēndrasēna. Kṛṣṇavarman's brothers-in-law Kumāragupta I of the North and Mahādhirāja Mādhava I, the Western Gāṅga king were among the powerful kings of the day. Backed up by these powerful alliances on the north, north-east and south, Kṛṣṇavarman I planned the complete destruction of the Pallava sovereignty in the South. The Kadambas, it should be remembered, hated

1. Birūr plates of Viṣṇuvarman. *E. C.*, VI, *Kd*, 162. Supposed to be spurious. But I am not in favour of that view.
2. *E. I.* VIII. p 36, text line 2.
3. *E. C.* XI. *Dg*. 161, text lines 1–2
4. The Bālāghāt plates of Pṛthivisēna II. (*E. I.* IX, p. 267f)
5. See below Book IV. Also see *E. I.* IV, pp. 193ff.

the Pallavas as their natural enemies since the days of Vīrakūrcavarman's usurpation. The Pallava contemporary of Kṛṣṇavarman I may be taken to be Skandavarman III, father of Siṁhavarman III. The desire of the Kadamba monarch to wreak vengeance on the Pallava for the defeat of his elder brother Śantivarman may have been the cause of the revival of hostilities. The Kadamba king therefore would seem to have invaded the Pallava territory, inflicted a crushing defeat upon Skandavarman III and, probably slew him. This decisive victory over the Pallavas was indeed a pretext for the Kadamba king to celebrate the As'vamēdha and establish his imperial hegemony in South India. It was this great achievement and the offering of the As'vamēdha sacrifice that evidently prompted Kṛṣṇavarman I to assume the epithet *Dakṣiṇāpatha-vasumatī-vasupatiḥ*, 'the lord of the region of Dakṣiṇāpatha.' The event may be placed approximately shortly after 436-37 A.D. the date of the accession of Siṁhavarman III to the throne of Kāñcīpura.

Closing years of Kṛṣṇavarman I. Wars with the Pallavas.

No sooner had Siṁhavarman III, assumed the reins of his unfortunate kingdom than he resolved to retrieve the fallen prestige of his house. He was a capable and energetic prince who asserted his position against the aggression of Kadamba imperialism. The relentless manner in which Kṛṣṇavarman I carried on his ruthless warfare against the Pallava king and brought desolation and misery to his enemy's country soon recoiled with great vehemance upon his own kingdom towards the close of his reign. A Kēkaya record of this period, found at Aṇajīhoblī, of Śivanandivarman describes in a pathetic manner the terrible fate that overtook the Kadamba kingdom about the close of Kṛṣṇavarman's reign at the hands of the Pallava king.[1] It states that the Pallava king Naṇakkāsa defeated Kṛṣṇavarman I, destroyed his army and laid waste his country. The Pallava king Nāṇakkāsa may be identified with Simhavarman III (*c.* 436—460) of the

1. *E.C.* XI, *Dg*. 161. text-lines 2–5. Introduction, p. 5.

*Lōkavibhāga* synchronism. Kṛṣṇavarman I who was thus ruinously defeated was perhaps slain on the battlefield. In the complete ruin and distress of the Kadamba country, S'ivanandivarman, the Kēkaya chief, lying fatally wounded uttered a hope that one day a scion of his race would spring to avenge the grievous wrongs that were inflicted on his kingdom by the Pallava king.[1] Thus ended about 450 A. D. in utter disaster the glorious reign of Kṛṣṇavarman I, the Great. It would appear that the Pallava king did not stop with the crushing defeat he had inflicted on the Kadamba king. He resolved upon a complete subjugation of Kuntala, and in a short period the helpless Kadamba dynasty was reduced to severe straits. As a result of this, the Kadambas could not resist the Pallava aggression thereafter till one quarter of a century or more. It was now the turn of the Kadambas to be eclipsed by the ascendancy of the Pallava dynasty. The victory over Kṛṣṇavarman I and the military occupation of the Kadamba country that followed, were indeed great achievements of Siṁhavarman III.

The Kadambas during the middle of the fifth century were alone and unaided in their wars against the Pallavas. About 450 A. D., the savage Hūṇas poured into Āryāvarta; and the dominions of Kumāragupta I suffered severely from the irruptions of the Hūṇa hordes through the north-western passes, who "spread in a destructive flood all over Northern India." All the energies of Kumāragupta I were therefore directed to check the invasion of the foreign tribes which threatened to break up the great Gupta Empire. About the same time, too, the Gupta emperor was involved in serious distress in a war with the powerful Puṣyamitra and Paṭumitra republics in Malwa, who defeated and destroyed the imperial armies.[2] Simultaneously in Central India, Narendrasēna passed through a period of similar trouble on account of the rise of the Traikūṭakas, who, following the example of the Puṣyamitras asserted their independence against the yoke of

1. *Ec.* XI, *Dg.*, No. 161.
2. *Early History of India* 4th edn. p. 326.

the Imperial Vākaṭakas.[1] The Viṣṇukuṇḍin king Mādhavavarman I of Andhradesa would seem to have gone to the assistance of his Vākaṭaka kinsmen and Gupta allies at this juncture, in the hour of their severe distress. It was thus a splendid opportunity for the Pallavá king Simhavarman III to strike back effectively at the Kadambas who were left alone and unaided, and cripple their power completely. Thus the Pallavas avenged themselves.

Kṛṣṇavarman I had left two sons: *Yuvarāja* Dēvavarman,[2] and Viṣṇuvarman born of the Kēkaya princess [3]. Dēvavarman, though perhaps younger than Viṣṇuvarman, was anointed heir-apparent to the throne by Kṛṣṇavarman I, probably on account of his marked abilities as a soldier and administrator.

Devavarman
c. 450—465 A. D.

He was also the 'beloved son' (*priya-tanaya*) of Kṛṣṇavarman I.[4] His annointment as heir-apparent took place before the fourth year of his father's reign; and he was stationed at Devegere or Triparvata in Karajgi, taluk to govern the northern provinces.[5] He would therefore have ascended the throne on his father's death about 450 A. D. superseding Viṣṇuvarman his elder half-brother. There are no records of Dēvavarman's reign.[6] But it is possible to assume that he had a long and prosperous tenure on the throne. At the time of his accession the Pallava king Simhavarman III was in North Kuntala, celebrating his triumphant revenge against his bitter foe Kṛṣṇavarman I. The Kadamba country lay trembling at the feet of the victorious Pallava engulfed in terrible

1. Jayaswāl *History of India*, p. 101.
2. *Ind. Ant*, VII, p. 33.
3. *E. C.* VI, Kd. No. 162.
4. While Viṣṇuvarman calls himself the *eldest son* (*E. C.* VI. Kd. 162) the Dēvagere record (*Ind. Ant.* VII. p. 33) of Kṛṣṇavarman I calls Dēvavarman, the heir-apparent (*Yuvarāja*) and beloved son, *priya tanaya*.
5. *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 101. I am unable to agree with the views of previous writers, *viz.*, Moraes: *The Kadamba Kula* pp. 31ff; G. Jouveau-Dubreuil (*A.H.D.*, p. 101) and Mr. M. G. Pai (*Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIII, Part 3 p.174) that there was a division of the Kadamba kingdom between the *Junior* and *Senior* branches from the time of Kṛṣṇavarman I.
6. The Taḍangi Stone Insc. (*E. C.* VII. Sk. 66, Trans. p. 165.) is doubtfully attributed to Dēvavarman. (*Journal. Ind. Hist*, XII, Part 3)

devastation. The task of Dēvavarman was therefore by no means an easy one then. He had to drive away the revengeful Pallava monarch from his homeland before he could think of avenging the wrongs inflicted on his House. Kuntala, the home of the Kadambas, had to be delivered from the enemy. His reign *c.* 450—470 A. D. was therefore occupied in restoring the fallen prestige of his house and once more bringing peace and prosperity to his distressed country. In this great task Dēvavarman would seem to have been completely successful. And Kuntala revived once more. In the next reign of Mṛgēśavarman, the Kadambas proved a formidable enemy to the Pallava king.

Siṁhavarman III seems to have left Kuntala shortly after Dēvavarman's accession and proceeded in the direction of Andhradesa, where an unexpected turn of events demanded his immediate attention. Since the establishment of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty by Mādhavavarman I, the Pallavas were deprived of their territorial possessions in Southern Andhradesa. An opportunity to launch the offensive once more and reconquer them arose on the death of Mādhavavarman I who was succeeded by Dēvavarman about 455 A. D.[1] Siṁhavarman III succeeded in his attempt, but did not apparently live long after that. His death has been placed about 460 A. D. He was succeeded by his son Vijaya Skandavarman IV, one of the greatest kings of the Pallava dynasty.

The new king's (Vijaya Skandavarman's) reign was not however peaceful. He had stubborn enemies to fight everywhere, and on all sides of his extensive kingdom. The Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch, the son and successor of Dēvavarman, was eager to uproot the Pallavas in Southern Andhradesa and deliver his homeland from the desperate grip of the enemy. Vijaya Skandavarman IV had other enemies besides to fight; and therefore he had no time to punish Dēvavarman, the lord of Kuntala. The Kadamba king, therefore, would seem to reigned in peace till the end of his life. Kuntala prospered once more under his wise and able government.

1. See below Book IV.

On Dēvavarman's death there arose troubles in the kingdom. There were apparently several claimants to the throne of Kuntala. There was Kumāravarman, probably the son of Dēvavarman,[1] who claimed the crown as the rightful heir. There was Viṣṇuvarman, elder half-brother of Dēvavarman, and lastly, there was the energetic Mṛgēs'avarman, the eldest son of S'āntivarman who claimed the succession as the representative of the senior branch. Mṛgēs'avarman was undoubtedly the most distinguished and capable of the three princes. He was a great soldier. He had a powerful ally in the Kēkaya prince, a descendant of S'ivanandivarman, whose sister or daughter, Prabhāvatī, he had married.[2] Assisted by the loyal Kēkaya chief, Mṛgēs'avarman appears to have defeated Viṣṇuvarman, overcome Kumāravarman and established himself at Vaijayanti as the supreme lord of Kuntala. Mṛgēs'avarman's accession may be definitely fixed about 470 A. D. from the data furnished by his own charters.[3]

The History of the Western Gaṅgas and the Pallava claim to suzerainty.

Before entering upon the reign of Mṛgēs'avarman, it is desirable to make a brief survey of the events in the kingdom of the Jāhnavīyas or Gaṅgavāḍi and observe the significance of the claim of the Pallava kings to have installed two of the Jāhnavīya kings successively on the throne of Talakkaḍa. It will be remembered that emperor Kṛṣṇavarman I and his brother-in-law Mahādhirāja-Mādhava I died about 450 A. D. on the battlefield during the disastrous invasion of the Pallava king Naṇakkāsa (Siṁhavarman III). The Pallava king instead of annexing the Jāhnavīya kingdom to his empire, pursued the bold policy of installing the weak

1. The author of *The Kadamba Kula* (Chart I, and p. 15.) makes Kumāravarman, a son of Kākusthavarman. Mr. Govinda Pai (*Journ. Ind. Hist.* XIII, part 3) omits him altogether.

2. The Tālguṇḍa Pillar Inscription : See also *Mys. Arch. Rept.* for 1910–11, p. 33.

3. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII, p.35. (The Dēvegere plates of Mṛgēs'avarman dated the 3rd year give astronomical details which admit of verification. The date is mentioned as *rājyasya tṛtīya - varṣē Pauṣē saṁvatsarē Kārttikamāsa - bahuḷa-pakṣē das'amyāṁ tithau Uttarā-bhādra nakṣatrē.* Dr. D. C. Sirkar has correctly calculated the equivalent of the details to be October 27, 472 A. D. (*J. I. H.* XIV, part, 3 pp. 344–46.)

prince Āyyavarman or Harivarman, the son and successor of Mahādhirāja-Mādhava I, on the throne. King Harivarman apparently reigned for a long time under the tutelage of Vijaya Skandavarman IV and died about 470 A. D.

Harivarman's successor was his son Viṣṇugōpa, who appears to have died shortly after coming to the throne, and not his grandson Mādhava II. For some unknown reason some of the Western Gaṅga records, of the early period of Mādhava II particularly, omit the name of his father Viṣṇugopa altogether in the Gaṅga genealogy. Some scholars are therefore unable to determine the exact relationship between Harivarman and Mahādhirāja-Mādhava II. Quite a large number of inscriptions of the dynasty, that have come to light recently, state in unequivocal terms that Viṣnugopa was the son of Harivarman or Āyyavarman, and the father of Mādhava II.[1] Viṣṇugōpa must have died suddenly on the battlefield. The event may be placed with approximate certainty about 472 A. D. The records of his dynasty for that reason evidently do not attribute any achievements to him; and for the same reason too some of them do not even mention his name.

By 470 A. D. Vijaya Skandavarman's hands had become free from the affairs in Andhradesa. He had just quelled the insurrection of the Cāḷukya adventurer Vijayāditya, who rose somewhere in Hiraṇyarāṣṭra or probably in the further north, and killed him in battle. The event may be definitely assigned to *c.* 470 A. D. The Viṣṇukuṇḍins were still in a state of turmoil, and Mādhavavarman II had not yet consolidated his kingdom which was overrun by the Pallavas. Vijaya Skandavarman IV seems to have had ample leisure therefore to turn to the south and subdue the Kadambas who had become haughty once more during the reign of the energetic Dēvavarman. He was evidently waiting for an opportunity to launch an offensive against the Kadambas and reduce Kuntala

1. The Karegaḷūr plates of Mādhava II. (*Mys. Arch. Rept.* 1930, pp. 113ff) give the Western Ganga genealogy in a clear manner. This record has completely set at rest the controversy and the discrepancy about the omission of Viṣṇugōpa in the Penukoṇḍa Plates of Mādhava II. (See *E. I.* XIV, p. 332f).

to submission. The opportunity came on the death of Dēvavarman about 470 A. D. Vijaya Skandavarman IV at once interfered in the affairs of Kuntala, espoused the cause of Viṣṇuvarman, the eldest son of Kṛṣṇavarman I, and set him up as the lord of Kuntala. His intervention thus resulted in a dynastic feud for the succession between Mṛgēs'avarman, the eldest son of Sāntivarman of the senior branch on the one hand, and Viṣṇuvarman of the junior line and the protege of the Pallava monarch on the other.

11. Mṛgēs'avarman c. 470—477 A. D.

Undaunted by the turn of events Mṛgēs'avarman rose to the occasion. He was undoubtedly one of the most powerful kings of the Kadamba dynasty. He quickly seized the crown of Kuntala to the complete exclusion of his rivals and utter dismay of his hereditary foes. A record of his reign clearly states that he acquired 'the wealth of sovereignty and fame by the force of his own valour and strength of his arm in mighty great and arduous wars.'[1] It is probable that Vijaya Skandavarman IV and his Gaṅga ally Āyyavarman (Harivarman) offered a determined and fierce opposition to the new king in order to place their own protege Viṣṇuvarman on the throne. The Pallava and the Gaṅga kings were soon overturned by Mṛgēs'avarman who openly took the field against them with a large army. The Kadamba king was in the end victorious but only after a protracted war which lasted almost the whole of his reign. The Halsi record dated in the eighth year of his reign calls Mṛgēs'avarman *Tuṅga-Gaṅgakulōtsādi* 'the uprooter of the haughty Gaṅga' and *Pallava-pralayānalaḥ* 'the fire of destruction to the Pallava'.[2] These epithets are not mere empty boasts. The Tuṅga-Gaṅga must be either Āyyavarman (Harivarman) or his son Viṣṇugōpa, possibly the latter, for it would appear that both of them were defeated and slain on the battlefield.[3]

1. The Hiṭnahebbagilu plates dated the 7th year. (See *E. C.* IV p. 136.: Hs. 18.
महति समरसंकटे स्वभुजबलपराक्रमावाप्त विशालविभवैश्वर्यः
2. *Ind. Ant.* VI. No. 21, p. 24f.) (Halsi plates of Mṛgēs'avarman)
3. Mr. Moraes is unable to identify the Gaṅga king who was overthrown by Mṛgēs'avarman. See *The Kadamba Kula* p. 32. But he thinks that he might be Harivarman.

The term *utsādi* plainly denotes that the Gaṅga king Harivarman's son Viṣṇugōpa died without an heir to succeed him immediately on the throne. Possibly Mahādhiraja-Mādhava II, the son of Viṣṇugōpa was not yet born and was a posthumous child. The defeat and destruction of Viṣṇugōpa incensed the wrath of Vijaya Skandavarman IV and induced him evidently to prosecute the war against the Kadamba Mṛgēs'avarman with greater vengeance and determination in order to claim reparations and punish him. But Mṛgēs'avarman was no mean warrior ; he rose to the occasion and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Pallava monarch who was the wanton aggressor. As the epithet *Pallava-pralayānalaḥ* clearly indicates, Vijaya Skandavarman IV was totally defeated and his army was completely routed. The destruction of the Gaṅga may have taken place about 472 A. D. and the defeat of Vijaya Skandavarman IV may be fixed definitely about 476 A. D. if not a little later, for these events are mentioned in the Halsi record of the eighth year, dated the full moon day of Kārttika of the year Mahā-Vais'ākha of the Twelve year cycle of Jupiter.[1]

It seems therefore probable that between the date of Viṣṇugopa's death (*c.* 472 A. D.) and the defeat of Vijaya Skandavarman IV (*c.* 476 A. D.) that prince Mahādhirāja-Mādhāva II was born. The posthumous prince of the Gaṅgas was also called Siṁhavarman after the Pallava king's father Siṁhavarman III. Soon after the birth of Mādhava II, the Pallavā king appears to have hastened to the Gaṅga capital and installed the infant prince on the throne and once more declared war upon Mṛgēs'avarman. It is indeed remarkable that the date 475 A. D. fixed for the Penukoṇḍa plates of Mahādhirāja-Mādhava II by Dr. Fleet.[2] admirably suits the chronology of the Western Gaṅga, Pallava and Kadamba dynasties.

1. The Hālsi record was dated in the year Mahāvais'ākha of the Twelve Year Circle which occurred in the 8th year of Mṛgēs'avarman's reign. If Pauṣa year which corresponded to the 3rd year and perhaps also to the 4th year fell in 472 A. D., the 8th year which coincided with the cyclic year Mahā Vais'ākha would then correspond to 476–77 A. D. See also note 3 on pages 267 above.

2. *J. A. R. S.* 1915, p. 482 ; *E. I.* XIV, p. 334.

Vijaya Skandavarman IV waged war against Mṛgēs'avarman evidently for two reasoas. Firstly, he desired to prevent the Kadamba king from occupying the Western Gaṅga kingdom and placing his own protege on the throne of Talakkaḍa. Secondly, he was eager to keep Gaṅgavāḍi under his protectorate, and thereby enhance the power, prestige and strength of the Pallavas in the South. As has been shown above, Vijaya Skandavarman IV succeeded partly in the pursuit of his policy and the infant king of the Gaṅgas remained for some time his protege. And it is thus obvious that the Penukoṇḍa grant of Mādhava II was made under the direct authority of the emperor Vijaya Skandavarman IV. In the same manner the Kūḍalur grant of Mādhava II, which also belongs to the same period as the Penukoṇḍa plates states that the Gaṅga king was installed on the throne by the Pallava monarch.[1] And what is more, it contains the name of Vijaya Skandavarman of the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra* and Pallava-*kula* at the very outset as part of the preamble of the charter, denoting, as it were, the latter's suzerainty over the infant Gaṅga king. Thus the claim of the Pallava kings to have successively placed two of the Gaṅga kings on the throne of Talakkaḍa is fully justified by the course of events in Gaṅgavāḍi during the third quarter of the fifth century.

Mṛgēs'avarman's reign was short. His records do not go beyond the eighth year and therefore his reign may have lasted eight years, from 470 to 478 A. D. His reign was crowded with interminable conflicts with the enemies abroad and with the rival claimants at home. He seems to have spent his whole reign in fighting his foes in order to keep himself firmly on the throne. But while he was victorious against the powerful Pallava king and his Gaṅga proteges, Mṛgēs'avarman would seem to have succumbed at last to the attack, or possible treachery, of his rivals at home.

1. *Mys. Arch. Rept.*, 1930, p. 259. Plate XXIV. The alphabet of this record resembles closely that of the Penukoṇḍa plates. It is therefore quite possible that both the records belonged to the same period, namely the early part of Madhava's reign. The preamble runs as follows: *Bhāradāvjasa-gōtrasya Hari-tulyasya vikramē s'ri Pallava-kulēndrasya Rājña s'ri Skandavarmanaḥ.* (text line 1).

## *The Genealogy of the KADAMBAS of VAIJAYANTI.*

(Hāritīputras)

Manāvyasa *gōtra*.

*

1. S'ivaskandavarman, 240—255 A. D.

*Kadambānām-rāja Dharmamahārājādhirāja Vaijayantī-pati.* (Mālaval )

*

2. Mayūras'arman, *c.* 310—340 A. D.

3. Kaṅgavarman, *c.* 340—355 A. D.

4. Bhagīratha, *c.* 355—380 A. D.

(The lord of Kuntala who was vanquished by the Vākaṭaka king Pṛthivisēṇa I)

5. Raghu 380—390 A. D.

6. Kākusthavarman, 390—415 A. D.

Children of Kākusthavarman:

- Daughter *m.* the Gupta king Kumāragupta I. *c.* 414—455 A. D.
- 7. S'antivarman 415—420 A. D.
- 8. Kṛṣṇavarman I the Great: *Asvamedhayājin.* *c.* 420—450 A. D.
- Daughter *m.* the Western Gaṅga king Mādhava I *c.* 430—450 A. D.

Children of S'antivarman:

- 10 *Mṛgēs'avarman*
- *Nāgavarman*
- *Other Sons*

Children of Kṛṣṇavarman I:

- Daughter *Ajjhītabhaṭṭārikā*
- 9 *Dēvavarman*
- 12 *Viṣṇuvarman*

10. Mṛgēśavarman
c. 470—478 A. D.
(By the Kēkaya
princess Prabhāvatī.)

14. Ravivarman.
c. 503—538 A. D.

15. Harivarman.
c. 538—546 A. D.

Nāgavarman

Other
Sons. (?)

Daughter
Ajjhītabhaṭṭārikā
m. Vākaṭaka king
Narēndrasēna
c. 415—470 A. D.

9. Dēvavarman.
c. 450—470 A. D.

11. Kumāravarman
c. 478—485 A. D.

13. Māndhātṛvarman
or Māndhātarāja.
c. 489—497 A. D.

Daughter m.
Western Gaṅga
king Mādhava II
c. 472—530 A. D.

Avinīta, c. 530—575 A. D.

Durvinīta, c. 575—620 A. D.

By the Kēkaya
princess.

12. Viṣṇuvarman
i. 485—489 A. D.
ii. 497—503 A. D.

16. Simhavarman
546—547 A. D.

17. Kṛṣṇavarman II.
c. 547—570 A. D.

18. Ajavarman.
c. 570—580 A. D.

19. Bhōgivarman,
580—595. A. D.

* According to The *Kadamba Kula* the following is the order of succession in the Kadamba chronology :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Mayūraśarman | 345-370 | 8a. Māndhātṛvarman | 490-497 |
| 2. Kaṅgavarman | 370-395 | 8b. *Viṣṇuvarman* | 485-497 |
| 3. Bhagiratha | 395-420 | 9. Ravivarman | 497-537 |
| 4. Raghu, | 420-430 | 9b. Simhavarman | 497-540 |
| 5. Kākusthavarman | 430-450 | 10. Harivarman | 537-547 |
| 6. Śāntivarman | 450-475 | 10b. *Kṛṣṇavarman* II | 540-547 |
| 7. Mṛgēśavarman | 475-490 | 11. Kṛṣṇavarman | 547-565 |
| 7a. *Kumāravarman* | 475 | 12. Ajavarman | 565-606 |
| 7b. *Kṛṣṇavarman* I | 475-480 | 13. Bhōgivarman | 606-610 |

Mṛgēśavarman's successor was probably his cousin Kumāravarman, son of Dēvavarman, who seems to have become easily the lord of Kuntala. This conjecture is based on the testimony of the Simōga plates of his son Māndhātarāja which gives him the kingly title Mahārāja.[1] This presumably denotes that Kumāravarman crowned himself on the throne of Kuntala. Kumāravarman had apparently two rivals to fight, Ravivarman, the eldest son of Mṛgēśavarman and Princess Prabhāvatī of the Kēkaya family,[2] and Viṣṇuvarman, the elder brother of his father Dēvavarman. Prince Ravivarman was perhaps too young and inexperienced to oppose Kumāravarman and his valiant son Māndhātavarman and seize the crown for himself. Viṣṇuvarman, at this juncture, was evidently unaided and so could not aspire to the throne. His Pallava ally, Vijaya Skandavarman IV, who was lately defeated in a decisive battle and forced to retire to his dominions did not apparently recover sufficiently from the severe military shock which he had suffered at the hands of Mṛgēśavarman. Therefore Kumāravarman easily became the undisputed lord of Kuntala. His reign was, however, short, for he was soon overturned by his rival and uncle Viṣṇuvarman who would appear to have gathered strength shortly after that. Viṣṇuvarman seems to have found an ally in the feudatory Kekaya king to whom he was related through his mother, and with his help at last, he seized the crown of Vaijayanti. This event may be fixed about 485 A. D. with approximate certainty.

11. Kumāra varman c. 477–485

It appears that Viṣṇuvarman's usurpation synchronised with the disaster that was inflicted by the great Cōḷa monarch Karikāla Cōḷa I, on the Pallava king Vijaya Skandavarman IV.[3] This defeat was a far more severe military disaster to the Imperial Pallava arms than the one experienced at the hands of Mṛgēśavarman a decade previously. Viṣṇuvarman's occupation of the throne was only for a short period.

12. Viṣṇuvarman *I Period* c. 485—489 A. D.

1. *Mys. Arch. Rept.* 1910–11, p. 31.
2. *Mys. Arch. Rept.* 1910–11, p. 33.
3. See the next chapter for a discussion of the Cōla invasion of Kāñci in the reign of Vijaya Skandavarman IV.

He would appear to have reigned on this occasion for a period of four or five years, from 485 to 489 A. D. There is a record of this king, apparently of this period, which clearly states the manner in which he became the lord of Vaijayanti.[1] It states that Viṣṇuvarman acquired the sovereignty of Kuntala by the force of his valour, prowess and strength and fame obtained in several battles.[2] In this record he is styled as *Dharmamahārāja* 'the righteous great king,' *Vaijayantī-tilaka* 'the ornament of Vaijayanti' and *samagra-Karṇāṭa-dēs'a bhūvargga-bhartā* 'the supreme lord of the entire Karṇāṭa country,' and one 'who was worshipped by the nine vassal kings of the land.'[3] The record which is dated the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Phālguna, in the third year of the reign, is interesting and important for another reason as well. Viṣṇuvarman made the gift evidently several years after the death of his father's elder brother *Dharmamahārāja* Śāntivarman. And it appears from the record that the charity was made in accordance with the express wishes of his uncle. It seems that Viṣṇuvarman fulfilled the wishes of his deceased uncle, as soon as he became the lord of Vaijayanti. Some scholars however, have rejected this record as spurious, but it may be a genuine one for the reasons stated above.

Viṣṇuvarman was soon conquered by his rival Vijaya Śiva Māndhātṛvarman or Māndhātṛvarman who opposed him openly and seized the sovereignty, probably by a *coupe de main.* This event may be placed about 489 A. D. with approximate certainty.

13. Vijaya-S'iva-Māndhātṛvarman c. 489-497 A. D.

Viṣṇuvarman was defeated and deposed. This inference is suggested by the epithet given to Vijaya Śiva Māndhātṛvarman, namely that "he possessed extensive, supreme firmness (of sovereignty) acquired in war", in the Kūḍagere plates of the second year of his reign.[4] The king is also called Māndhātarāja in the records of his period. He was a more capable and energetic prince than any of his rivals,

1. *E. C.* VI. Kd. 162 (Birūr plates)
2. *Opi. cit.* "*āhav-ārjjita-s'auryya-pratāpāvāpta yas'asvinaḥ.*"
3. *Opi cit.* Birūr plates.
4. *E. C.* VII. Sk. 29; *E. I.* VI, p. 12.

Viṣṇuvarman and others. But his reign, it appears, did not last long. The records of his reign were not dated beyond the fifth year.[1] It is therefore probable that his reign lasted about six or seven years and not more. His reign which commenced in a sudden and vigorous attack upon Viṣṇuvarman seems to have ended in a disastrous defeat for himself. His death may be placed about 497 A. D.

12. Viṣṇuvarman *II Period* c. 497—503 A. D. and his Pallava overlord S'āntivarman.

Viṣṇuvarman, whose reign was apparently interrupted by Vijaya-Śiva-Māndhātṛvarman, would seem to have appealed successfully for help once more to the Pallava king of Kāñci. The Pallavas had by this time completely recovered from the ruinous defeat inflicted upon them by the Cōḷas ten years previously. The Hebbaṭa plates dated the fifth year of Viṣṇuvarman state that he (Viṣṇuvarman) was duly installed on the throne of Vaijayanti by the Pallava king, Śāntivarman of Kāñci.[2] This was the second occasion on which Viṣṇuvarman became lord of Vaijayanti. Who this Śāntivarman was, it is difficult to say, for the name of this king does not occur in the genealogical lists of the records of the Pallava dynasty that have so far come to light. But according to the Pallava chronology that has been adopted by us, Śāntivarman may be taken to be the elder brother of Kumāraviṣṇu II and therefore as the eldest son of Vijaya Skandavarman IV. He may be regarded, accordingly, as having restored the fallen glory of his House to a considerable extent. Viṣṇuvarman did not remain long on the throne afterwards, though he had received considerable protection from the Pallava king Śāntivarman. The intervention of the Pallava king once more in the affairs of Kuntala appears to have been deeply resented by the members of the senior line of the Kadamba family who were the descendants of Mṛgēs'avarman. Shortly after the Pallava monarch had placed Viṣṇuvarman on the throne and turned his back upon Vaijayanti, there occurred a revolt by Ravivarman, the eldest son of Mṛgēs'a-

1. Shimoga plates dated the 5th year. *Mys. Arch. Rept.* 1910–11, p. 31.
2. *Mys. Arch. Rept.* 1925, p. 98,

varman who had grown to be a powerful youth. Viṣṇuvarman once more appealed for help to his Pallava overlord; and despite the assistance rendered on this occasion by the Pallava king who quickly marched upon Kuntala, Ravivarman succeeded in defeating Viṣṇuvarman and his allies in a decisive battle and establishing himself as the undisputed lord of Vaijayanti with his capital at Pālāśika, the modern Hālsi.[1] The Pallava king Caṇḍadaṇḍa who hastened to assist Viṣṇuvarman, was also defeated and slain and his army completely routed.[2] The event may be placed about 503 A. D. Caṇḍadaṇḍa appears to be an epithet of Śāntivarman, who seems to have acquired that appellation on account of his fierce valour displayed on battlefields in Kuntala. If this view is correct, the passage *utsādya Kāñcīśvara Caṇḍadaṇḍam* that appears in the Hālsi record of Ravivarman clearly shows that the Pallava king Śāntivarman was uprooted, and that his line apparently ended with his death.

Caṇḍadaṇḍa, surname of Śāntivarman.

Ravivarman uprooted his rivals and destroyed his enemies by the strength of his arms and became the lord of Kuntala. His accession took place about 503 A. D.[3] With the death of Viṣṇuvarman and the accession of Ravivarman, there commenced a new chapter in the history of the Kadambas of Kuntala. The Pallava-Kadamba feud that lasted for nearly four centuries had at last come to an end. The Pallavas no longer interefered in the affairs of Kuntala. They were thereafter completely absorbed in the stiff life and death struggle with the Cōḷas in their own dominions. With the death of Caṇḍadaṇḍa, the Kadambas were completely avenged. Ravivarman was a descendant of the Kēkayas on his mother's side; for his mother, queen Prabhāvatī, was a Kēkaya princess. Ravivarman destroyed the prestige of the

14. Ravivarman c. 503–538 A. D. Beginning of a New Era in the History of Kuntala

1. *Ind. Ant.* VI, p. 25. Halsi Plates.

2. *Opi. cit.* text lines 3–4. (v. 2)

3. This date is determined with reference to the chronology of the later Kadambas. See Sangōli plates of Harivarman (*E.I.*, XIV, pp. 163–168) which give details that admit of verification.

Pallavas completely in Kuntala. Thus was fulfilled the pious hope of the Kēkaya prince Śivanandivarman, expressed on the disastrous battlefield about a half a century ago. Thus at last the wrongs of the Kēkayas and their overlords, the Kadambas, were avenged by the glorious king Ravivarman.

From the dawn of the third century A. D. the Pallavas of Kāñci designed a policy of offensive which was assiduously adhered to for perpetrating their overlordship in Kuntala and keeping the Kadambas strictly in a position of political subordination. It was a policy that found favour with several generations of the Pallava kings through three long centuries. Though there was a gap in the pursuit of this policy of aggression from about the close of the fourth roughly till the middle of the fifth century, it was again pursued with relentless vigour during the reigns of Siṁhavarman III and his son, the valiant Vijaya Skandavarman IV. The Jāhnavīya dynasty which was more or less established or reared up by the Kadambas to check the relentless aggression of the Pallavas was subdued. A succession of powerful Pallava kings soon subverted the plans of their opponents and set up the Gaṅgas against the Kadambas themselves successfully for several generations. It was in the ambitious pursuit of this traditional policy that Vijaya Skandavarman IV carried the struggle against the Kadambas setting up a representative of the junior branch against the rightful heir of the senior line as a claimant on the throne of Vaijayanti. But he failed in the end as his policy was doomed to failure. The Kadambas emerged from the struggle of a century and a half triumphantly while the Pallavas retired for ever, utterly exhausted and foiled in their objective. Thus with the death of Caṇḍadaṇḍa the Pallavas turned away from the grim battlefields of Kuntala finally. But within half a century after the accession of Ravivarman, the Kadambas too began to decline. Their place was occupied by the Jāhnavīyas or the Western Gaṅgas as the paramount lords of Kuntala ; and that too was only for a short period.

The last phase of the Pallava-Kadamba hostilities

# CHAPTER VII

## *Simhavarman III and his son Vijaya Skandavarman IV.*

12. Simhavarman III. 436-7–460 A.D.

We shall now return to the reigns of Simhavarman III and his successor and trace the political events of their reigns and their relations with the dynasties of Andhradesa. During the reign of Simhavarman III the Pallava glory revived and the Pallavas triumphed over their enemies everywhere. The Kadamba emperor Kṛṣṇavarman I was defeated and killed, his army destroyed and his country overrun by the victorious Pallava monarch. Encouraged by these signal successes, Simhavarman III turned to Andhradesa. There a new dynasty called the Viṣṇukundins rose to sovereignty even before he had come to the throne. The new dynasty soon became a formidable power and threatened the Pallava territorial possessions in the southern Andhradesa. The first king of this powerful dynasty was Mādhavavarman I. (*c.* 420-455 A. D.) He conquered the neighbouring territories and extended the boundaries of his kingdom over a vast area. His sway covered the entire Andhradesa and apparently extended even beyond. He conquered the Pallava viceroy and drove him out of the Southern Andhra sub-provinces. He celebrated eleven As'vamēdhas in proof of his universal sovereignty and became the paramount lord of the entire Andhradesa. His period roughly synchronised with that of Kṛṣṇavarman I, lord of Kuntala. The death of Madhavavarman I, after a glorious and long reign, presented an excellent opportunity, as stated already, to the Pallava monarch to invade the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Kingdom and occupy once more the southern Andhra country extending to the southern bank of the Kṛṣṇa. The Pallava king seems to have defeated and slain Dēvavarman, the eldest son and successor of Mādhavavarman I and overrun the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dominions as far as the Godavari and probably even beyond, according to the Amarāvati pillar inscription. That record states: "There arose the hero Simhavarman, who protected the earth for a long time, whom the people called

the lord of eighteen *lakṣas* of horses and elephants'. (vv. 10-11)..........Once while his back, flanks and his front were guarded by all his brave vassals and tributaries (*māṇḍalika-sāmanta*) "he marched to the peak of Sumēru,[1] in order to place there his fame which he had acquired by conquering all quarters," meaning thereby to plant there a pillar of victory. "Then having crossed the Bhagīrathi,[2] the Gōdāvari and the Kṛṣṇaverṇa, he perceived a place sacred to the lord Vītarāga (Buddha) named the illustrious town of Dhānyaghaṭa. Having regarded it with curiosity and having humbly approached and saluted the tutelary deities that protected the *kṣētra*, he listened to a discourse on the Law (*Bauddha Dharma*) at the sacred place, saluted the highest born *i.e.* the Buddha and became a lay worshipper (*upāsaka*). There he erected a statute of the Buddha and ornamented it with gold, jewels and silver." The inscription despite its wanton exaggeration, seems to state that Siṁhavarman conquered the country as far as the Kṛṣṇa, made a triumphant march as far as the Godavari and perhaps beyond, placed a pillar of victory at Dhānyaghaṭa or Dhanakaṭaka on his return journey and also erected a statue of the Lord Buddha, having become a convert to Buddhism, in the sacred place (*kṣētra*) of that illustrious city. Shortly afterwards, the reign of Siṁhavarman III seems to have come to an end, for according to the inscription, it appears that he had already protected the earth (kingdom) for a long time.

Amarāvati Pillar inscription ; Exploits of Siṁhavarman III

Siṁhavarman III was succeeded by his son Vijaya Skandavarman IV, whose reign was remarkable for several great events. The new king seems to have reigned for a long time like his illustrious father ; and his reign may have lasted from about 460 to 495 A. D., *i.e.*, roughly for a period

1. It is tempting to identify the peak Sumēru with Mahēndragiri in the Northern Kalinga, but the identification is hardly tenable.

2. Some license has to be given for poetic exaggeration in this description. But it is not altogether without some historic truth.

Considering the eventful period in which he flourished and his great achievements the long reign of thirty five years to him may not be regarded as unreasonable. The Cendalūru plates of Kumāraviṣṇu III mention this great monarch at the top of the pedigree.[1] The record refers to him as the glorious king, the only hero on earth, who was endowed with the qualities necessary for acquiring power (s'akti) and victory (siddhi) and who was the abode of the fortunes of the kings overcome by his valour.[2] These epithets cannot be mere boasts. As has been shown above, Vijaya Skandavarman IV was a mighty king who shook the glory of the Kadambas to its foundations and dominated the entire Southern India as far as the Kṛṣṇa and its northern tributary the Musi, triumphantly as the supreme great king for more than three decades. He was a contemporary of four Kadamba kings, Dēvavarman, Mṛgēs'avarman, Kumāravarman and Viṣṇuvarman successively, Vijaya Skandavarman's long period was crowded with wars in the north and wars in the west. During his long reign the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king, Mādhavavarman II, who was worsted at the beginning of his reign seems to have gathered sufficient strength and power to drive the Pallavas out of his country and regain possession of the southern Andhra country.[3] And it appears that Mādhavavarman's efforts met with signal success in the end. His conquest of the Pallavas and the re-occupation of Southern Andhradesa seem to have been followed by successive disasters to the arms of the Pallava monarch in the south. Vijaya Skandavarman IV's ally, Āyyavarman, or more probably his son Viṣṇugōpa, was defeated and destroyed; Vijaya Skandavarman himself was defeated in the end and forced to retire from the battlefield by Mṛgēs'avarman. These events have been fixed between 472–476 A. D. as shown above.

13. Vijaya Skandavarman IV *surnamed* Trilōcana-Pallava, or Mukkaṇṭi Kāduveṭṭi. 460–495 A. D.

1, *E. I.*, VIII. p. 233f. This record is called that of Kumāraviṣṇu II by the editor but as I have shown below the donor becomes Kumāraviṣṇu III. See above the pedigree on pp. 250–51.

2. *Op. Cit.* Text lines 1–2. *abhyucchita s'akti siddhi saṁpannasya, pratapōpanata raja maṇḍalasya, vasudhātalaika-vīrasya.* etc.

3. See Book IV below.

It was about this time or shortly afterwards that the Pallava Empire experienced a serious disaster, somewhat similar to or probably more tragic than that which overtook the kingdom of Kuntala on the death of Kṛṣṇavarman I.

The Cōḷa Interregnum c. 480–500 A. D.

Accordingly the disaster in the west which was inflicted by the lord of Kuntala was followed by another in the east which was more serious and terrible. It was at the hands of an enemy who was not apparently known before. The new enemy were the Cōḷas, who rose in the north of the Pallava Empire, and who soon became a formidable rival to the Pallava dynasty for the sovereignty of the South. The Cōḷas rose at this period under Karikāla Cōḷa the Great. The Cōḷa king rebelled against the imperial sway of the Pallava dynasty; and with his war-like hordes descended upon the smiling plains of the Pallava Empire from the north or properly speaking from Hiraṇyarāṣṭra and Cōḷavāḍi, the region that stretched northwards from the left bank of the Kṛṣṇa and comprised the districts of Mahaboobnagar or Pānagallu and Nalgoṇḍa of the Nizam's Dominions in Western Andhradesa. The Cōḷas came from the north and *not* from the south or the region of the Cauveri as has been assumed by some scholars. There are several reasons which lead to this conclusion. Firstly, Local Records or *Kaifiats* of local traditions from the villages in the Cuddapah district allude to the Cōḷa domination of the territory called Rēnāḍu or Hiraṇyarāṣṭra under Karikāla Cōḷa.[1] These traditional accounts refer to the destruction of wild forests in the region which extended from the river Pinākinī (Pennar) in the north to the Svarṇamukhi in the south and the creation of two provinces, called Pulugulanāḍu and Pottapināḍu. They allude to the reclamation of forest lands for purposes of cultivation, the founding of new settlements and villages, temples and tanks, and the construction of dams across small streams for supply of water for irrigation. The fact that Karikāla Cōḷa exclusively devoted his energy for improving this part of the country in the early part of his eventful career proves

1. N. Venkataramanayya: *Trilōcana Pallava & Karikāla Cōḷa*. p. 7f.

beyond doubt that this province of Rēnāḍu or Hiraṇyarāṣṭra was, or at any rate formed part of the homeland of the Cōḷas or the Cōḷavāḍi in the fifth century. Secondly, the earliest inscriptions of the Cōḷas do not refer to the region of the Cauveri but to the regions of the rivers Kṛṣṇa and Penna or Pinākini and to Cōlavāḍi and Renāḍu as their early home.[1] And they are found only in that region and not in the south near the Cauveri. Though both the Cōḷas of the Cauveri region and the Cōḷas of Rēnāḍu claim Karikāla Cōḷa the Great as their ancestor, the latter, who seem to be the earlier to rise to power had the lion symbol for their crest, while the formers who were admittedly of later date claimed the tiger crest. This circumstance shows that the Colas of the Cauveri region were a different branch, distinct from the Telugu Cōḷas, and that they rose to power long after the Cōḷa sovereignty in Renāḍu and Toṇḍamaṇḍalam had been superseded.

There is one more fact which supports this view. The Cōḷas appear to be political descendants of the Imperial Ikṣvākus of Vijayapuri. They were their vassals and probably connected with them by ties of relationship. All the inscriptions of the Cōḷa kings,[2] as well as the *Kalingāṭṭuparaṇi*,[3] mention the hero Ikṣvāku, as a mythical or Puranic ancestor of Karikāla Cōḷa the Great, the first historical Cōḷa king, from whom all the Cōḷa dynasties, both of Andhradesa and Tamil country, trace their descent. From the account of Yuan Chwang it also appears that Cōlavāḍi or the Cōḷa country which he calls by the name Culiya extended into the Cuddapah and Kurnool districts and perhaps in the region lying to the north of the Kṛṣṇa and lay about 1000 *li* or three hundred miles to the south-west of the Dhanakaṭaka country.[4] "This country," it is said, "was 24,00 *li* in cicuit, and its capital was

The Cōḷas: Political successors of the Ikṣvākūs in their implacable hostility.

1 *Journ. Ind. Hist.* Vol. XIV, Part 3, p. 30 and *Ibid.* Vol. XV Part 2, p. 255, and *E. I.*, XI, p. 337f.

2 Cf. The Udayēndiram plates of Viracōḷa, (*E. I.* III, p. 79f. 80.)

3 *Ind. Ant.* XIX, p. 330.

4 Watters : *On Yuan Chwang*, II. p. 224.

above 10 *li* in cicuit. It was a wild jungle tract with very few settled inhabitants at that period." The Cōḷa country lay, therefore, even in the beginning of the seventh century A. D. to the north of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. The Cōḷas for this reason, inherited all the antagonism and bitter hostility for the aggressive Pallavas who ruthlessly destroyed the glorious Ikṣvāku dynasty and annexed Southern Andhradesa to their empire. The Ikṣvākus were uprooted never to rise again. But if the Hārītiputra-Mānavya-Kadambas, who also suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Pallava kings, Vīrakūrca and Śivaskandavarman, revived sometime later under the leadership of the intrepid hero Mayūras'arman to renew their old feud with the Pallavas in the dawn of the fourth century, the hostility of the Ikṣvākus too revived, with the rise of the Cōḷas and Viṣṇukuṇḍins though at a considerably later date. The ascendancy of the Cōḷas was delayed owing to the rise of other dynasties like the Bṛhatphalāyanas, Ānandas and Śālaṅkāyanas who stepped into the breach created by the destruction of the Ikṣvākus and attempted to revive the hostilities only in vain.

The Cōḷas traced their descent from the same solar race from which the Ikṣvākus also sprang. There is Ikṣvāku almost at the top in the Puranic ancestry of the Cōḷas, both of Andhradesa and Tamil country according to the inscriptions.[1] The Cōḷas migrated from the Andhra country, the home of the Ikṣvākus. They would seem to have an intimate connection therefore, with the Ikṣvākus. The opportunity for the Cōḷas, the inheritors of the antagonism of the Ikṣvakus, to strike the Pallavas and regain their homeland or probably to extend their dominions and found a new home came during the reign of Vijaya Skandavarman IV, towards the end of the fifth century. Karikāla Cōḷa, like Mayūras'arman, conquered the Pallavas at the first opportunity, destroyed their supremacy completely and founded a new kingdom under the dynastic name Cōḷa in the South. He was probably encouraged if not actively assisted in this attempt by the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king, Mādhavavarman II,

The Cōḷa invasion. Karikāla the Great.

1 S. *I. I.*, III. Part iii, p. 383f. verse 5; See also *E. I.*, III. p. 79.

who was lately dispossessed of his dominion in Karmarāṣṭra and other southern provinces by the Pallava king Siṁhavarman III and later on by Vijaya Skandavarman IV. And thus came the opportunity for the Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch to strike the Pallavas effectively and dislodge them once more from Southern Andhradesa. While the Pallava king was reduced to great straits in the fierce struggle with the Kadamba king Mṛgēs'avarman in the west and while the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king extended his conquests and annexation in the further south, the Cōḷas seized the opportunity, invaded the Pallava kingdom itself from the north and occupied it. The Cōḷa offensive and invasion came like a deluge and overwhelmed the Pallava Empire. The Pallava king of this epoch is remembered in the traditions of Andhradesa by the names Trilōcana, Trinayana, Trymbaka-Pallava, Mukkaṇṭi and Mukkṇṭi-Kāḍuveṭṭi;[1] and he may be identified as Vijaya Skandavarman IV. Karikāla marched upon Trilōcana-Pallava who opposed him with a large army, defeated him apparently in a decisive battle, took him captive and even occupied his city, Kāñcīpura.[2] The proud Pallava king was humbled and his vast and powerful empire extending from the Mysore plateau in the west, to the sea in the east, bounded by the Kṛṣṇa and Tuṅgabhadra in the north and the Cauveri in the south, lay trembling at the feet of the invader. The glorious sun of the Pallavas was for a while eclipsed by the sudden rise and advance of Karikāla Cōḷa who occupied Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and probably penetrated as far as the Cauveri. The vanquished king Trilōcana-Pallava was reduced to submission and vassalage; and as tradition states he was commanded by the victor to build for him the flood banks of the Cauveri.[3] These events lead us to the irresistible conclusion that Vijaya Skandavarman IV, one of the greatest kings of the Pallava dynasty, was beyond doubt identical with Trilōcana-Pallava. The

1 Dr. N. Venkataramanayya: *Trilōcana Pallava and Karikāla Cōḷa*.

2 Karikāla is stated to have beautified the city of Kāñci with gold. *Annl. Rept S. I. E.* 1905–06, Part II, pp. 15 and 67.

3 *A. S. I.* 1906–07, p. 224. Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya also assigns Karikāla Cōḷa to about the same period, the close of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century A. D.

appellation Trilōcana is a well known title of the great king rather than a personal or proper name. For, while Siṁhavarman III was a Buddhist lay worshipper (*upāsaka*), his son Vijaya Skandavarman IV was a staunch devotee of Śiva, and became renowned as the Three-Eyed Lord himself. Vijaya Skandavarman IV revived Brahmanism and the worship of Śiva and was therefore regarded as the incarnation of the Three-Eyed Lord himself. He was therefore called Trilōcana or Trinayana-Pallava by the people. The traditions about the great Pallava king preserved in Andhradesa amply bear out this inference. The name Trilōcana also denotes that he was a very powerful and formidable king of his day, who was considered equal even to the Three-Eyed Lord Śiva by his contemporaries and subjects. Naturally therefore, the Cōḷas were very proud of their brilliant military achievement, that of crushing the pride of the greatest of the Pallava kings, and so perpetuated the memory of the event for generations afterwards. Karikāla Cōḷa's victory over Trilōcana-Pallava appealed so much to the popular imagination that legends grew round their haloed names and shrouded their identity and even time so completely that historians regarded them as mythical figures. Karikāla Cōḷa can no longer be regarded as a mythical king. A recent writer has satisfactorily established the historicity of the king.[1] A vast amount of research has brought to light several historical scenes from what appeared to be till lately a legendary or mythical background. Certain facts about Trilōcana-Pallava and Karikāla Cōḷa that have been regarded as mythical or legendary seem to be now historical and possible. Those great kings flourished in a vigorous period, and were remembered for their great and glorious exploits for several centuries afterwards. They lived in a charming and colourful age and there seems to be nothing objectionable about the historicity of those illustrious kings who spent their whole lives in the heroic fashion of the true Aryans and Kṣatriyas. If contemporary inscriptions do not refer to them, the causes for the omission must be looked for elsewhere.

1. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya: *Trilōcana Pallava and Karikāla Cōḷa.*

An earlier event of the reign of Trilōcana-Pallava was an attempt by the first Cāḷukya prince Vijayāditya, like that of Mayūraśarman, to carve for himself a territory out of the Pallava Empire. With the annexation of Southern Andhradesa, after the fall of the Imperial Ikṣvākus, provinces like Hiraṇyarāṣṭra, Vēṅgōrāṣṭra, Muṇḍarāṣṭra and even Śātavāhanirāṣṭra became part of the Pallava Empire; and thus the rulers of those provinces became feudatories of the Pallavas. While dealing with the Ikṣvākus we had occasion to refer to *Mahāsēnāpati* Skandacelikiraṇaka (Khaṁdacelikireṁṇaka), the lord of the Hiraṇyakas as the possible ruler of Hiraṇyarāṣṭra and as the probable ancestor of the Early Cāḷukyas of Vātapi (Bādāmi) and Vēṅgipura. It seems probable that Vijayāditya, the first prince of the Early Cāḷukyas,[1] may have been a descendant of *Mahāsēnāpati* Skandacelikiraṇaka.[2] Vijayāditya who revolted against the Pallava domination probably inherited the natural hostility of the Ikṣvākus, the erstwhile overlords of his house. He would have revolted with the object of establishing an independent kingdom for himself. Moreover the Early Cāḷukyas would seem to have had much in common with the Kadambas. It is probable that they emulated them, having been connected with them in some way. They, therefore, claimed descent from both the Mānavya and Hāritī *gōtras* like the Kadambas who styled themselves as Hāritīputra-Mānavya Kadambas.[3] Like the Kadambas, the Cāḷukyas also worshipped the god Mahāsēna, Skanda or Kumārasvāmin, and the Mātṛ-gaṇa or the 'group of Mothers'.[4] The Kadambas belonged to Sthāna-kuṇḍūra (Talguṇḍa) which was situated not far from Vaijayanti, the capital of Kuntala, and which itself lay adjacent to Hiraṇyarāṣṭra and Śātavāhani-raṣṭra in Andhradesa,

Trilōcana-Pallava and the revolt of Cāḷukya Vijayāditya.

1 *E. I.*, VI. p. 340ff. (Raṇastipūṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya)

2 See note on p. 47 *ante*.

3 *E. C.*, VII. Sk. No. 264 (*Mālvalli pillar Inscr.* text line 1) *E. I.*, VIII, p. 24f and 31, text line 2. (verse 4) "*Tryārṣa-vatma-Hāritīputrarṣi-mukhyu Manavya-gōtrajam* : 'In which the sons of Hariti trod the path of the Three Vēdas and which had sprung from the *gōtra* of Mānavya the foremost of the Rṣis.'"

4 In the formal preambles of both the Early Cāḷukya and Kadamba records the epithet '*Svāmi-Mahāsēna Mātṛ-gaṇ-ānudhyātā*', uniformly appears.

the home-land of the Early Cāḷukyas. More than all, both the Kadambas and Cāḷukyas would seem to have been intimately connected with the Ikṣvākus of Śrīparvata. Thus it is probable that the Early Cāḷukyas were closely allied to the Kadambas whom they emulated in trying to destroy the suzerainty of the Pallavas. While the Cōḷas came from Cōḷavāḍi which lay to the north of the Kṛṣṇa and the Tuṅgabhadra, the Early Cāḷukyas came from Hiraṇyarāṣṭra which extended south as far as the Pinākinī (Pennar) and comprised the Cuddapah and Kurnool districts. Vijayāditya, the earliest Cāḷukya prince rose in Hiraṇya-rāṣṭra; he revolted against Trilōcana Pallava or Vijaya Skandavarman IV, and attempted to carve out a kingdom for himself out of the Pallava Empire. The attempt ended in a disaster for the Cāḷukya adventurer, who died on the battlefield. The traditions preserved in the Andhra country amply bear out these events.

Later Cāḷukyan Tradition about Trilōcana-Pallava's victory over Cāḷukya Vijayāditya

Later Eastern Cāḷukya tradition actually refers to a sanguinary battle between Trilōcana Pallava and Vijayāditya, the ancestor of the Cāḷukyas. The battle seems to have taken place somewhere in the north of the Cuddappah or Kurnool district or possibly in the region lying on the northern bank of the Kṛṣṇa, that is in the Nalgoṇḍa district. Trilōcana Pallava was the victor. Vijayāditya was defeated and slain. Quickly after the disaster, his queen who was then pregnant, escaped with the help of the survivors and trusted ministers of her lord and took shelter in the *agrahāra* of Muḍivēmu, where she was protected like his own daughter by the Brāhmaṇa householder Viṣṇubhaṭṭa somāyajin.[1] This event denotes that the Pallava kingdom extended beyond the modern Cuddapah and Kurnool districts and the Kṛṣṇa river; and if tradition is to be accepted, it seems to have extended even beyond the northern bank of the Kṛṣṇa, to the Mahaboobnagar and Nalgoṇḍa districts of the Nizam's Dominions. The *agrahāra* of Muḍivēmu has been identified correctly with Peda-Muḍiyam on the northern bank of the river Kundēru in the extreme north

1 This account occurs for the first time in a copper-plate record of the Eastern Cāḷukya king Vimalāditya, dated 1018–19 A. D. (*E. I.*, VI. p. 349ff.)

of the Cuddapah district.[1] Though the legend is found for the first time in the records of the eleventh century and is not corroborated by earlier inscriptions, it seems to be thoroughly trustworthy, for it was evidently based on the belief current in the memory of great events connected with the life and times of the Early Cāḷukya adventurer preserved in the eleventh century. The event must be true and it may be assigned to about 470 A. D.[2] The great monarch Vijaya Skandavarman IV surnamed Trilōcana-Pallava, the Cōḷa invader Karikāla Cōḷa and the first Cālukya prince Vijayāditya would seem to be more or less contemporaries.[3]

Historicity of Trilōcana-Pallava gleaned from inscriptions and traditions.

The historicity of Trilōcana-Pallava can be established also from other facts which cannot be disputed. The earliest reference to Trilōcana-Pallava or Mukkaṇṭi Kāḍuveṭṭi, as he was also described, occurs in a fragmentary stone record from Annavaram-*agrahāram* in Darsi taluk, Nellore district, which belongs to the time of the Western Cāḷukya king Vikramāditya I and is dated Ś. S. 582 or 660 A. D.[4] It purports to be the renewal of the grant of the village Annavaram-*agrahāram*, that was made originally by Mukkaṇṭi-Kāḍuveṭṭi, and which had lapsed sometime before. There are numerous similar records of later period which also refer to renewals of lost or lapsed grants that were originally made by Trilōcana-Pallava.[5] There are also a large number of inscriptions which state that the ancestors of the donors were the descendants of Trilōcana-Pallava. Among them may be mentioned, the Hunca stone inscription of the Noḷamba chieftain Dilīparasa, who claims Trinayana-Pallava as the progenitor of

1 *Annl. Rep. S. I. E.*, 1905–06, Part II, *para* 40.

2 According to Dr. N. Venkataramanayya (*Trilōcana Pallava and Karikāla Cōḷa*, p. 44) the probable date of the battle which ended fatally for the Early Cāḷukya prince was about 486 A. D. I have given elsewhere my reasons for choosing 470 A. D. as the more probable date for the event. (See above p. 268.)

3 *A. S. I.* 1906-07. Venkayya also is of the same opinion.

4 *N. I.* I. D2.

5 *C. P.* grant of Malla-Viṣṇuvardhana II, (published in the *Āndhra Bhārati*, 1913. vol. III No. 12 pp. 353–363,) dated Ś. S. 1101.

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the Noḷamba family.[1] A stone record from Nandalūr of the time of Manuma-Siddhi II, of the twelfth century, speaks of a Trilōcana-Pallava who is said to have made a grant of seventy *agrahāras* to the east of Tripurantakam Hill.[2] A stone pillar inscription from the temple of Kōṭappakoṇḍa, dated Ś. S. 1135, records the fact that a certain Vennayabhaṭṭa Sōmayājin, a dialectician who bore the epithet *Mahāvādimadēbhasiṁha*, vanquished Gauḍabhaṭṭa, in theological or philosphical disputation in the very presence of Triṇayana-Pallava, and that the latter, having been pleased with the learning and the beautiful speech of the great theologian, granted him the village of Irralūru, which lay to the west of the Hill, *i. e.* Tripurāntakam, as an *agrahara*.[3] Other inscriptions there are which state that Trilōcana-Pallava granted *agrahāras* or freehold villages to distinguished Brāhmaṇas who migrated from the North into his territories. Thus from a stone record of the twelfth century in the temple of Śaṅkarasvāmin at Koṇidena, (Koṭyadona) Narasaraopeta taluk, Guntur district, it appears that Rudrabhaṭṭa, a Brāhmaṇa from Ahichatra, obtained the village of Vaṅgipura from Mukkaṇṭi-Kāḍuveṭṭi and that his descendant Śūryabhaṭṭa obtained the village of Māraṭūr from Satyās'raya *i. e.*, Satyās'raya-Pulikēsin II and that Kuppana, younger brother of Sūryabhaṭṭa received a grant of the village of Krāñja from Kubja-Viṣṅu-vardhana.[4] These facts enable us to determine the period in which Triṇayana-Pallava or Mukkaṇṭi-Kāḍuveṭṭi lived with approximate certainty. The date of Pulikēs'in II is well known and therefore Trilōcana-Pallava who made a grant to Rudrabhaṭṭa, may be assigned to a century or century and a half before Pulikēs'in II, in the fifth century A. D.

Several inscriptions of some of the feudatory chieftains of the Caturtha-*kula* or the fourth caste, who called themselves the descendants of a prince named Durjaya and, who ruled

1 A stone Ins. from Hēmāvati Maḍakas'ira tāluk, Anantapur Dt. *S. I. I.* VI, No. 561.

2 *Annl. Rept. S.I. E.*, 1908 p. 70, Para 72. *A. R.* No. 580 of 1907.

3 *S. I. I.*, IV, No. 927. text lines. 4—10. Rājendras-Triṇayana-Pallavas-sa-āsit [1*] Tasyāgrato Vennaya-bhaṭṭa-sōmayāji Mahāvādi-madēbha-siṁhaḥ [I*] Tam Gauḍabhaṭṭam kṛta-patra lambaṁ jigīṣur-ucchair-adhari-karōti [II*]

4 *S. I. I.*, VI, No. 620.

over small principalities in Southern Andhradesa during the tweelfth and thirteenth centuries, state that during the reign of Trilōcana-Pallava, the Pallava Empire extended into the Deccan beyond the Kṛṣṇa river. It is stated in these inscriptions that Trilōcana-Pallava, lord of Kāñci, granted fiefs to several chieftains of the Caturtha-*kula* as rewards for military services rendered on battlefields, in the province lying on the southern bank of the Kṛṣṇa and raised them to the rank of vassals with the insignia of royalty.[1] These vassal chieftains were originally mercenaries and soldiers of fortune, who were probably hired by Trilōcana-Pallava to fight his enemies, the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, Cāḷukyas and others in Andhradesa and, stationed in the province of Karmarāṣṭra for the purpose of guarding the northern frontier of the Pallava Empire. The mercenary chieftains of war would appear to have been brought from somewhere in the northern and north-western Andhradesa, called Madhyadēs'a or the modern Telingānā, and settled in Karmarāṣṭra, during the reign of Trilōcana-Pallava. By that time Mādhavavarman II, the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king, had commenced the stiff struggle to dislodge the Pallavas from the Southern Andhra country. Malla-bhūpa, the ancestor of the Durjaya kings of the Velanāṇṭi family, which ruled over the Andhra country as the Cōla-Cāḷukya viceroys during the twelfth century, is said to have obtained the rulership of Velanāṇḍu on the southern bank of the Kṛṣṇa river as a reward for military assistance rendered in the forefront of battle from king Tryambaka-Pallava of Kāñci together with the insignia of a vassal king.[2] It may be observed that Tryambaka-Pallava was another name for Triṇayana-Pallava. Like the ancestor of the Velanāṇṭi family, the progenitors of the Kōṭa chieftains of Amarāvati and the Durjaya chiefs of Oṁgeru-mārga are also stated to have obtained the rulership of Āru-vēlanāṇḍu or Ṣaṭsahasrāvanī-viṣaya, or the "Six Thousand Country" and Oṁgēru-mārga respectively through the favour of Trilōcana-Pallava.[3]

Further proof of historicity of Trilōcana-Pallava

1 *S. I. I.*, 1. IV. Nos. 1141, 1182; *Ibid.* Vol. VI, Nos. 103, 224 etc.
2 *S. I. I.* IV, No. 1141.
3 *E. I.* VI, p. 146. See also footnote above.

Unbroken traditions preserved in the Andhra country for over a thousand years refer to numerous achievements of Trilōcana-Pallava. Most of these traditions preserved in *Local Records* were collected from villages in Cuddapah, Kurnool, Nellore, and Guntur. Trilōcana's capital is said to be Dharaṇikōṭa, the ancient Dhanakaṭaka, and therefore, it is but natural that people in the neighbourhood of Dharaṇikōṭa or Dhanakaṭaka and the adjoining districts should remember the monarch and his great exploits for a long time. These local traditions refer to the destruction of Buddhism and Jainism by Trilōcana-Pallava. They refer to innumerable grants of *agrahāras* to Brāhmaṇas in the neighbourhood of Dharaṇikōṭa. A large number of inscriptions of the Telugu Cōḷa chieftains of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries of the Andhra country speak of the contemporaneity of Trilōcana Pallava and Karikāla Cōḷa.[1] Almost all of them contain in the formal preamble the following statement: *Caraṇa-sarōruha vihata lōcana Trilōcana-pramukh-ākhila Pṛthvīs'vara-kārita Kāvērītīra Karikāla*, etc., "Karikāla, on whose lotus feet the eyes of Trilōcana were set, who caused the flood banks of the Cauvēri to be constructed by Trilōcana and other kings of the realm." This statement and the traditions recorded in the inscriptions of the Cāḷukyas clearly establish not only the historicity of Trilōcana-Pallava but also make him a contemporary of Vijayāditya on the one hand and Karikāla, the great Cōḷa king on the other.

Thus from the foregoing traditions and inscripitions, it appears that Trilōcana-Pallava who has been identified as Vijaya Skandavarman IV was a mighty king who reigned for a long time. It also appears from them that his reign was crowded with intermittent wars on all sides of his extensive empire. During the reign of his father as the *Yuvamahārāja* and later during the early part of his own reign, 460—470 A. D., Trilōcana-Pallava seems to have been eonnected with Andhradesa, and fought fiercely against the Viṣṇukuṇḍiṇ king, Mādhavavarman II. Then there came the revolt of the Cāḷukya prince

1 *Trilōcana Pallava and Karikāla Cōḷa*, p. 37 Appendix *A*.

which proved abortive in the end. (*c.* 470 A. D.) And no sooner was the Cāḷukya prince slain and his revolt nipped in the bud, than began the wars with the Kadamba king, Mṛgēśavarman in the west. It took some years apparently for the Pallava monarch to recover from the great military shock which his imperial arms had suffered in Kuntala about 475 A. D. Then arose again conflicts in Andhradesa with Mādhavavarman II, who was the victor in the end, and the successful invasion and occupation of Kāñci and Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam by Karikāla Cōḷa. Trilōcana-Pallava tried only in vain to oppose the aggressive Cōḷa monarch, who inflicted upon him a series of reverses in quick succession, and in the end after fierce fighting reduced him to complete subjection. This event may be placed between 480 and 485 A. D. With the fall, rather the subjugation of Trilōcana-Pallava, *c.* 485 A. D., the history of the Pallava dynasty becomes once more obscure.

Chronology of the reign of Trilōcana Pallava or Vijaya Skandavarman IV. A resumē

From the date of Trilōcana-Pallava's fall (*c.* 485 A. D.) till almost the rise of Śāntivarman or Caṇḍadaṇḍa about the dawn of the sixth century A. D. the glory of the Pallava dynasty was completely eclipsed by the ascendancy of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins on the one hand and the Cōḷas on the other. If tradition is to be believed, from about 485 A. D. till the time of his death which may be placed about 490 A. D., Trilōcana Pallava seems to have ruled as an obscure vassal king of Karikāla Cōḷa the Great. The construction of the flood banks of the Cauveri by Trilōcana at the bidding of Karikāla may be assigned to this period. The event may be true, for there is nothing in the tradition to mitigate against its historic value. Trilōcana-Pallava suffered the deepest humiliation, unheard of in the annals of the Pallava dynasty, much to the delight of his enemies and chagrin of his race. He must have died in disgrace if tradition is to be true; and this event is somewhat similar to the death of the great Corsican, Napoleon Buonaparte in St. Helena. Trilōcana-Pallava's fall was indeed great, for he was a mighty and invincible monarch at one time. He died without avenging the wrongs which the enemy had inflicted upon him and the task of

Fall of Trilōcana-Pallava. c. 485 A. D.

wreaking vengeance and wiping out the disgrace of his house was left only to his descendants.

Shortly after the downfall of Vijaya Skandavarman IV, or Trilōcana-Pallava, the Pallavas were dislodged from Southern Andhradesa by the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king. The vigorous expansion of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins under a succession of able and energetic kings who enjoyed the support of the Imperial Vākaṭakas of the North and the virile Kadambas of the west and, the devastating reverses inflicted by the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, Kadambas and Cōḷas in succession during the last quarter of the fifth century and after, were the causes for the dwindling of the Pallava dominions in Southern Andhradesa. The provinces of the Southern Andhra country therefore completely passed into the hands of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins of Amarapura.[1] This new power appears to be the first dynasty to consolidate the whole of Andhradesa and bring it again under the sway of a single dynasty, roughly two centuries after the fall of the Imperial Ikṣvākus.

The Cōḷa supremacy in the Pallava kingdom did not evidently last long. It was an impossible task even for a rising and aggressive power like the Cōḷas to destroy the Pallava dynasty completely. Tradition too is silent about Karikāla Cōḷa's successors, Mahimāna Cōḷa and Karikāla Cōḷa II, who were probably not strong enough to keep down the Pallava power. According to tradition recorded in literature and inscriptions, there seem to have been dynastic feuds and rivalry, and consequently the military strength of the Cōḷas was considerably impaired. Nothing is known about the reign of Mahimāna or Māvan Kiḷḷi and his successors who apparently fought amongst themselves and quickly declined. The power and prestige of the Cōḷas which rose like a meteor during the reign of Karikāla Cōḷa the Great quickly vanished after his death. And when the Cōḷa power which swept along the Pallava Empire like a terrific storm had passed away, Kāñcīpura was recaptured and once more the Pallava supremacy was

Weak successors of Karikāla Cōḷa the Great and end of the Cōḷa rule. c. 490—500 A. D.

1 See Book IV below.

completely restored. The descendants of Karikāla Cōḷa were conquered and subdued. They became vassals of the Pallava kings of Kāñci. And the Cōḷas did not emerge as a paramount power till the dawn of the ninth century.[1] The capture of Kāñcīpura back from the Cōḷas was a remarkable event in the history of the Early Pallavas. The event may be placed between 510—520 A. D.

The first blow to the Cōḷa domination of the Pallava kingdom seems to have been delivered by Śāntivarman. The death of Karikāla Cōḷa removed the greatest military genius of the age. His successors had none of his genius or military strength.

14. Śāntivarman surnamed Caṇḍadaṇḍa c. 493—503 A. D. and the end of the Cōḷa *Interregnum*.

Caṇḍadaṇḍa, therefore, could easily conquer his Cōḷa contemporary, and restore the fallen glory of his house. But he was not destined to remain long on the throne and complete the task of destroying the Cōḷa power. He would appear to have been slain on a battlefield in distant Kuntala, as has been shown above, at the hands of his implacable foe Ravivarman. His sudden death brought once more confusion into the Pallava kingdom. His death, as indicated elsewhere, would seem to have synchronised with the rise of Ravivarman in 502–03 A. D. Thereafter nothing more is known about Caṇḍadaṇḍa.

The course of events by which the Pallava dynasty came to be firmly established again at Kāñci is not clear from any records, contemporary or later. But one fact stands out clearly. The successors of Śāntivarman put an end to the Cōḷa occupation

15. Kumāraviṣṇu II c. 503—520 A. D.

and the Cōḷa *Interregnum* in the Pallava kingdom. As stated elsewhere the successor of Śāntivarman appears to be his own younger brother Kumāraviṣṇu II, and therefore, the second son of Vijaya Skandavarman IV. The destruction of the Cōḷa power, the recapture of Kāñci and the name of the great king who accomplished the task are recorded in the Vēlūrpāḷayam plates. The record states that "Kumāraviṣṇu

1 The Cōḷa dynasty that established itself at Tañjāpurī (Tañjāvūr) seems to be a different family though it traced its descent from Karikāla Cōḷa the Great.

captured Kāñcīpura and won victories in battle," and that the illustrious king Buddhavarman who was even more powerful than his predecessor was "like the submarine fire to the ocean-like fire of the Cōḷas." Thus it appears that the Pallavas retrieved their fallen glory sometime after the death of Vijaya Skandavarman IV; and the event may be placed with reasonable certainty in the beginning of the sixth century. The period of Cōḷa *Interregnum* does not appear to have lasted more than two or perhaps three decades. The rise of Kumāraviṣṇu II and the capture of Kāñcīpura, therefore, may be placed in the first quarter of the sixth century.[1] Further, Kumāraviṣṇu II and Buddhavarman may be identified with the grandfather and father respectively of the donor of the Cendalūru plates. Thus according to the chronology that has been adopted by us, the Kumarāviṣṇu who put an end to the Cōḷa occupation of the Pallava kingdom and restored the sovereignty of the Pallava dynasty would be Kumarāviṣṇu II, and the Buddhavarman who destroyed the Cōḷa army like submarine fire would be Buddhavarman II, son of Kumāraviṣṇu II. The reign of Kumarāviṣṇu II was not a peaceful one even according to the Vēlūrpālayam plates, which state that he fought several battles. These battles which must have been fought against the Cōḷas. His son Buddhavarman II was also a great soldier, for it would appear that he destroyed the Cōḷa power completely during the period of the successors of Karikāla Cōḷa the Great.

Perhaps the successor or Kumāraviṣṇu II was his grand-uncle, Nandivarman I, the donor of the Udayēndiram plates. Professor Kielhorn who edits the inscription believes it to be a spurious one, imitated in a later period from the Uruvupalli grant of *Yuvamahārāja* Viṣṇugōpavarman, on account of the extreme slovenliness of the wording and irregular character of the alphabet among other things. Prof. Kielhorn's suspicion may not be the last word on the matter. The fact that the inscription contains a Sanskrit endorsement which is found

1 Earlier writers have identified this Kumāraviṣṇu with Kumāraviṣṇu I the founder of the Pallava dynasty.

only in that of Nandivarman-Pallavamalla and another in Tamil in the twenty-sixth year of Parāntaka I, does merely show that the present grant is a copy from an earlier original that had been lost. The characters of the record are undoubtedly of a later type; none the less Nandivarman, may be assigned to the first quarter of the sixth century, after Kumāraviṣṇu II and before the rise of Simhavarman IV. He may have been a usurper, who taking advantage of the tumultuous times, superseded Buddhavarman II and occupied the throne. The inscription records that king Nandivarman, son of Skandavarman, grandson of Simhavarman and great-grandson of Skandavarman, gave the village of Kāñcīvāyal and four pieces of forest land in the district of Aḍayāra, to Kulas'arman of the Kaus'ika-*gōtra*, Taittirīya-*s'ākha* and Pravacana-*sūtra*. It is dated the fifth lunar day (*tithi*) of the bright half of Vais'ākha in the first year of the king's reign.

16. Nandivarman c. 520--525 A. D.

The Vēlūrpālayam copper-plate inscription mentions a Nandivarman who may reasonably be identified with Nandivarman of the present record. It mentions the fact that Nandivarman "with the favour of Pinākapāṇi (i. e. God Śiva) caused to dance the powerful snake (*Phaṇīndraḥ*) whose poison was in his eyes (*Dṛṣṭiviṣaḥ*)." [2] This passage has been literally translated into English; but really it looks very much like a poetic or veiled expression of a great and memorable historical fact. The term *Phaṇīndraḥ* which occurs also in the preceding verse 6 in connection with Vīrakūrca, has got to be interpreted as meaning a Nāga king or king of the Nāga race rather than as 'the lord of snakes'. Again the term *Dṛṣṭiviṣa* has to be taken as a proper name rather than interpreted literally, as has been done by Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri who edited the inscription. Apparently the poet carried his poetic fancy too far; and in the literal translation into English the

1. *E. I.* III, p. 142ff.

2. Verse 9. ... ... ... ततोजायत नन्दिवर्मा ।

अनुग्रहायेन पिनाकपाणेः प्रनर्त्ततो दृष्टिविषः फणीन्द्रः ॥

historical significance of the fact had been lost sight of.[1] The author of the Vēlūrpālayam plates seems to record apparently that Nandivarman conquered a powerful Nāga king named Dṛṣṭiviṣa and reduced him to vassalage. If this view is correct, the question arises, 'Who was this Dṛṣṭiviṣa and where did he rule?' Dṛṣṭiviṣa actually occurs as the name of a Nāga king in a fragmentary record of a Sinda chief who ruled over Sindavāḍi. The inscription is on a stone set up in the village of Old-Bhatrahalli in Bellary taluk.[2] It gives a long list of titles of a king who belonged to the Sinda family. One of the titles of the king whose name is lost, is that he was 'born of the race of Dṛṣṭiviṣa.' It is obvious therefore that Dṛṣṭiviṣa was a proper name and the name of the ancestor of the Sinda or Nāga king of Sindavāḍi. The district of Sindavāḍi, or *Sindavāḍi One Thousand* as it is also called, seems to have acquired the name from the Sinda family which ruled over the region in the Bellary district and its neighbourhood in the north-west.[3] The Sindas appear to be a Nāga family from the other records of the dynasty. The origin and early history of the Sindas can be gathered to a certain extent from the records of the Sinda Chiefs who were the feudatories of the Western Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇ, the Hoyasalas and the Kaḷacuris. There appear to have been at least three branches of this family,[4] the most celebrated of them being the Sindas of Yelburga. A stone inscription at Bhairnmaṭṭi in the Bhāgalkōṭ taluk, Bijāpūr district, of the reign of western Cāḷukya king Taila II professes to give the origin of the Sinda family.[5] It states that there was a prince named Pulikāla, belonging to the family of serpents, and born in the race of the Nāgas, who had the *nāga-dhvaja* or hooded-serpent banner, the *vyāghra-lāñchana* or tiger crest and the hereditary title of *Bhōgavatīpura-paramēs'vara*, or "Supreme

Dṛṣṭiviṣa: a Nāga king; Lord of Sindavāḍi.

1. Actually Krishna Sastri refers to the historical significance of the verse in a footnote below but earlier writers have not noticed it.

2. *A. R.* No. 198 of 1913.

3. *A. R.* No. 293 of 1913.

4. *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 572-76.

5. *E. I.* III, p. 230.

lord of the town Bhōgavati," which place, in Hindu mythology, was the capital of the Nāga king Vāsuki in Rasātala, one of the seven divisions of Pātāla or the subterranean regions. It then proceeds to give Pulikāla's genealogy. It states that there came from the lower regions the Nāga king Dharaṇēndra from a desire to behold the earth, so praised by the sons of men. There, after some time, was born to him at Ahicchatra in the region of the river Sindhu (Indus?) a son, 'the long armed Sinda'. Dharaṇēndra being perplexed with the birth of a son in human shape, gave the child to a tiger to nourish it. And the tiger in its turn transferred the boy to the care of the lord of snakes. And so he was brought up; eventually he became the lord of the Sinda country and married the daughter of a lord of the Kadambas. Prince Sinda had three sons born of the Kadamba princess, and from them sprang the Sinda-vaṁs'a, or the race of the Sindas.

Apart from the mythological aspect of the origin, two important facts worth noticing as historically possible emerge from this legend. The region of Ahicchatra and the region of the Sindhu may be interpreted to mean the region of the river Kṛṣṇa or its great tributary Bhīmarathi. Secondly, it appears that the Sindas were of the Nāga race and that one of their descendants married a Kadamba princess. These interesting facts show that Dṛṣṭiviṣa, a Nāga king of the Sinda family, was an early ruler of Sindavāḍi, which lay in the region of Bellary and Raicur districts and suggest that he may have been related to the Kadambas, who bore relentless hostility to the Pallavas for over three long centuries.

16. Buddha-varman II c. 520—543 A. D.

No events of the reign of Buddhavarman II, save the fact that he was like the submarine fire to the ocean-like army of the Cōḷas (*Cōḷa-sainyārṇṇava-bāḍabāgniḥ*), have come down to us. His reign may possibly have been crowded with protracted wars with the Cōḷas, which resulted in a final victory to the Pallava arms. Thus it appears that during the period of three or four decades following the death of Vijaya Skandavarman IV, the Pallavas were engaged in a life and death struggle with

the Cōḷas in their own homeland. They were, therefore, unable to revive their traditional policy of hostilities in Southern Andhra country on the north and Kuntala on the west.

At last the glory of the Pallava dynasty was revived; but the disgrace which Vijaya Skandavarman IV had suffered was not wiped out till another half a century or more. The Vēlūrpāḷayam record states that Siṁhavarman wiped off the pride of his enemies and that his victorious son Siṁhavisṇu "quickly seized the country of the Cōḷas, embellished by the daughter of Kavīra, i.e, the Cauveri." 1 This king has been identified with Siṁhavarman IV. With the rise of Siṁhavarman IV *c.* 570-580 A. D., the Pallava dynasty emerged once more as a new and vigorous power; and with his accession began a new epoch in the history of the Pallavas.

Buddhavarman's successor was his son Kuṁāraviṣṇu III, the donor of the Cendalūru plates. This assumption rests on the fact that the alphabet of the Cendalūru plates belongs to the middle of the sixth century on palæographical grounds. The record refers to the grant of a village in Karmarāṣṭra made roughly one and half centuries after the last grant on the Curā plates of Vijaya Viṣṇugōpavarman II in the self same province. During this long period of a century and a half, the Pallavas would appear to have lost their dominion in southern Andhradesa except for a brief spell in the fifth century from about 455 to 480 A. D. which covered the reigns of Siṁhavarman III and his son Trilōcana-Pallava. Now that the Cōlas were vanquished, the Pallavas turned once more to Andhradesa. Both Buddhavarman II and his son Kumāraviṣṇu III appear to be contemporaries of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king, Gōvindavarman. (c. 540–546 A. D.) Govindavarman's sudden death after the disastrous campaign in the north presumably afforded a splendid opportunity to the Pallava king Buddhavarman II or his successor Kumāraviṣṇu III, to invade the Andhra country and annex once more the territory as far as the Kṛṣṇa river to the Pallava Empire. This event may be placed

17. Kumāraviṣṇu III c. 543—548 A. D.

1 S. I. I., II. p. 508ff. verse 10.

about the close of Buddhavarman's reign, c. 543 A. D. The phraseology of the Cendalūru plates supports this conjecture. By the time the grant was issued the Andhra country as far as the Kṛṣṇa was already conquered; for the inscription records a grant which was made for the increase of his longevity, power, victory and supremacy (*āyur-bala-vijay-ais'varyābhi-vṛddhayē*) by Kumāraviṣṇu III in the newly conquered province of Karmarāṣṭra. It appears also that the grant was made in Karmarāṣṭra as a proof of its annexation and the establishment of Pallava dominion once more in that province. The record states that Kumarāviṣṇu III granted to Bhavaskanda Trāta, a Brāhmaṇa of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* and Chandōga *sūtra* and a resident of Abhirūpaduḷḷalūru, a whole field of 432 *paṭṭikas* accompanied by the usual immunities, out of the king's domain of 800 *paṭṭikas* in the village of Cendalūru in the Kavacakāra-*bhōga* of the district Karmarāṣṭra as a *brahmadēya*, with the exception of the *dēvabhōga* or the land enjoyed by the deities in the temples of that village.[1] The edict was commanded from Kāñcīpura where at that time the king stayed. It was dated the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika, in the second year of Kumāraviṣṇu III. It may be assumed that Kumāraviṣṇu III did not reign long after the date of the Cendalūru record. It appears that the Pallavas, sometime after the death of Kumāraviṣṇu III or more probably during his own short reign, lost their dominion in the Southern Andhra country once more to the Visnukundins who swiftly restored their authority in the region lying on the south of the Kṛṣṇa river. It may be believed that Kumāraviṣṇu III lost his life in the fight with the turbulent Cōḷas in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and that event apparently gave the opportunity for the Viṣṇukuṇḍins to drive the Pallavas out of the Southern Andhra country once more. It is also probable that Kumāraviṣṇu III died young and without children and that his line came to an end with him.

1 The Telugu word *Putti* meaning usually a measure of eight acres may have been derived from the Sanskrit *paṭṭika* or *paṭṭi*.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### *The Rise of the line of Siṁhavarman IV.*

Both Kumāraviṣṇu III and Nandivarman I seem to have died without any children to succeed them. This view is based on the fact that in none of the later genealogies these names are mentioned among the ancestors. It is possible, therefore, to believe that with the death of Nandivarman I, the line of Siṁhavarman III came to an end. From the death of Kumāraviṣṇu III, (c. 548 A. D.) till the rise of Siṁhavarman IV, (c. 570 A. D.) the history of the Pallava dynasty becomes once more obscure.

18. Siṁhavarman IV c. 570–580 A. D.

The later Pallava inscriptions of the line of Siṁhavarman IV do not furnish any information about the immediate successors or descendants of Kumāraviṣṇu III. For this reason, it seems that there was no lineal connection between Kumāraviṣṇu III and Siṁhavarman IV. Siṁhavarman IV may be taken, therefore, to be a descendant of the Pallava family, and to belong to a collateral branch unconnected with the line of Siṁhavarman III. Siṁhavarman IV may have seized the sovereignty of Kāñci at this juncture, about the last quarter of the sixth century, by destroying the Cōḷas in the south, and the hostile feudatories in the north and revived the glory of the Pallava dynasty which thereafter lasted nearly four centuries in the south. Siṁhavarman's rise to power sometime after the death of Kumāraviṣṇu III plainly shows that the Pallava dominion in Southern Andhradesa was completely crippled by the powerful Viṣṇukuṇḍins in the north and the Cōḷas in the south. It seems that during this period (548—570 A. D.) the Pallavas suffered serious reverses once more at the hands of the Cōḷas who launched another offensive to wrest the sovereignty of the South. As already stated, Buddhavarman II and Kumāraviṣṇu III would seem to have lost their lives in the renewed conflict with the Cōḷas. And it was only sometime after the death of Kumāraviṣṇu III that Siṁhavarman IV rose to power and finally occupied Kāñcīpura. Apparently his

reign was spent in fighting; it was left to his illustrious son, Siṁhaviṣṇu, to wipe out the pride of his enemies, meaning the Cōḷas, in the language of the Vēlūrpālayam plates.

The successor of Siṁhavarman IV was his son Siṁhaviṣṇu. The Vēlūrpālayam copper-plate inscription states that Siṁhaviṣṇu's prowess was widely known on earth. Accordingly it may be assumed that Siṁhaviṣṇu followed up the victories gained by his father against the Cōḷas and destroyed them completely. The Vēlūrpālayam inscription states that "he quickly seized the country of the Cōḷas, which was embellished by the daughter of Kavīra, i.e. Cauveri, whose ornaments were the paddy fields and where were found brilliant groves of areca palms." This statement of fact is significant. The reign of Siṁhaviṣṇu marks the beginning of the ascendancy of the Pallavas for the third time. During his reign the Pallava sovereignty emerged again with greater glory. The Pallava dynasty had apparently passed through a severe ordeal on account of the expansion and ascendancy of the Cōḷa family, though it was short-lived; and in the end triumphed. The triumph of the Pallava dynasty was indeed a remarkable event: for with it the disgrace inflicted upon Vijaya Skandavarman IV roughly a century ago was completely wiped out.

19. Simhavishnu
c. 580—600 A. D.

Siṁhaviṣṇu was a contemporary of the Western Gaṅga king Durvinīta, (*c* 585—635 A. D.), the author of a commentary on the fifteenth canto of the *Kirātārjunīya* of Bhāravi, and the translator of the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya into Sanskrit. It appears that Bhāravi's companion Dāmōdara, the ancestor of Daṇḍin, was a contemporary of Durvinīta, who being attracted by his poetic talents patronised him in his court. Once allured by the fame of Siṁhaviṣṇu, Dāmōdara sent a verse in praise of the Pallava king who immediately invited him to his court and treated him as his own son.[1]

Siṁhaviṣṇu's successor was his son Mahēndravikramavarman I or Mahēndravarman I, one of the most illustrious.

1 *Avantisundarīkathāsāra* edited by M. Ramakrishna Kavi. 1924, *Introduction*, pp. 3–4.

kings of the Pallava dynasty. With his accession dawned a new epoch in the history of the Pallavās. It marks the end of the Early and the beginning of the Later Pallavas.

As pointed above, the rise of the Cōḷas, the expansion of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and the stormy period through which the Pallava dynasty passed during the fifth and sixth centuries contributed to the loss of the Southern Andhradesa for the Pallava dynasty. The reigns of Siṁhavarman IV and his son Siṁhaviṣṇu were more or less occupied with wars against the Colas. Their reigns were therefore uneventful so far as their relations with the Andhra country were concerned. Therefore nothing is heard about the Pallavas in Southern Andhradesa until we come to the reign of Mahēndravarman I. The Southern Andhra country was again conquered in the reign of Mahēndravikramavarman I after the fall of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins in the first quarter of the seventh century. This fact is established by a stone inscription of his time found in the temple of Kapōtēs'vara, at Cēzerla, *lit*. Ceñjeruvulu or the "City of beautiful lotus tanks" in Narasaraopeta taluk, Guntur district.[1]

20. Mahēndravarman I or Mahēndravikramavarman c. 600—630 A. D.

The inscription is engraved on a pillar placed in the *maṇṭapa* in front of the temple and runs roughly into ninety lines. It is the record of a prince who called himself the daughter's son of a Kandara king of the Ānanda *gōtra* and a vassal of Mahēndravikramavarman, lord of Kāñci. The inscription records the numerous benefactions made by the Kandara king, who was the son of Mahādēvī, the Kandara princess, for the increase of victory, strength and long life of the Kandara family. The record opens with a *pras'asti* of the Ānanda family of Kandarapura. The Kandara family is said to have sprung in the *gōtra* or lineage of the great saint Ānanda. Kandararāja, the father of Mahādēvi, is described as a great king who obtained a signal victory against some

Cēzerla Stone inscription of the Ānanda king.

1 *S. I. I.*, VI, Nos. 594–95.

enemy in the battle of Dhānyakaṭaka by cutting to pieces the enemy's troops of elephants and horses in the thick of a tumultuous fight. Kandararāja is called the 'lord of Beṇṇā' or the Kṛṣṇabeṇṇā, *i. e.* the Kṛṣṇa river, which had become black on account of constant stealing of the *añjana* (collyrium), *candana* (sandal paste) and *lattuka* (vermillion dyed turmeric) of the beautiful Andhra women bathing in her waters. He is called the lord of Trikūṭa; and his victorious banner bore the emblem of *gōlāṅgūla* (black monkey) or Hanuman. Kandararāja was the ruler of two districts or provinces (*janapada-dvitaya*); he built several temples for the increase of his religious merit and the perpetuation of his family. The temple of Kapōtēs'vara at Cēzerla was one of the shrines that lay within his dominions; and as the edifice was completely ruined for causes not specified, the Ānanda king, the grandson of Kandararāja, re-erected it with the assistance and express permission of his overlord, Mahēndravikramavarman of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* and Pallava dynasty. The latter is described with the titles *Vēgavatīsanātha* or the "Lord of the Vēgavatī", Guṇabhara and Avanibhājana in the inscription.[1] The inscription ends with the mention of a gift of land to the masons and other workmen who constructed the temple of Kapōtēs'vara, made by king Guṇabhara, at the request of the Ānanda king. Apparently Mahēndravarman was the Pallava king of that name who reigned in the beginning of the seventh century A. D. Palaeographically too, the record may be assigned to the same period.

There is a piece of strong architectural evidence that connects the re-erection of the temple of Kapōtēs'vara with the Mahēndravikramavarman I, and corroborates the testimony of the inscription. Just outside the north wall of the shrine, there are nine miniature mono-lithic temples about three feet in height, containing phallic emblems of Śiva. In outline these quaint little monuments resemble some of the smaller rock-cut Pallava monolith monuments at Mahābalipuram.[2] These

1 Vēgavatī is the name of a small stream which flows by the southern side of the city, Conjeevaram, as an arm of the Pālār. (See *Chingleput District Manual.*)

2 *Annual Report Archl. Dept. Southern Circle*, 1917–18, p. 30.

monuments seem to be votive shrines set up by pious pilgrims in early times, but more likely to be ornamental structures set up by Mahēndravarman himself at the time of the re-erection of the temple.

The record in the shrine of Kapōtēs'vara is, therefore, interesting, for it shows that the Ānanda dynasty had existed from about the beginning of the fourth till the first quarter of the seventh century. It appears that during this long period, the Ānanda family flourished, sometimes as a paramount power and sometimes as a feudatory family, and as will be seen in the following chapter, always struggling to establish its supremacy. Incidentally the Cēzerla inscription also indicates that after the fall of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, about the second decade of the seventh century, Mahēndravarman I extended his sway once more in the north as far as the Kṛṣṇa river. It is probable that the Pallava king conquered Southern Andhradesa about that time, that is, shortly after the storm of the invasion of the Western Cāḷukya king Pulikēs'in II had passed away. The Cāḷukya conquest of the Andhra country had resulted in uprooting the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty. The successors of Mādhavavarman III were not strong enough to dislodge the Cāḷukyas from the Andhra country. And there were probably other causes too that paved the way for the Cāḷukya occupation of the Andhra country. The kingdom of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins was, as it were, caught and overwhelmed in a great political storm on all sides. The last of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins had more enemies to fight than allies to help him in that dark hour. During that interval between the fall of Mādhavavarman III *c.* 610 A. D. and the establishment of the Cāḷukya dynasty by Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana in 624 A. D.[1] the Pallava king appears to have taken advantage of the troubled condition of Andhradesa and annexed the southern Andhra country as far as the Kṛṣṇa once more. This supposition accounts satisfactorily for the appearance of a record at Cēzerla which mentions the Pallava overlord of the Ānanda king of Karmarāṣṭra.

1 See my article on the *Revised Chronology of the Eastern Cāḷukyas* in the *J. A. H. R. S.* IX, Part 4.

The Pallavas remained in possession of Southern Andhradesa for sometime till the rise of Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana, when they were finally defeated and driven out of the land by him. The event may be placed about c. 635 A. D. The death of Mahēndravikramavarman I was perhaps the opportunity for the Eastern Cāḷukya expansion in the southern Andhra country. Narasimhavarman, the successor of Mahēndravarman I was at that time too greatly absorbed in his wars against the Western Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi (Vātāpi) to resist the Cāḷukya expansion in southern Andhra country. Eager to avenge the wrongs inflicted by Pulikēs'in II during the reign of his father, the Pallava king evidently paid no attention to the expansion of the Eastern Cāḷukya expansion under Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana. Thus the Pallavas came to lose the southern Andhra country to the Eastern Cāḷukyas for ever. The attempt to unite and consolidate the entire Andhra country under a single paramount power, which was attempted by the Viṣṇukuṇḍins but interrupted on more than one occasion, was completely and finally achieved by the Eastern Cāḷukya dynasty. The inscriptions of some of the feudatory families, that ruled on the southern bank of the Kṛṣṇa during the twelfth century and later, testify to this fact in unmistakeable terms. Buddhavarman, the ancestor of the Durjaya family of Nādeṇḍla, and a descendant of the eponymous king Durjaya, is stated to have obtained a fief of seventy-three villages in the region called Giripas'cimasīma from Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana as a reward for military services on battlefields.[1] Giripas'cima-sīma or Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi-sīma comprises the modern taluks of Narasaraopet, Guntur and a portion of Viṇukoṇḍa in Guntur district, that is, the region to the west of which lies the Hill, Tripurāntakam.

1 *S. I. I.* IV. No. 662; text lines 1—16; *E. I.*, VI, p. 268ff. textlines 1—16.

APPENDIX

## *General Features.*

We shall present a resume of the chief characteristics of the Pallava dynasty. The Pallavas were a northern family that migrated into the South through Aparānta, Koṅkan and Kuntala. At any rate, the Pallava family appears to have sprung into existence as a Brāhmaṇa family in north-western Deccan. As a ruling family, they inherited the culture, traditions and even the language of the Imperial Śātavāhanas, under whom they first obtained the first semblance of power and settled down in the Deccan. In the larger sense of the term the Pallavas were the political successors of the Śātavāhanas; but in a limited sense they were the successors of the Cuṭu-Śātakarṇis or Andhrabhṛtyas of Vanavāsa and the Śrīparvatīya-Andhras of Vijayapurī, for it was from these subordinate Andhra dynasties that the Pallavas wrested the sovereignty of the South. They planted, fostered and enriched the Northern or the Brahmanical culture in the South. Their imperial capital Kāñcīpura, as a centre of Northern culture and civilisation in the South, became a counter-part of Kāśī (Vārāṇaśi), Pratiṣṭhāna (Paiṭhan) and Dhanakaṭaka (Amarāvati) in the South. The crest of the Pallavas was *vṛṣabha-lāñchana*, 'the bull symbol', which was evidently the *nandin*, the *vāhana* (vehicle) of God Śiva. The *vṛṣabha* symbol constantly appears on the seals of the Pallava charters in an easily recognisable form. It appears sometimes in a recumbent pose facing the proper right and sometimes standing. The Pallava banner was *Khaṭvāṅga* or *Khaṭvāṅga-dhvaja*, *i. e.* a club or a staff with a human skull at the top of it and belonging to God Śiva. While these facts point to the Pallavas being worshippers of Śiva, the invocation to God Viṣṇu which appears always at the beginning of the preamble of their family charters and the epithet *Parama Bhāgavataḥ* that is borne by the kings unmistakeably points to view that the Pallavas were devotees of God Viṣṇu. And this belief is

*A Resume.*

strengthened also by the fact that the names of some of the kings, contain the suffix *Viṣṇu.*

A study in detail of the political institutions and administration of the Pallavas is beyond the scope of the present enquiry. The Pallava Polity can only be traced here in outline. The Pallava dynasty copied the administrative system of the Imperial Andhras. The empire was divided into a number of provinces or *rāṣṭras* which were placed under the rulership of (*vyāpṛtas*) or governors. Each *rāṣṭra* had its own provincial capital. We hear of such *rāṣṭras* frequently in the records of the family, such as Karmarāṣṭra, Veṅgōrāṣṭra, Muṇḍarāṣṭra, Śātavāhanihāra or rāṣṭra, Aḍeyara, or Aḍeyar(āṣṭra) and the like. Some of the provincial capitals which are mentioned in the inscriptions are Tāmbrapasthāna, Kaḍaka, Kaṭaka or Dhañakaḍa, Das'anapura, Palakkada and others. Each *rāṣṭra* seems to be sub-divided into a number of *bhōgas* or *viṣayas i. e.* districts. One such sub-division is referred to in the Cendalūru plates of Kumāraviṣṇu III. Apparently each *bhōga* contained a number of *grāmas* or villages. The *grāma* seems to have been the revenue unit of administration in the kingdom. The term *grāma* may not be understood to represent a village in the modern sense of the word. The *grāma* seems to represent also a group of villages, consisting of one main revenue paying village supported by a number of *grāmaṭikas* or hamlets. The *agrahāras* and *dēvabhōgas* did not apparently come under the description of *grāma* as they did not pay any taxes to the king. It appears a register or an account was maintained by the royal officials in each *rāṣṭra*, in which the sub-divisions (*bhōgas*), the royal villages (*grāmas*) with their respective boundaries in great detail, and the various customary tithes, taxes and tributes levied by the king, were carefully recorded. The village boundaries were drawn up and maintained with great care and accuracy by the local officers. These officers are mentioned sometimes in the following order, as *adhikṛtāḥ*, *āyuktakāḥ*, *naiyōgikāḥ*, *rāja-vallabhāḥ* and *sañcārantakāh.* What exactly the functions of these officials

Administration.

*Grāma* and *grāmaṭikas.*

were, it is difficult to say. The local officers kept a record of the King's domain in the village as well as of the land that was regarded as *Dēva-bhōga* or *dēvabhōga-hala*, or land cultivated for the enjoyment of gods, established in the temples of the locality and the holdings that were given away as *brahmadēya* or freehold tenures to Brāhmaṇas, with all kinds of exemptions and immunities, from time to time by the sovereigns. It also appears that the royal officers of the locality kept an accurate account of all taxes and tithes that were payable to the King and that they collected regularly and remitted them promptly to the royal treasury. The royal officers in each village (*grāma*) and district (*bhōga* or *viṣaya*) maintained a register which showed the number of *paṭṭikas* of arable land in each *grāma* in the locality and how much of it was King's property and how much was *brahmadēya* or *dēvabhōga*. Accordingly great care was bestowed by the King and his subordinates when grants of charity were made to learned and pious Brāhmaṇas, to exclude the holdings that were being held and enjoyed as freehold tenures by the gods and Brāhmaṇas. The Uruvupalli copper-plate grant of Viṣṇugōpavarman contains an instance of the kind. The edict states as follows:—"In this village there are two hundred entire *nivartanas*.[1] The limits of these *nivartanas* are:—On the west the boundaries of the village of Keṇḍukūra are the limit; on the south, the river Suprayōga is the limit; on the east, the same is the limit; to the north by south of the east, there is a rock on the side of the *Mahāpatha* (Great Road); proceeding thence to the north, there is a tamarind tree; proceeding thence to the north, there is a rock on the road to the village of Kurupūra and to the village of Keṇḍukūra; proceeding thence to the north, there is a heap of rocks (*śilōpalayaṁ*) proceeding thence to the north, there is a rock on the limit of the cultivation field of the Brāhmaṇas in the village of Kurupūra; on the north, the limit is a large tamarind tree surrounded by a heap of rocks; proceeding thence to the west, the limit is the edge of the boundaries of the village of

Royal officers in the District (*Viṣaya*.)

1 A *nivartana* is a measure of land, 20 rods or 200 cubits or 40,000 *hastas* square.

Koṇḍamuruvuḍu. Having made these some two hundred *nivartanas* of area which is in the centre of those four boundary limits a *dēvabhōga* for the god Viṣṇuhārdēva residing in the *dēvakula* at Keṇḍukūra, which was founded by the General, Viṣṇuvarman, it has been given by Us, invested with immunity from taxation of the eighteen kinds...........Bearing this in mind, let all the functionaries and all in authority in the district (*sarva-āyuktakāḥ*, *sarva-naiyyōgikāḥ*, *rāja-vallabhāḥ* and *sañcārantakāḥ*), treat that same area with immunity from all taxation, and cause it to be treated in the same way by others."

The Cendalūru plates of Kumarāviṣṇu III contain another illustration of the kind. The edict runs as follows:—"In the village of Cendalūru, in Kavacakārabhōga (a sub-division) of this district of Kammāṅka-rāṣṭra, the king's domain (*rāja-vastu*) in the four directions amounts to eight hundred *paṭṭikas*. Of this, amounting altogether to four hundred and thirty two *paṭṭikas* are given *brahmadēya*, with the exception of the land enjoyed by temples (*dēvabhōga*), for cultivation, accompanied by all immunities, to the Brāhmaṇa, Bhavaskanda Trāta", etc. etc.

The grants of the king were usually drafted by the head of the royal secretariat, an officer known by the appellation *Rahasādhikṛta* (*Rahasādhikata*) or 'Privy Councillor'. The names of such privy council lords and executors of the royal edicts have been preserved in the Pallava grants. The Hirahaḍagalli plates mention *Rahasādhika* Bhaṭṭis'arman, the *bhōjaka* of Kolivāla, the British Museum plates of Cārudēvī speak of an officer named Rōhiṇīgupta, the Viḷaveṭṭi grant of Siṁhavarman II refers to Acyuta and the Māṅgaḍūr plates mention the officer Nēmi. It is usual for the king to command the edict in person announcing the charity by word of mouth; and the order was then communicated either by the sovereign himself or by the officer deputed for the purpose to the *grāmēyakāḥ* or 'the villagers' and other local officers for execution, after it was drafted in writing and engraved on copper-plates as in the case of Uruvupalli charter and the

second set of Omgōḍu plates of Siṁhavarman II or sometimes to the royal officer *vyāpṛta* in the district, or *āyuktakas* and *sarvādhyakṣa* as in the case of the Mayidavōle, British Museum and Cendalūru plates respectively. In the last mentioned record the *niyōgika* is also added. The Hirahaḍagalli plates, one of the earliest edicts of the Pallavas, mention in detail almost all the King's Officers from the royal princes down to the inhabitants of the (*grāma*) villages in the province. There were usually in the provinces, the royal princes (*rāja-kumāra*) who were in charge of the administration of the locality as the King's representatives, the commander of the provincial army (*sēnāpati*), rulers of the districts (*rāṣṭrika or raṭhika*), chief collectors of customs and tolls (*maḍambika*) local prefects (*dēs'ādhika*), collectors of King's revenue (*vallabha* or *rāja-vallabha*); protector of cattle (*gō-vallabha*), *amātyas*, judicial officers and others. Besides these, there were also the free-holders of villages (*grāma-bhōjakas*) forest guards (*araṇyādhikas*), *tuthikas*, *neyikas* ?, captains (*gumikas*), roaming spies (*añcārantakas*), armed men who acted like Police (*bhadra-maṇusya*), and several others.

The great Pallava Empire was administered by a strong and highly centralised government of the King. The sovereign was the supreme head. He was the fountain of everything. He was the personification of the entire state. The entire kingdom was his own domain. The King alone could make a grant of a piece of land or village to any person, deity or institution. No one else, except the *Yuvamahārāja* and the Queen-consort, could make a grant of land, with all exemptions and immunities of the traditional 'eithteen kinds' of taxes and tithes payable to the royal treasury. There were several kinds of revenue, dues levied by the king. They were not levied from lands and villages granted as *brahmadēya* and *dēvabhōga* tenures. The King enjoyed the sole right or monopoly to demand the supply of milk, butter-milk, ghee, and other articles, from the villages for the use of civil and military officers who toured the districts on King's duty as well as for the use of the regular and irregular troops that passed through the villages. Therefore, in all the

grants to *Brāhmaṇas* and *Dēvas* (gods), the entry of regular and irregular troops into the *brahmadēya* and *dēvabhōga* villages was strictly prohibited. The King had also the monopoly of digging for salt and the manufacture of sugar. The revenue paying villages (*grāma*) were also bound to supply bullocks in succession to carry King's men, arms and other things from place to place during the progress of the army in the district or during a war or military campaign. The King had the preferential right to utilise the grass, wood, vegetables and flowers that grow in the villages. His soldiers had to be quartered and billeted by the householders during the march of the army; and the villagers were bound to supply articles of food, water, water-pots, cots and provide rest-houses for the troops.[1] In short, the King enjoyed the absolute right to utilise everything that was available in the village for the purpose of the State. Evidently the principle appears to have been 'everything in the kingdom was primarily for the use of the king and the kingdom, and only secondarily for the people.' First came the Gods, then the Brāhmaṇas, then the King or the State and lastly the *Kuṭumbins* or householders.

King's right or monopoly in the villages.

The Pallava kings were absolute monarchs, but they were not tyrants and irresponsible despots, as the expression 'absolute monarch' might suggest itself to the students of Medieval History. Those kings were supremely conscious of their duty, of their *rāja-dharma*, as the chosen rulers of the kingdom, to protect their people and the kingdom, according to the traditional Aryan culture which they inherited and imbibed as true Kṣatriyas. They therefore considered themselves to be the soul of the state or the kingdom. It is most astonishing to notice that with this supreme self-consciousness as *Dharma-Mahārajas* and *Dharma-Mahārajādhirājas* the Pallava kings got their *praśasti* in the formal preambles of their charters drafted, so that it might be a constant reminder to them of their pious kingly duties and responsi-

1 The Hirahaḍagalli and Mayidavōlu plates.

bilities and prevent them from becoming unwittingly the oppressors of the people. Even during the period of their most distressing wars and protracted military campaigns, the Pallava kings took particular care not to disturb the peace of their kingdom. Their sole desire was to govern their people in a righteous, benevolent and paternal manner. They prided themselves by attaching epithets like *satya-pratijñasya* 'one who is true to his word,' *Satya-prāṇa* 'the true hearted,' *Mahātmanaḥ* 'broad-minded' and the like to their personal names. They styled themselves as *dharmamahārājādhirāja* "the righteous supreme king of great kings" and *dharma-mahārāja* 'the righteous great king'.[1] They called themselves *prajā-pālana-dakṣasya* 'as being skilful in protecting their subjects,' *lōka-pālanāṁ pañcamasya lōkapālasya* 'the fifth Lōkapāla of the Lōkapālas,[2] *prajārañjana-pari-pālan-ōdyōga-satata-satra-vrata-dīkṣasya* 'who have been initiated into the charitable vows of the continuous occupation of pleasing and protecting their subjects,'[3] and *Rajarṣi-guṇa-sarva-sandōha vijigīṣo-ddharma vijigīṣasya* 'who have been desirous of surpassing all the collection of meritorious qualities of kingly saints.'[4] Their undertaking of every task was actuated by a desire for securing the prosperity of mankind, *lōkōpacaya pratyakta sarvārambhaḥ*.[5] They were refined by learning and culture and were always zealous in supporting *dharma* which had been almost destroyed by the sins of the Kali Age. They even desired to surpass 'religion' (*dharma vijigīṣaḥ*) itself. It is no wonder, therefore, that the great Pallava dynasty, whose ideals were so lofty and deeds so noble, reigned in South India continuously for a period of seven long centuries, from about the middle of the third to about the close of the ninth century A. D.

The King.

1 *E. I.*, XV, p. 249ff. text line 6; *Ibid*, p. 253ff. text line 12.
2 *Ind. Ant.* V., p. 51ff.
3 *Ibid.*
4 *Ind. Ant.* V, p. 155f.
5 *Ibid*, text lines 11-12.

## Book III

I. The Bṛhatphalāyanas of Kōḍūra.

II. The Ānandas of Kandarapura.

III. The Śālaṅkāyanas of Vēṅgī.

IV. The Māṭhara Dynasty of Kalinga.

CHAPTER I.

## *The Bṛhatphalāyanas of Kōḍūra or Kūḍūra.*

### Jayavarman, c. 270—285 A. D.

The downfall of the Ikṣvāku dynasty, which held under its imperial sway the entire Andhradesa and her contiguous territories, resulted in the breaking-up of the solidarity of the Empire into a number of small independent kingdoms. It resulted in the rise of some feudatory families to paramount power. According to the testimony of the inscriptions of this period two such dynasties, the Bṛhatphalāyanas and the Ānandas, appear to have risen to power immediately after the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman I had overthrown the last of the Ikṣvākus and annexed the Southern Andhra country to his dominions. The earlier of the two dynasties seems to be the Bṛhatphalāyanas, from a solitary record of that family which comes from Koṇḍamudi in the Tenāli taluk. The record is that of *Mahārāja* Jayavarman of the Bṛhatphalāyana *gōtra* or family, who called himself *Mahēśvara-pāda-parigṛhītaḥ*, 'one who is favoured by the feet of Mahēśvara (Śiva) *i. e.*, worshipper of Śiva. The inscription states that from his capital or rather from the victorious camp (*skandhāvāra*) pitched after a victorious battle at or near the city of Kūḍūra, *Mahārāja* Jayavarman issued a command to his governor (*vyāpṛta*) of his capital Kūḍūra announcing that he had granted the village of Pāṇṭūra in the district of Kūḍūra (*Kūḍūra-hāra*) to eight Brāhmaṇas, all specified by their names. The edict further states that the entire village was converted into a *brahmadēya*, divided into twenty four shares and distributed among the donees, headed by Savagutaja (Śarvaguptārya). Accordingly, it appears that the donees obtained shares in the following manner:— Savagutaja, a householder (*jāyāpara*) of the Gautama-*gōtra*, eight shares; Savigija of the Tānavya-*gōtra*, three shares; Goginaja (Gōginārya) three shares; Bhāvaṁnaja (Bhāvanārya) of the Kauṇḍinya-*gōtra*, two shares; Rudaveṇhuja (Rudraviṣṇ-

Koṇḍamudi plates of Jayavarman.

vārya) of the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*, one and a half shares; Īsaradataja (Īs'varadattārya) of the Kārṣṇāyana-*gōtra*, one and a half shares; Rudaghōsaja (Rudraghoṣārya) of the Aupamaṇyava-*gōtra*, one share ; and Khaṁdarudaja (Skandarudrārya) of the Kaus'ika *gōtra*, half a share.[1] The edict was engraved on copper-plates by the *Mahātagavara Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Bhāpahānavarman, and dated the first day of the first fortnight of the winter season in the tenth year of the reign of king Jayavarman.

The village of Pāṇṭūra having been "parcelled off from the district (*hāra*) and made a *brahmadēya* village", the edict states, "was exempted from all taxes, immunities (*parihāra*) and obligations payable to the king." The *parihāras* or exemptions mentioned in the grant are interesting and noteworthy. They are *apāpesaṁ*, *anomasaṁ*, *aloṇa-khādakaṁ* (*alavaṇakhādakaṁ*), *araṭhasaṁvināyakaṁ* and *Sava-jāti-parihārikaṁ*. The term *apāpesaṁ* evidently seems to mean *abhaṭapravēs'aṁ* or exemption from the passing of king's regular troops through the village or even camping near the place." The word *anomasaṁ* represents *anavamṛsyaṁ* and must be taken to mean 'exemption from being meddled with by any of the royal officers for purposes of levy of any supplies etc.' The word *aloṇakhādakaṁ* means 'immunity from the monopoly of the royal officers to dig up earth for salt.'[2] The fourth term *araṭhasaṁvināyakaṁ* represents the Sanskrit *arāṣṭra saṁvināyakaṁ* and may mean 'the exemption from being interfered with or entered into, by any of the royal officer of the *rāṣṭra* or district. Another interesting feature of the edict is that the order announcing the gift of *brahmadēya* was issued by the King to the *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* (the Generalassimo) *Mahātagavara* (The Lord Chief Justice) Bhāpahānavarman by word of mouth (*aviyēna ānataṁ*) and, when it was reduced to writing on copper-plates, was signed and sealed (*svayaṁchato*) by the king Jayavarman himself as

The grant.

1 Koṇḍamudi plates of Jayavarman (*E. I.* VI, p. 315ff.)

2 In some of the interior villages of Andhradesa there was till very recently a practice of collecting salt-earth called *cavuḍu* from ruined houses and sites and making salt from it. In some villages even to-day where washing soda is not available washermen collect the salt earth for purposes of washing and cleansing the soiled clothes.

*Bṛhatphalāyanasa gōtrasya Mahārāja Śrī Jayavarmaṇaḥ*, "the seal of the Mahārāja, the glorious Jayavarman, who belongs to the *gōtra* of Bṛhatphalāyana."

The inscription is written in an alphabet which closely resembles the characters of the Prakrit grants of the Early Pallavas and, in the Prakrit language. These two facts show that king Jayavarman lived in or about the same period as the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman I, the donor of the Mayidavōlu plates and the Hirahaḍagalli grant and his son Vijaya Buddhavarman I mentioned in the British Museum plates of Cārudēvī. Śivaskandavarman I, (c. 265—275 A. D.) or more probably his son Vijaya Buddhavarman I, appears to have been, as stated above, an early contemporary of *Mahārāja* Jayavarman. The Bṛhatphalāyana king appears to have risen to power immediately on the death of Śivaskandavarman I, defeated Vijaya Buddhavarman and drove out the Pallavas from the Southern Andhra country. Jayavarman's reign, which synchronised with the reign of Vijaya Buddhavarman I and probably also with that of his son Buddhyāṅkura seems to have witnessed the short-lived glory of the Bṛhatphalāyaṇas. The utter absence of any records of the Pallava family of this period and the extinction of the line of Vijaya Buddhavarman I shortly after, clearly indicate that the Pallavas were heavily defeated and even their sovereignty was threatened to be destroyed by the Bṛhatphalāyana king. But in the end, it appears that king Jayavarman's himself was defeated and slain by the Pallava king, who may have been either Buddhyāṅkura or his uncle Vīravarman or more likely Vijaya Skandavarman II.

Probable date of Jayavarman.

The localities mentioned in this record, (namely Pāṇṭūra or Pāṭūra, Kūḍūra and Kūḍūra-hāra) can be identified easily. Pāṇṭūra or Pāṭūra is the modern Pāṭūru on the Kṛṣṇa river in Tenāli taluk, and is situated to the east of Koṇḍamudi, where the record was found. Kūḍūra-hāra or 'the district of Kūḍūra seems to have been the name of the region lying on either bank of the Kṛṣṇa and extending to the sea. Pāṇṭūra and Koṇḍamudi appear, therefore, to have been situated in the

western division of the district Kūḍūra. Kūḍūra-hāra, named apparently after the capital Kūḍūra of the Bṛhatphalāyana kingdom in which Pāṇṭūra lay, may be identified with the modern tālūkas of Divi and Masulipatam in the Kistna district and Rēpalli taluk in the Guntur district. The identification of Kūḍūra has not been satisfactorily made till now. Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil identifies Kūḍūra the capital (*nagara*), with Gūḍūru a small village three miles to the west of Masulipatam.[1] The identification is not correct. Obviously, the French savant seems to have been carried away by the close resemblance between the names Gūḍūru and Kūḍūra. He supports his conclusion by quoting a passage from the Greek Geographer Ptolemy wherein three sea-ports or emporiums are mentioned, near the mouth of the river Kṛṣṇa namely, Koṇṭakossyla—a mart, Koḍḍūra and Allosygne, situated at the mouth of the Maisolus.[2] Koṇṭakossyla—a mart, is no doubt identical with the presant flourishing village of Ghaṇṭasāla, the ancient Kaṇṭakaśaila of the inscriptions, situated about thirteen miles due west of Masulipatam in the Callapalli zamīndāri of the Divi taluk. Allosygne, the point of departure for ships bound for Khryse cannot now be safely identified. It must have been a great harbour at the mouth of theriver Kṛṣṇa and long ago gone out of existence on account of erosion of the sea. Possibly it may have stood at the mouth of the northern or left arm of the Kṛṣṇa and not far from the Bṛhatphalāyana capital Kūḍūra and the celebrated mart Kontakasaila. Allosygne perhaps represents Avanigaḍḍa on the Kṛṣṇa which lies eight miles to the west of Kōḍūru or some submerged adjacent city near the sea. But Kōḍūra or Koḍḍūra of Ptolemy, which seems to be the same as Kōḍūra the capital of the Bṛhatphalāyanas, is the same as Kōḍūru which lies further to the east of Ghaṇṭasāla. Kōḍūra is situated about ten miles from Ghaṇṭasāla on the left bank of the northern arm of the Kṛṣṇa and close to the sea.

Identification of the localities mentioned in the grant.

The identification of Koḍḍūra as Kōḍūru.

1 *Ancient History of the Deccan*. pp. 86–87.

2 *Ibid*. pp. 87–88.

The village is full of ruins which indicate that it must have been a place of great antiquity and importance. Gūḍūru near Masulipatam has not even a single trace of antiquity. The ruins at Kōḍūru on the sea are very extensive and are found almost near the edge of the sea where the waves break. Unfortunately till now no archaeologist has visited this place. Gūḍūru near Masulipatam, therefore, could not have been the ancient Kōḍūra or Koḍḍūra, the capital of the Bṛhatphalāyanas, and the identification of Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil must fail.

The maritime kingdom of the Bṛhatphalayānas.

The Bṛhatphalāyanas were probably established in the region of the mouths of the Kṛṣṇa for the purpose of guarding the great sea coast and the rich flourishing sea-ports and marts like Kanṭākas'aila, Kōḍūra, Allosygne and many others, during the period of the maritime activity of the Andhras under the Imperial Śātavāhanas. The Bṛhatphalāyanas, therefore, had for their capital Kōḍūra or the modern Kōḍūru and protected the coastal region from where the ships sailed laden with merchandise from Andhradesa and with groups of pious monks and nuns who crossed the sea to the islands and countries beyond, to preach the Great Law of the Buddha. If local tradition is to be believed, the river Kṛṣṇa had changed its course several times in the past and many a flourishing place or town that stood on its banks was either washed away like the ancient Śrīkākulam or removed far into the interior like the modern Ghaṇṭasāla and Kōḍūru.

Greek Geography

Ptolemy, who is believed to have lived and written his *Geography* about the middle of the second century A.D., mentions Koḍḍūra not as a metropolis but as an important city and mart.[1] He mentions also a race, tribe or more probably the ruling family called Aronarnoi or Arvarnoi, who inhabited the region to the south of the river Maisolia. MacCrindle has correctly identified Maisolia or Maisolus with the river Kṛṣṇa.[2] The identification is based on the fact that in the region of the lower Kṛṣṇa are

1 Ptolemy's *Geography*, VII-I, section 157.

2 *Ancient India*, p. 66.

mentioned Koṇṭakossyla, a mart and Koḍḍūra, apparently a city of importance. As Koḍḍūra is mentioned as having been situated in the region of the lower Kṛṣṇa, it is probable that the Aronarnoi or Arvarnoi were identical with the Bṛhatphalāyanas. The Sanskrit name may possibly have become quite distorted in the mouth of the Greek Geographer or his informants. But the identification is purely tentative and even doubtful. Yet it is likely that the Bṛhatphalāyanas were in existence even during the period of Emperor Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Pulumāvi II, having been established previously in that locality, to protect the most prosperous of the maritime provinces on the east coast. The Bṛhatphalāyanas were, therefore, a feudatory power under the Imperial Andhras, and evidently continued to rule the eastern provinces under the Ikṣvākus as well, till they were finally overthrown. And the first great prince and perhaps the last king of the family that rose to the dignity of a paramount king was Jayavarman, who flourished apparently in the last quarter of the third century A. D.

The lower region of the rivers Maisolus or Maisolia and Tyna which seems to be a corrupt form of the name Penna, was a great maritime province during the period of the Andhra Empire. In the region of the Penna or Pinākinī, rather to the north of the mouth of the river were situated according to Ptolemy, " the port Koṭṭiṣ (132" × 12" × 10') and to the north of it Manarpha or Manarphalia, a mart."[1] The close and striking similarity between Kottis and Kottapaṭṭana renders the identification of the former with Koṭṭapaṭṭana in Ongole taluk of the Guntur district highly probable. Manarpha or Manarphalia sounds very peculiar, but from the description of its situation in the region of the Maisolia, it seems to be identical with the village Kanuparti which lies on the sea at the confluence of the river Guṇḍlakamma, about fifteen miles to the north or north-east of Kottapaṭṭana. Kanuparti is an ancient site which is worth an exploration by the archaeologist. It extends over three miles, lying half hidden in the sands, and scattered all over the area

Ptolemy's Geography.

1 MacCrindle: *Ancient India* etc. pp. 65–66.

are several vestiges of ancient glory.[1] It was at Cina-Ganjam a suburb of Kanuparti that the broken marble pillar inscription of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi dated the twenty-seventh year was discovered about sixty years ago.[2] Kanuparti of which the earlier form might be Kanuparru and Ganjām, consisting apparently of two villages *Cina* (small) and *Peda* (large or older) Ganjam, meaning either a market or paddy store, were ancient seaport and market town respectively, that lay close to each other. The author of the *Periplus* states that the region of the Massalia stretched a great way along the coast before the inland country and that a great quantity of muslin was made here.[3] At the time of the author of the *Periplus*, Allosygne (Avanigaḍḍa ?) was the greatest port of the Andhra Empire in the east. It was the point of departure for ships bound for the East and Far East. At the present day it is impossible to identify, and locate that ancient market and emporium. The author of the *Periplus* also mentions other ports and emporiums in the region lying to the east of the river Kṛṣṇa namely, Pāloura, Naingaina, Katikardama, Kannagara at the mouth of the river Madana. These ports must have stood on the sea between the mouth of the Kṛṣṇa and the Vaṁs'adhāra which was perhaps called or known as Madanī or Madana at the time of the author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. Pāloura seems to be identical with Pālūra, now a submerged city in the sea in the Bhimavaram taluk of the West Godavari district. The city must have stood near the mouth of the salt creek or the Upputēru river.[4] It was evidently after this celebrated emporium that another sea-port was founded at the mouth of the Ṛṣikulya in the Ganjām district in modern Orissa. The region of the Ṛṣikulya appears to have been known as Konyōḍha in early

Periplus of the Erythrean sea.

1 Sewell : *Topographical List of Antiquities*, *Vol. I.* pp 82–83. See also the description with reference to Kollitippa which was also a place of maritime or commercial importance in early times.

2 *E. I.*, I. p. 95.

3 Wilson : *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*. p. 47 ; and also p. 252 and p. 253.

4 Prof. Sylvain Levi makes a fanciful suggestion that Pālūra might be identical with Dantapura, 'the city of the tooth'. (*I. A.* LV, pp. 94–99.) The identification has been made on the slender basis of the meaning of the first part of the name namely *Pallu* which means in Telugu 'a tooth', same as Sanskrit *danta*. See page Chapter III below.

times. Kannagara seems to bear a striking affinity to Kalinganagara at the mouth of the Vaṁs'adhāra. There is a tradition that the ancient Kalinganagara was submerged under the sea on account of a tidal wave which swept away the city in the eighteenth century. If the identification of Kannagara with Kalinganagara be accepted as likely or probable, then the river Vaṁs'adhāra becomes identical with Madanī or Madana. The other places, it is impossible to identify at present. These localities Naingaina and Katikardama[1] may possibly have been emporiums in ancient Kalinga and swallowed up by the sea at some unknown period.

Hostility of the Pallavas to the Bṛhatphalāyanas.

On the downfall of the Ikṣvāku dynasty, the Bṛhatphalāyanas would seem to have seized the northern provinces of their kingdom which extended into the mainland and along the coast as far as Kalinga. They were a powerful and great family who were apparently for a long time in charge of the rich, fertile and extensive sea-board of the Eastern Andhra country. It was therefore easy for them to step into the shoes of the Ikṣvākus immediately on their fall, and fill the breach in the political integrity of the Andhra kingdom. In fact the Bṛhatphalāyanas were the first power to make a heroic effort to step into power in the Andhra country after the subversion of the Ikṣvākus by the Pallavas. The death of Śivaskandavarman I and the accession of somewhat weak successors to the throne of Kāñci seems to have presented an opportunity for the Bṛhatphalāyana king Jayavarman to proclaim his sovereignty and establish himself as the paramount lord of the Andhra country. The event may be placed about 275 A. D. The date is fixed on the assumption that Jayavarman's charter being entirely written in Prakrit language and in the script which resembles the alphabet of the Early Prakrit charters of the Pallava dynasty must have belonged to about the same period as has been allotted to the Early Pallava Prakrit records. Jayavarman succeeded in his task for a short time. For ten years or perhaps more he

1 Katikardama may represent the modern Vizagapatam, or Visakhapattana, meaning the 'city of Visakha or Karttikeya'. Katikardama may therefore be a distortion of the name Kartikeya-dhama or Karttikeya-pattana.

held himself out against the aggressive Pallavas. Soon after his rise, the Pallavas lost their territories in the Southern Andhra country as far as the Kṛṣṇa, but recovered them on the death of Jayavarman. The Pallava offensive launched on this occasion would seem to have cost the life of prince Vīravarman who is claimed to have been the 'sole hero on the earth' and 'the great warrior who was endowed with success in battles and who subjugated by his fierce valour a multitude of hostile kings'.[1] With the death of Jayavarman, the unfortunate and short-lived Bṛhatphalāyanas lapsed into obscurity. History knows nothing of Jayavarman's predecessors or of his successors. The history of the Bṛhatphalāyanas is the record of a brief yet heroic effort during the reign of king Jayavarman to assume paramount sway and step into the breach created by the downfall of the Ikṣvākus in Andhradesa. It was a gallant effort to preserve the solidarity of the kingdom of Andhradesa from disintegration. The titles *Mahāsēnāpati*, *Mahātagavara* and *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* of Jayavarman's officer Bhāpahāna-varman plainly denote that he attempted heroically to emulate the example of the Imperial Ikṣvākus. The titles further prove unmistakeably that the Bṛhatphalāyanas were the immediate political successors of the Ikṣvākus in Andhradesa. Jayavarman died after a brief and glorious rule; and the event may be placed about 285 A. D. His death may have occurred on a battlefield. With him the dynasty came to an end.

Death of Jayavarman c. 285 A. D.

1 *E.* I., XV p. 249, text lines 4-5 and *I.A.* V, p. 51 text line 5. (Uruvupalli plates)

## CHAPTER II.

### *The Ānanda Kings of Kandarapura*: c. 290—630 A. D.

The successors of the Bṛhatphalāyanas in the struggle for freedom and political ascendancy in Andhradesa, were the Ananda kings of Kandarapura who claimed descent in the *gōtra* of Ānanda[1] This personage Ānanda or Ānanda-maharṣi as he is also called in the inscriptions of the family, may be identified. One of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions on the *āyaka-khaṁbas* at the *Mahācaitya* on Śrīparvata, mentions a certain *Bhadanta*, *Ācārya* Ānanda, who was a great scholar that belonged to the fraternity of monks of Paṁnagāma. *Ācārya* Ānanda belonged to the sect called the Aparamahāvinaseliyas that resided at Śrīparvata. The *āyaka* pillar inscription states that the *Mahācaitya* with all its necessary adjuncts "was completed and the pillars were set up by the *Bhadanta* Ānanda, who knows the *Dīgha* and the *Majjhima nikāyas* by heart, who is a disciple of the Masters (*Ācāryas*) of the *Ārya Saṁgha* who were resident in Paṁnagāma and who are preachers and preceptors of the *Dīgha* and the *Majjhima nikāyas* and of the *Pañca-Mātukas*."[2] It means evidently that the construction and consecration of the pious foundation were superintended by the great Master, *Ācārya* Ānanda.[3] This sage Ānanda was the greatest *acārya* of the Andhaka school of the *Mahāsāṁghikas* of Andhradesa at that time. He lived in the reign of the Ikṣvāku king, Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta and probably survived into the reign of his son, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Bahubala Śāntamūla. Perhaps he survived also the destruction of the Ikṣvāku dynasty which took place about 275 A. D.

Ānanda-maharṣi: His identity.

The origin of the Ānanda *gōtra*.

1 *E. I.*, XVII, p. 327f. and also *I. A.*, IX p. 102f.

2 *E. I.*, XX, p. 17 and p. 20 No. C 1 and C 2.

3 See Book I pp. 52-107 *ante* for an account of the reign of S'ri Virapuruṣadatta and he pious benefactions that were founded in that period.

It is probable that he survived even the fall of the Bṛhatphalāyanas and lived long to inspire the kings of Kandarapura, a petty local feudatory family that rose to sovereignty, to retrieve the sunken prestige of the Ikṣvākus, and to avenge the wrongs inflicted by the aggressive Pallavas. The proximity of date to the rise of the first Kandara king to that of the *Bhadanta*, *Acārya* Ānanda renders this conjecture and identificiation likely and reasonable. The first paramount sovereign of the Ānanda family who called himself a worshipper of the Buddha is described as having meditated on the feet of the *Samyak Sambuddha* and belonged to the *gōtra* or lineage of Ānanda. It appears that this king reigned over the territory which was lately under the sway of the Ikṣvākus. If this identification is correct, it is really remarkable that a great pious Buddhist monk inspired by a noble sentiment of patriotism and loyal devotion to house of the illustrious Ikṣvākus roused the military genius of an obscure line of feudatory kings and inspired them to revive the glory of their homeland.

The *Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa* describes the peoples, rather the ruling houses of Dakṣināpatha that flourished about the date of its compilation.[1] Amongst other families, the *Purāṇa* mentions the *Gōlāṅgūlas*. Dr. Bimla Churn Law who has written a good deal about the countries and peoples of Ancient India, is unable to say who these Gōlāṅgūlas were and where they lived.[2] The Cēzerla stone inscription of the Kandara king of the Ānanda-*gōtra* referred to already states that the emblem on the victorious banner of the Ānandas was the *gōlāṅgūla*.[3] The Maṭṭepād plates of Dāmōdaravarman which is the earliest record of the dynasty, speaks of the family as having sprung from the lineage (*gōtra*) of Ānanda but gives no name to the dynasty. The record may be assigned to the last quarter of the third or the dawn of the fourth century. It is not known therefore definitely

Gōlāṅgūlas in Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa.

1 *Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa*, Chapter 57, verses 45--48.

2 Dr. B. C. Law: Countries and Peoples of India, in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XVII, Part IV. pp. 309ff.

3 S. *I. I.* VI, No. 594, text lines 9-10. (*Gōlāṅgūla-vijaya-kētanasya*) See also *ante*, p. 304ff.

by what appellation the family was known in the hey-day of its glory. Nevertheless, it is possible to believe that they were known to their neighbours and to the compilers of the *Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa* by the name *Gōlāṅgūlas* which appellation was acquired on account of the *gōlāṅgūla* emblem on their royal banner. If this view is accepted, the Ānanada kings of Kandarapura, may be believed to be the Gōlāṅgūlas of the Purāṇas. But Dr. Hultzsch has conveniently designated them as the 'Kings of the family of Ānanda'.[1] This designation may be accepted as the proper one for the present study. The Ānandas as such are also mentioned in the *Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa*.[2] The *Kūrma-vibhāga* or *Kūrma-nivāsa* (Chap. 58) contains a list of countries and peoples of Ancient India according to the position of the country *Bharatavarṣa*, conceived as a tortoise lying on the water resting and looking eastwards. The arrangement followed in this chapter, though not strictly geographical, is interesting and contains valuable topographical information about the peoples and countries. Accordingly in the north-east foot of the tortoise are located the Ānandas and the Marakas among others. These two communities or tribes appear to have inhabited Andhradesa. While the Ānandas rose to sovereignty and made their mark in the history of the land, the Marakas remained unknown to history. That the Marakas had a glorious past may be assumed from their present social habits and customs. They wear the *yajñōpavīta* or 'the sacred thread' and observe several Brahmanical practices. To day they form a small backward community of fishermen and ferrymen inhabiting the lower region of the Godavari, near the sea in the Eastern Andhra country. Thus it appears while the Marakas inhabited the lower region of the Godavari, the Ānandas or the Gōlāṅgūlas lived in the region of the lower Kṛṣṇa; and that possibly both of them were powerful maritime races or tribes of ancient Andhradesa.

The Ānandas: identical with the Gōlāṅgūlas.

There are only three records of the Ānanda family; two of them are on copper plates and come from Maṭṭepāḍ and

1 *E. I.*, XVII, p. 328f.

2 *Annals of the Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, XVII Part IV, pp 333—337.

Gōraṇṭla in Guntūr district respectively. The third one is on a stone pillar in the temple of Kapōtēśvarasvāmin at Cēzerla in Narasaraopet taluk, Guntur district, to which a reference has been already made in the preceding Book. The Cēzerla stone inscription is the last record of the dynasty and in point of time it is undoubtedly later than the two copper-plate charters.[1] In the opinion of Dr. Hultzsch, the Maṭṭepād Copper-plate grant of Dāmōdaravarman is earlier in point of time than the Gōraṇṭla copper plates of Attivarman.[2] The characters of the Maṭṭepād plates are of an early southern type. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit mixed up with Prakrit; while the grant is in Sanskrit, the names of the donees are in Prakrit form. This fact conclusively shows that though Sanskrit had superseded Prakrit as the court language at that time, the personal names of the Brāhmaṇas and others still retained their Prakrit forms. The Maṭṭepād plates, therefore, seem to belong to the period of transition, from Prakrit to Sanskrit, which, as has been pointed elsewhere, may be assigned to the beginning of the fourth century A. D. Accordingly, the date of the Maṭṭepād plates falls immediately after the period of the Prakrit charters of the Early Pallavas and the Bṛhatphalāyanas. Dāmōdaravarman, the donor of the Maṭṭepād charter has to be placed, therefore, in the period immediately following the downfall of the Bṛhatphalāyana king Jayavarman.

Inscriptions of the Ānanda Dynasty.

The alphabet of the Gōraṇṭla plates is decidely more developed and therefore more modern than that of the grant of Dāmōdaravarman. More than that, the Prakrit forms of the personal names of the donees disappear altogether in the grant of Attivarman except perhaps in the name of the donor himself, a circumstance which may be attributed to the accident of the repetition of the name of an

Maṭṭepad plates of Dāmōdaravarman: The Earliest record.

1 *S. I. I.*, VI. Nos. 594, 595. Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer reads the record as two inscriptions. In fact it appears to be a single record as has been shown in the preceding Book.

2 Dr. Hultzsch in the Maṭṭepāḍ plates of Dāmōdaravarman, *E. I.*, XVII, p. 327ff. Gōraṇṭla plates of Attivarman: *Ind. Ant.* IX, p. 102ff. Fleet edits this grant.

earlier member of the family. By the date of Attivarman (*Skt.* Hastivarman?) the royal family of the Ānanda kings ceased to be Buddhists, *i. e.* the worshippers of the feet of the Samyaksaṁbuddha. The Gōranṭla grant describes Attivarman as a devotee of Śambhu (Śiva), called by the local name Vaṅkēśvara. It describes that the family of the Kandara king "born in the lineage of the Ānanda-maharṣi had become purified by the pollen of the lotuses which were the feet of the Lord Śambhu who resided in the temple of Vaṅkēśvara." The conversion of the Ānanda family to Vedic Brahmanism further supprts the conjecture that Dāmōdaravarman was an ancestor of Attivarman.[1] The Maṭṭepāḍ plates therefore are undoubtedly the earliest record of the family.

In both the charters of the Ānanda family there occur very interesting epithets in the formal preambles, which include the term *hiraṇyagarbha*.[2] In the Maṭṭepāḍ plates, Dāmōdaravarman is mentioned with the epithet *Avandhya-gō-sahasra-anēka-hiraṇyagarbh-ōdbhavasya*, which in the translation of Dr. Hultzsch means, 'of one who is the origin of the production (*i. e.*) who has caused the performance of innumerable *hiraṇyagarbhas*, 'and of gifts of thousands of pregnant cows.' A similar epithet is given in the Gōranṭla plates, to Attivarman who is described as *apramēva-hiraṇyagarbha-prasavēna*, which Dr. Fleet translates as 'who is the posterity of the inscrutable god Hiraṇyagarbha, *i. e.* Brahman.' The English rendering of these two passages in the above manner does not seem to be correct for, it does not bring out the real implications of the epithets.[3] According to the Sanskrit lexicons, the word *hiraṇyagarbha* has two principal meanings; firstly it is a well-known epithet of the god Brahman, and

Hiraṇyagarbha *Mahādāna* and Gō-sahasra *Mahādāna*.

1 Dr. D. C. Sircar in *JRAS*, 1934, p. 372ff. By a curious course of logic he assumes that the Gōranṭla plates were an earlier record and even earlier than the Maṭṭepāḍ plates and that Dāmōdaravarman was the son of Attivarman. It is impossible to follow his argument.

2 Similar titles also appear in the records of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin and the Western Cāḷukya dynasties.

3 *JRAS*, 1934, pp. 729—732.

secondly, it is the name of one of the *Ṣōḍaśa-mahādānas* or 'Sixteen Great gifts.'[1] These 'Great gifts' are enumerated and explained in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, *Vratakhanḍa* of Hēmādri and *Dānasāgara* of Ballālasēna. In the performance of the *hiraṇyagarbha mahādāna*, the performer gives away a *hiraṇyagarbha* or a golden womb to the Brāhmaṇa priest after the completion of the ceremony. The details of the ceremony are not necessary for our purposes here. The entire ritual consists in the offeror of the *hiraṇyagarbha* taking a fresh superior birth through a religious fiction from the *hiraṇyagarbha* or the golden womb, and thereby obtaining a *divya dēha* or a celestial body.[2] A golden womb of decent dimensions is made into which the performer enters and, after due prayers and worship according to the prescribed ritual, comes out of it; and thereafter the *Jātakarma-saṁskāra* or the ceremonies relating to the birth are performed. After the ceremony is over, the performer gives away the golden womb to the priest who officiated at the ceremony. The performance of this 'Great gift' indicates that the offeror is a very rich and powerful king who possesses inestimable wealth. The Ānanda kings who claimed to have performed *hiraṇyagarbha mahādāna* must have been therefore very rich and powerful kings. While Attivarman could be an offeror of the *hiraṇyagarbha* alone, his ancestor Dāmōdaravarman performed two of these 'Great gifts', the *hiraṇyagarbha* and *avandhya-gō-sahasra* gifts.

The Maṭṭepāḍ plates record a grant by *Mahārāja* Dāmōdaravarman of the village of Kaṅgūra to a number of Brāhmaṇas. Dāmōdaravarman addressed the edict to the villagers of Kaṅgūra from his residence at his capital Kandarapura on the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika in the second year of his victorious reign.[3] This is the earliest instance of the occurrence

1 The sixteen *Mahādanas* are: *Tulāpuruṣa*, *Hiraṇyagarbha*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Kalpapādapa*, *Gōsahasra*, *Hiraṇya-kāmadhēnu*, *Hiraṇyāśva*, *Pañcalāṅgala*, *Dhārā*, *Hiraṇyāśvaratha*, *Hēmahastiratha*, *Viṣṇucakra*, *Kalpalatā*, *Saptasāgara*, *Ratnadhēnu*, and *Mahābhūtaghaṭa*.

2 *Matsya Purāṇa*, Chapter 247ff. (247—249) *Vratakhaṇḍa*: Chap. V.

3 The Mayidavolu and the Hirahadagalli plates do not give the names of the months but mention only the seasons.

of the names of the Hindu calendar months in the charters of the Āndhra country and Southern India. Dāmōdaravarman was a staunch worshipper of the Buddha and a lay follower or (*upāsaka*) as the invocation to the Lord Buddha at the beginning of the grant *Bhagavataḥ Samyak-Saṁbuddhasya-pādānudhaytasya* shows; and yet he granted the village of Kaṅgūra in eighteen shares as a *brahmadēya* to fourteen Brāhmaṇas of various *gōtras* and *caraṇas*, who practised austerities and recited their Vedic texts. The gift was made for the attainment of salvation by the king himself and by his ancestors up to the seventh generation.[1] It is interesting to study the names of the donees who are all specified by their names and *gōtras*. The Prakrit names represent some of the common names of the people of Andhradesa even at the present day.[2] The study is also important from the point of the development or growth of the Telugu or Andhra language. The donees are Ruddajja (Rudrāryya), Nandijja (Nandyārya), Khaṁdajja (Skandāryya), Bhāvajja (Bhāvāryya), Aggijja (Agnyāryya), Sirrijja (Śryāryya), another Bhāvajja and another Khamdajja, Savarajja (Śabarāryya), Vīrajja, (Vīrāryya), all of the Koṇḍinna or Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*; and Dāmajja (Dāmāryya), Kumārajja (Kumārāryya), Veṇujja (Viṣṇvārya) Dēvajja (Dēvāryya) of the Kassava (Kāsyapa) *gōtra*, Nandijja of Kās'yapa *gōtra*, Dōṇajja (Drōṇāryya) of the Vatsa *gōtra* and Bhaddajja (Bhadrāryya) of the Agasti (Agastya) *gōtra*. The Prakrit name-ending *ajja* which becomes *ārya* in Sanskrit has become *ayya* in Andhra language. The record clearly shows that the Buddhist influence upon the royal family and on the people in general in the country had commenced to wane from about the middle of the third century and that the reigning dynasty, though professedly Buddhist in their family worship, had acquired a Brahmanical outlook on life and matters concerning Religion and State. Kaṅgūra, the village granted cannot be identified today, because the charter does

The Maṭṭepāḍ plates-A study of its importance.

1 Line 5 "*asmd-āsaptama-kula-nistāraṇārttham*"

2 Many of these like Rudrārya, Vīrārya, Dāmārya, Bhadrāryya are still very familiar names to day in Andhradesa.

not mention either the boundaries or the *rasṭra* or *viṣaya* in which it lay.

It appears that Kandarapura was the capital of the Ānanda dynasty. It cannot be identified easily; it, however, reminds us of the city of Kapōtakandāra of the Buddhist legends.[1] Owing to the influence of Buddhism a Kapōtakandarapura probably sprang into existence in Andhradesa in the neighbourhood of Amarāvati and Śrīparvata. It is possible to believe that Cēzerla, where stands the shrine of Kapōtēsvara, was the ancient city of Kapōtakandarapura. Cēzerla is an important village; there the temple is of a unique architecture of great antiquity and importance and dedicated to God Śiva under the name Kapōtēsvara.[2] The temple is a remarkable edifice. It was formerly a Buddhist *Caitya*, at any rate it was a Buddhist temple prior to the seventh century A. D. or even earlier. At an unknown period it was converted into a temple of Śiva. It is a long apsidal shrine with a barrel vaulted roof, its entire structure being of large sized bricks and plastered within and without the stone ceiling. There is a false roof within, supported by stone slabs. The ceiling and the pillars clearly represent the later additions made apparently when the Buddhist *Caitya-gṛha* was converted into a temple of Mahēsvara.[3] There is only a small entrance into the temple which faces the east. The end of the temple, unlike the other Brahmanical shrines, takes the form of an apse instead of a *gopura* or 'tower.' In the centre of the apse is the white marble *linga*, with two holes. If we leave out of consideration the various later additions that were made to convert the edifice into a Śaiva shrine, the curious drainage system for the flow of the water poured for the ablutions (*abhiṣēka*) of the *linga* through the two holes of the *linga* itself, strongly indicates that it was originally a Buddhist *Caitya-gṛha* similar to some of the famous rock-cut shrines of Nāsik and Ajanta.[4] In plan and

Kandarapura, the capital of the Ānanda Dynasty: identical with Cēzerla.

1 Hardy. *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 521.

2 Sewell. *List of Antiquities*. Vol. I, p. 68.

3 *Annual Rep. of the Arch. Dep.* Madras, Southern Circle, 1917–18, p. 35.

4 *Opi. Cit.* p. 35.

construction, the temple of Kapōtēśvara is similar to the large and ruined Buddhist Caitya at Guṇṭupalli in Kāmavarapukōṭa taluk, West Godavari district.[1] Kapōtēśvara is the title given to the great king Śibi renowned both in the *Mahā Bhārata* where the story is told twice and in the Buddhist *Jātaka* stories, after the sacrifice of his own flesh to redeem the life of a hunted pigeon. Cēzerla was believed to be the scene of sacrifice and a temple, therefore, was erected to perpetuate the memory of the pious prince under the title of Kapōtēśvara in that locality.[2] Gēzerla is the second ancient village or locality which is connected with the memory of a *Jātaka* story of a bird, the first being Piṣṭapura or Piṭṭapura.[3] Cēzerla stands in the plain country surrounded by a low range of spurs on the northern and western sides. Robert Sewell reports of the existence of caves in the neighbouring hills.[4] Cēzerla and its neighbourhood abound in ruins of great antiquity and the dserted site of the ancient village was probably the spot where stood Kandarapura, the metropolis of the Ānanda dynasty. Though Kandarapura has completely gone out of existence, the temple of Kapōtēśvara exists to this day, on account of its renovation by a scion of the Ānanda dynasty to remind us of its connection with the renowned Ānanda family. There seems to be no doubt, therefore, that Kandurapura was the original name of the village now called Cēzerla ; or at any rate Kandarapura and

1 *Ibid*. pp. 33ff.

2 *A. S. I*. 1926–27, p. 153 note 6, and plate xxxvi. In one of the left hand miniature panel reliefs (No. XV) is probably shown the Sibi Jātaka story (No. 1), in which the Bōdhisattva gives his own flesh to save the life of the pigeon. Here the Bōdhisattva is seen seated on the ground and with a sword cutting off a piece of his flesh from his thigh while an attendant stands behind him with scales in his hands.

3 Piṣṭapura or properly speaking Piṭṭapura meaning literally the *city of the bird* is another ancient city of Andhradesa which is apparently connected with another bird. *Pitta*, in Telugu, means 'a bird', and the city acquired the name Piṭṭapura on account of its connection with the memory of an event recorded in the *Jātaka* stories. There is a celebrated temple of Śiva who is called *Kukkuṭēśvara-mahādēva* at Piṣṭapura or Piṭhapuram as it is to day called. The *Sthalamahātmyam* connects the shrine with *Kukkuṭa*, or a cock. There are two *Kukkuṭa-Jātaka* stories, in the *Jataka* legends (Cowel edn. *Jatakas*, Vol. III, p. 168, No. 383 and another in Vol. IV, p. 35, No. 448.) The interesting coincidence needs further examination, and Piṭhapuram is an interesting spot which is awaiting exploration by archaeologists.

4 Sewell : *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 68.

Cēzerla lay adjacent to each other and formed the ancient city. Cēzerla is a corrupt form of the original Andhra term Ceñjeruvulu, which means either 'a beautiful tank' or 'a tank of lotuses.'[1]

Gōraṇṭla plates and Cēzerla stone Incription.

The second inscription is on the Gōraṇṭla plates of Attivarman. It records the grant of 800 *paṭṭis* of land in Tāṇrikoṇra on the southern bank of the Kṛṣṇa and the entire village of Āntukkūru as a *brahmadēya* by king Attivarman to the Brāhmaṇa house-holder Koṭṭis'arman who is described as a Trivēdin *i. e* a master of the three, Ṛg, Yajus and Sāma Vedas. Tāṇrikoṇṛa may be identified as the modern village of Tāḍikoṇḍa which was formerly called Tāṇḍikoṇḍa and situated about ten miles to the east of Guṇṭur on tbe southern bank of the Kṛṣṇa. Āntukkūru seems to be identical with Gani-Āntukūru on the northern bank of the Kṛṣṇa, lying to the west of Bezwāda.[2] The third record of the family, as has been stated above, is on a stone pillar in the temple of Kapōtēs'vara at Cēzerla.[3] The characters of the record are in archaic Telugu, and on palaeographical grounds the inscription has been assigned to the beginning of the seventh century. He is called *Beṇṇā-nātha* 'the lord of the Beṇṇa' or the Kṛṣṇa Beṇṇa and *Trikūṭa-parvata-pati* or the "Lord of the Trikūṭa Hill." It appears from that record that, Kandararāja of the Ānanda-*gōtra* rebuilt several shrines in his dominions which had fallen into ruins on account of some unspecified causes (*kāranāntaraiḥ*,) with the desire to secure long life, victory and power for himself and for the perpetuation of his lineage and the glory of the Ānanda family. The temple of Kapōtēs'vara at Cēzerla was one of such numerous shrines that was rebuilt by Kandararāja (II).

The period of these three inscriptions covers a range of three centuries, from about the beginning of the fourth to the

1 Ceñjeruvulu is plural, and tbe plural termination *lu* seems to be merely an honorific. The appellation might have become corrupt in the course of time in the pronunciation of the people.

2 *E. I.*, VIII, p. 104.

3 *S. I. I.*, VI, No. s. 594 and 595, It is disappointing that facsimilies of impressions of this important record are not given by the learned editor along with his transcript.

close of the first quarter of the seventh century. While the interval between the first two records, the Maṭṭepāḍ plates and the Gōraṇṭla copper-plate grant, may have been possibly a century, the intervening period between the grant of Attivarman and the Cēzerla pillar inscription seems to be about two centuries. These records, therefore, seem to show that the Ānanda dynasty was more or less contemporaneous with the Pallavas who held sway over the Southern Andhradesa, intermittently for four long centuries. The Ānandas appear to have risen to power immediately after the fall of the Bṛhatphalāyanas; but they do not seem to have enjoyed the sovereignty continuously for any appreciable length of time during this long period of three centuries.

The period or duration of the Ānanda dynasty.

## *Political History of the Ānandas.*

The first paramount king of the Ānanda dynasty known to history is Dāmōdaravarman. But it is probable that he was preceded by several kings whose names were lost. The ancestors of Dāmōdaravarman may have been feudatories or vassal kings under the imperial Ikṣvākus. But it seems doubtless that his immediate predecessor was a paramount king. It is also likely that Dāmōdaravarman's father or at any rate predecessor rose to power immediately on the fall of the Bṛhatphalāyana king Jayavarman and continued the struggle against the Pallavas for independence and freedom of his homeland. Nothing is known about him. The omission of his name altogether, may even a reference to Dāmōdaravarman's predecessor in the Maṭṭepāḍ plates is interesting. Perhaps Dāmōdaravarman's predecessor was not his father. There are no means of ascertaining his name; but it is proboble that his name was Kandararāja or Kandara-nṛpati. The Gōraṇṭla plates speak of Attivarman as having been born in the family of Kandararāja of the Ananda *gōtra*. Moreover, the capital of the Ānands was Kandarapura; and this fact indicates that the city was named after the founder of the dynasty, therefore, may have been the

1. Dāmōdaravarman c. 295—315 A. D.

predecessor of Dāmōdaravarman. His name appears to have been repeated twice at least in the records of the family. Both Kandararāja I and Dāmōdaravarman seem to be very powerful kings. At the date of Dāmōdaravarman's accession to the throne, the Ānanda kingdom appears to have been at the height of its glory. The Maṭṭepāḍ plates refer to Dāmōdaravarman as *Mahārāja*, "Great king", who had already by the second year of his victorious reign, performed two Great Gifts (*mahādānas*), namely, the *Hiraṇyagarbha* and *Avandhya-gōsahasra*. These facts indicate that Dāmōdaravarman and his predecessor who may be referred to by the name Kandararāja I, had acquired a great kingdom which soon became a menace to the Pallava dominion in Southern Andhradesa. They also show that Dāmōdaravarman had succeeded to a strong and powerful kingdom and had restored peace and prosperity in the land, and that he could devote himself to these and other similar expensive religious rites. According to the chronology of the Pallavas, it appears that Dāmōdaravarman was a contemporary of Buddhyāṅkura and his cousin Vijaya-Skandavarman II. Dāmōdaravarman's rise to power, therefore, seems to have synchronised with the establishment of the Kadamba dynasty under Mayūrasarman (c. 300—340 A. D.) in Kuntala. About the beginning of Dāmōdaravarman's reign, Buddhyāṅkura seems to have been defeated and slain, and the throne of Kāñcīpura passed on to Vijaya Skandavarman II, son of Vīravarman. Towards the close of Dāmōdaravarman's reign, a new power sprang into existence in Northern Andhradesa. It was the Śālaṅkāyanas of Vēṅgi who acquired sovereignty under Vijaya Devavarman, the offerer of As'vamēdha. The Śālaṅkāyana monarch seems to have destroyed or at any rate crushed the sovereignty of the Ananda dynasty before he established himself at Vēṅgīpura. Vijaya Dēvavarman may have overthrown the successor of Dāmōdaravarman and annexed the eastern provinces to his own kingdom. And sometime after the death of Dāmōdaravarman, the Pallava king Vijaya-Skandavarman II seems to have defeated the descendants of Dāmōdaravarman, and reduced them to subjection and thereby extended his suzerainty in the country right up to the

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southern bank of the Kṛṣṇa. There are no materials to determine the period of Dāmōdaravarman; nevertheless his reign may be assumed to have lasted twenty years, from about 295 to 315 A. D. This period synchronised with the reigns of Buddhyāṅkura (c. 285—295 A. D.) and Vijaya-Skandavarman II (c. 295—330 A. D.), when the Pallava armies were defeated and routed everywhere. With the death of Dāmōdaravarman, the Ānandas passed into obscurity and nothing is known about them roughly for a century or thereabouts.

With the fall of Dāmōdaravarman's successors at the hands of the rising Vijaya Dēvavarman, and the subjugation of the Ānanda dynasty, by the Pallava king, the solidarity of the Andhra country was totally destroyed. The Pallavas occupied Southern Andhradesa as far as the Kṛṣṇa and the Śālaṅkāyanas consolidated their dominions in Northern Andhradesa. It appears that before the rise of Vijaya Dēvavarman in Vēṅgi, the most northerly and north-westerly provinces of Andhradesa were annexed to the Vākāṭaka Empire by Pravarasēna I (c. 270—330 A. D.). It may be believed that the annexation took place about 310 A. D. It is also probable that about the same time the Vākāṭaka emperor celebrated four As'vamēdha sacrifices and thereby attained to the dignity of the emperor of Dakṣiṇāpatha. It appears that shortly after the celebration of the four As'vamēdhas by Pravarasēna, Vijaya Dēvavarman rose in Andhradesa, defeated the Ānandas and subdued the minor dynasties of Kalinga and Western Andhradesa, established a paramount kingdom and offered the As'vamēdha like the Vākāṭaka monarch.

The seal of the Maṭṭepad plates contains the emblem of a bull facing the proper right. This shows that the emblem of the Ānandas was 'the bull' in the beginning, for by the date of Attivarman, the crest of the emblem of the seated bull or *nandi* was substituted by the figure of a seated or cross-legged saint, which might be a representation of Ānanda-maharṣi himself, the progenitor of the family. But the figure is not so distinct on the seal as to make an easy conjecture about it.[1] Since the

1 J. F. Fleet in *Ind. Ant.*, IX, p. 102.

Ananda kings are described as the 'Lords of Trikūṭa-parvata and the river Beṇṇā', and their capital Kandarapura has been identified with Cēzerla in Narasaraopeta taluk, Trikūṭa-parvata and the Ānanda kingdom must have lain on the banks of the Kṛṣṇa. Trikūṭa-parvata appears to be the ancient name of the celebrated hill Kōṭappakoṇḍa situated about eight miles to the south west of Narasaraopet. The hill is reputed to be as sacred as Śrīs'aila in the Kurnool district. It rises to a height of about 1,600 feet and has a circumference of about six miles. It has three peaks, known by the names Brahmas'ikhara, Viṣnu-sikhara and Rudras'ikhara, and hence it acquired the appellation 'Trikūṭādri.' There are two temples of Śiva on the hill; and the more ancient one is on the top of the peak which generally pilgrims do not visit, and the shrine and its surroundings are invested with wild animals and dangerous reptiles. There are many caves on the hill, which have not been visited by any persons in recent times. There are also several natural water springs which furnish drinking water at that height on the peak.[1] Inscriptions discovered on the hill at the temple of Kotta-Kōṭappa, which is the later shrine, refer to the temple of Śiva under the name Trikūṭēs'vara or Trikūṭīs'vara.[2] The Gōraṇṭla plates describe the Kandara family as the worshippers of God Śambhu (Śiva), who is called by the epithet Vaṅkēs'vara. There is an ancient temple of Vaṅkēs'vara at Durgi, a village situated about twelve miles due north of Kōṭappakoṇḍa or Trikūṭa-parvata and about eight miles to the east of Mācerla in Palnāḍ. This seems to be the only shrine dedicated to Śiva under the name of Vaṅkēs'vara-Śambhu. Durgi seems to derive its name from the goddess Durgā, consort of the god Vaṅkēs'vara-Śiva, for whom there is a temple in the locality. It is also probable that Durgi was not the ancient name of the place but one that was acquired later in course of time.[3] Since the days of the late Robert Sewell, the village has not been visited

1 Sewell: *List of Antiquities etc.* Vol. I. pp. 71–74. See also Bhārati Vol. XIV, Part 8, (August 1—S'rāvaṇa, 1937) pp. 200–206. The article is illustrated.

2 *S. I. I.*, IV, Nos. 915–919,

3 The goddess Tārā of the Tantric Mahāyānist Buddhism was converted into the Brahmanical goddess Durgā. Thus Tārā of S'riparvata and Tārā of Vijayavāḍa (Bezwāḍa) came to be known also by the name Durgā during the period of Brahmanical revival.

or explored by any archaeologist.[1] Nothing more is known to the student of history than the pathetic account left by that antiquary, of the mass of ruins that lie scattered in and about that village.[2] An exploration followed by excavations of the locality may yield interesting information about Kandarapura and the Ānanda dynasty. The Ānanda kingdom extended over two *janapadas* or districts according to the Cēzerla inscription. For, one of the epithets of Kandararāja of the Cēzerla inscription, is "the Lord of the kingdom consisting of two *janapadas*." This kingdom appears to have lain on either side of the river Kṛṣṇa, extending from the sea in the east to the mountain ranges in the west.[3] It is not possible to determine what the two *janapadas* were; one of the *janapadas* or provinces may have been Karmarāṣṭra, the region lying between the Kṛṣṇa in the north-east and the Mannēru in the south-west. Kandarapura and Kaṅgūra, of the Maṭṭepad plates and Tānrikonra of the Gōraṇṭla grant apparently belong to Karmarāṣṭra. Āntukkūra, which has been identified with Gani-Ātukūru on the other side of the river, seems to belong to the other *Janapada* or province. We do not know by what name the other province lying to the north of the Kṛṣṇa was known in the early period. The Cikkuḷḷa plates of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king Vīkramēndravarman II gives the name Natṛpaṭi-viṣaya to this region.[4] The territory that lies between the Kṛṣṇa and the Tammilēru near Ellore or ancient Vēṇgīpura formed part of the ancient territorial division known by the name *Ṣaṭ-sahasrāvanī-viṣaya* or *Āruvēlanāṇḍu*, the "Six Thousand Province." At the same time the region lying between the rivers Kṛṣṇa and the Godavari was well known by the name Vēṅgī-viṣaya. From the meagre reliable evidence that is available to us, it is difficult to determine even approximately the extent of

The extent of the Ānanda kingdom in the seventh century.

1 The Government Epigraphist for the Southern Circle, Madras collected only the inscriptions mentioned by Robert Sewell. He did not attempt to explore further.

2 Sewell: *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 57 and Appendix XIX–XXI.

3 The epithet *Beṇṇā-nātha* reminds us of the title *Bēnākaṭaka-svāmin* of the Andhra emperor Gautamiputra (*Nasik Cave Ins.* No. 4: *E. I.*, VIII, p. 71). Benākaṭaka-svāmin means the 'lord of the city on Beṇṇā' which is undoubtedly the same as Dhanakaṭaka.

4 *E. I.*, IV, pp. 193f.

the kingdom of the Ānandas. It seems, however, from the legends preserved in the *Local Records* that the territory of the Ānandas lay on either bank of the Kṛṣṇa in the modern Guntur and Kṛṣṇa districts and extended into the Nalgonda and Warangal districts of the Nizam's Dominions.[1]

2. Attivarman. c. 395—420 A. D.

The second king of the Ānanda dynasty known to history is Attivarman. The only record of his reign is the Gōrantla plates. On palaeographical grounds the inscription may be assigned to the beginning of the fifth century. It may be assumed, therefore, that Attivarman reigned about that period; and a reign of about twenty five years, (c. 395—420 A. D.) may be allotted to him. Though the charter describes the king merely as *Rāja* and *not* as *Mahārāja*, it is possible to believe that Attivarman was a great and powerful monarch. The early part of his reign seems to have synchronised with the period of the Pallava king, Vijaya Viṣṇugōpavarman II (c. 385—400 A. D.) of the Cūra plates. The Pallava king may have possibly met with his death at the hands of the Ānanda king. Attivarman's contemporary in the west was Kākutsthavarman (c. 390—415 A. D.), the lord of Kuntala. Thus towards the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth, the Pallavas were hemmed in on all sides and threatened to be destroyed completely by implacable foes, the mighty Kadambas on the one hand and the powerful Ānandas on the other. Vijaya Viṣṇugōpavarman II, unable to oppose the enemies would seem to have died at this juncture on the battlefield. With his death the line of Vijaya Skandavarman II or more accurately the elder branch descending from Vijaya Skandavarman II apparently came to an end, for thereafter the history of the Pallavas becomes obscure for sometime to come.

The Ānanda dynasty, during the period of three long centuries, would seem to have attempted on more than one occasion, as has been shown above, to assume the role of a paramount power in the land by overthrowing the Pallava

1 *Ekaśilānagara vṛttāntamu*: A kaifiyat collected by Col. C. Mackenzie. See Local Records.

suzerainty and to deliver Southern Andhradesa from the Pallava dominion. The earliest attempt in this direction, as stated above, was that of the unknown predecessor of Dāmōdaravarman and then of Dāmōdaravarman himself in the dawn of the fourth century. But the successors of Dāmōdaravarman would seem to have been overpowered and subdued by the Pallavas in the south and the Śālaṅkāyanas in the north or north-east. This event took place during the period of the Pallava king Vijaya Skandavarman II. The second attempt was roughly a century later by the great king Attivarman. It was apparently to regain the lost supremacy in Andhradesa by the Ānandas. Attivarman conquered his neighbours, the Śālaṅkāyanas in the north and north-east and the Pallavas in the south during the reign of Skandavarman III. Attivarman appears to have reduced many great vassal chiefs to subjection by the force of his arms and levied tribute from them. But his independence, too, was short-lived. After him the Ānandas once more slipped into obscurity. Perhaps the third and the last attempt was in the beginning of the seventh century by a certain Kandararāja II, to whom we shall presently refer; but that too would appear to have been nipped in the bud again owing to the aggression of Mahēndravarman I. The fall of Attivarman synchronised with the almost simultaneous destruction of the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty by an enemy nearer home. The downfall of Attivarman also would appear to have been brought about by the rise of the new power, the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. This new power quickly rose to sovereignty, conquered the whole of the Andhra country and perhaps even the neighbouring kingdoms, and for the first time roughly, after a lapse of two centuries after the fall of the illustrious Ikṣvākus, successfully attempted to consolidate the entire Andhradesa. The first king of this great and powerful dynasty was Mādhavavarman I, who claimed to have performed the As'vamēdha eleven times and thereby rose to imperial dignity in Andhradesa and Dakṣiṇāpatha. The Ānanda kings after the fall of Attivarman were reduced to the rank of vassal kings by the Viṣṇukuṇḍins; and they remained so till they were uprooted, early in the seventh century.

It would appear that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins rose in the kingdom of the Ānandas; and if we accept the legendary accounts preserved in the land relating to the rise of a certain king named Mādhavavarman, it would seem that Attivarman opposed the rise of the new power but that in the end was himself destroyed. Though the Pallava suzerainty of the Ānanda kingdom was nowhere to be seen in the Andhra country during the reign of Attivarman, yet the Pallava influence is clearly seen in the luadatory epithets that are attached to king Attivarman in the preamble of the Gōranṭla plates. These epithets plainly denote that Attivarman was a great and powerful king. At the same time they are interesting for the Pallava influence they reflect. Attivarman is described as *suraguru-sadṛs'a buddhinā* "who is equal in wisdom and intelligence to the preceptor of the gods, *i. e.* Bṛhaspati." He is also given such epithets, as *samyak prajāpālan-ōpārjjita kīrttinā*, "one whose fame had been acquired by properly governing his subjects", *pratāp-ōpanata-sakala-sāmanta-maṇḍalēna*, "one who reduced the territories of all chieftains by his prowess" and *Mahēndrasama-vikramēna*, "one whose prowess is equal to that of Mahēndra."[1] These remind us of some of the epithets that occur in the Uruvupalli and Pīkira charters of the Pallava kings like *prajāpālana dakṣasya*, *prajarañjana-paripālan-ōdyōga satata satra-vrata dikṣitasya*, *pratāp-ōpanata-rājamaṇḍalasya* and such others.

Pallava influence in Attivarman's reign.

Nothing is known about the successors of Attivarman, though it appears from the Cēzerla stone record that the dynasty survived till the first quarter of the seventh century. It also appears from this inscription that the Ānanda kings sank to a subordinate position sometime after the fall of Attivarman, paying tribute sometimes to the Pallava and sometimes to the Viṣṇukuṇḍin overlords. After the death of Mādhavavarman III, the last great king of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty, the Ānanda kings seem to have been subdued and compelled to transfer their allegiance to the Pallava king Mahēndravikramavarman or Mahēndravarman I, who conquered Southern Andhradesa once more, at that juncture. The Cēzerla stone inscription belongs

1 *Ind. Ant.*, IX, p. 102f. text lines 4–5.

to the period immediately following the Pallava reconquest of Southern Andhra country from the Western Cālukya commanders during the reign of Mahēndravarman I.

About 611 A. D, the Western Cālukya king, Satyās'raya Pulikēs'in II invaded Andhradesa, conquered and destroyed Mādhavavarman III. After annexing a portion of Andhradesa, he would appear to have placed his veteran general Pṛthivī Duvarāja, who has been identified with Pṛthivi-Dhruvarāja-Indravarman of the Goa plates,[1] as viceroy in the Andhra country to complete the work of conquest.[2] It would also appear that no sooner had Pulakesin II turned his steps towards or reached his capital Vātāpī than Mahēndravarman I of Kāñcīpura, undaunted by the hurricane march and infliction of a defeat upon his arms near his own city, took advantage of the utterly disturbed state of the Andhra country on account of the wars between the Cāḷukya Viceroy on the one hand and probably Mañcyaṇṇa Bhaṭṭāraka, the last of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins on the other, invaded Southern Andhradesa. He conquered and subdued the turbulent and hostile vassal kings of the region, chief among whom was apparenrly the Ānanda king of Kandarapura. Mahēndravarman I would have destroyed the Ānanda king, perhaps Kandararāja II, reduced his successor and who called himself son of queen Mahādēvī, to vassalage. The Cēzerla inscription seems to record the exploits of the Ānanda king and give a faint glimpse of the disturbed condition of the Andhra country at that period. According to the record, the Ānanda king appears to have been a tributary of Mahēndravikramavarman and to have inflicted a crushing defeat in a tumultuous and decisive conflict of the elephant and chariot forces upon a certain Pṛthivī Yuvarāja, who seems to be identical with Pṛthivī Dhruvaraja-Indravarman, the Cālukyan general and the *ājñapti* of the Koppāram plates.[3] It would appear that the battle took place at Dhanakaṭaka; and the

3. Kandararāja II. c. 615—620 A. D.

1 *J. B. Br. A. S.* Vol. X. p. 348. See also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 9—12.

2 See below Book IV.

3 *Annals of the Bhandarkar Or. Res. Institute*, Vol. IV, pp. 44ff. Also *E. I.*, XVII, p. 257f.

event may be placed with approximate certainty in 620 A. D. But the victory against the Cāḷukyan General and the Pallava occupation of Southern Andhradesa were short-lived. For, it would appear that shortly after the death of Pṛthivī Du(yu)varāja, king Satyās'raya Pulikēs'in II despatched his younger brother, an energetic prince and intrepid soldier, *Yuvarāja* Biṭṭarasa, to avenge the death of the General Pṛthivī Duvarāja and complete the conquest of Andhradesa. Biṭṭaras'a was also known as Viṣṇuvardhana-Viṣamasiddhi, who later, as Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana, founded the Eastern Cāḷukya dynasty in Andhradesa in 624 A. D. Prince Viṣṇuvardhana arrived in Andhradesa sometime about 620 A. D., apparently sometime after the date of his Satāra grant dated in the seventh year of his elder brother, the Mahārāja's reign.[1] Shortly after his arrival, war was renewed, and Viṣṇuvardhana conquered and cxpelled the Pallavas from the Andhra country. Kandararāja's grandson, too, must have perished about this time in the struggle. With this event the history of the Ānandas of Kandarapura and the Pallava dominion of the southern Andhra country comes to an end.

1 *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p 303. Satāra plates of Yuvarāja Viṣṇuvardhana Viṣamasiddhi.

## CHAPTER III.

### *The Śālaṅkāyanas of Vēṅgīpura.* c. 300—420 A. D.

I

The accession of Vijaya Skandavarman II to the throne of Kāñcī towards the close of the third century A. D. and the rise of the S'ālāñkāyana dynasty about the first decade of the fourth century were the causes that led to the destruction of the supremacy of the Ānandas of Kandrapura. A succession of weak kings after Dāmōdaravarman in the first quarter of the fourth century resulted in the establishment of the Pallava dominion in the southern Andhra country. It will be remembered that in the winter season of the 33rd year of his reign, on the 13th day in the third *pakṣa,* the Pallava king Vijaya Skandavarman II granted a village in Karmarāṣṭra to the Brāhmaṇa householder Gōlaṣarman as a *sāttvika* gift, and the command which was engraved on the Oṁgōḍu plates (I set) was issued from the royal residence at Tāmbrapura to the officers in charge of Karmarāṣṭra.[1] The record clearly shows that by that date,—the 33rd year of his reign,—the Pallava king had once more conquered and annexed to his kingdom the country extending up to the southern bank of the Kṛṣṇa river in Andhradesa. This event was rendered possible by the rise of a new power called the Śālaṅkayanas in Northern Andhradesa.

Introduction.

The Śālaṅkāyanas, like the Bṛhatphalāyanas were an ancient family. They were mentioned by the Greek Geographer Ptolemy as the Salakenoi, who occupied the region lying to the west of the Godavari, on the north-eastern borders of Maisolia. In connection with the Salakenoi, the *Periplus* mentions three cities, Benagouron, Kastara, and Magaris.[2] It is, therefore, interesting to note that at the date of the *Periplus*, c. 60 A. D.,

1 *E. I.*, XV. p. 249f.

2 McCrindle : *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, pp. 173ff.

and at the time of Ptolemy's composition of the *Geography*, c. 130 A. D., the Salakenoi, who seem to be identical with the Śālaṅkāyanas of the inscriptions, were in a flourishing state in the interior. Accordingly, Benagouron may be identified with their capital Vēṅgīpura; and Magaris may be Manjira, Majerika, or the Manjira near the mouths of the Kṛṣṇa, the seat of a Nāga dynasty.[1] It is, however, difficult to identify Kastara, which must have been also a port that was long ago washed away by the sea. The mention of the Salakenoi leads us to another conjecture namely, that the Śālaṅkāyanas were established, like the Bṛhatphalāyans, to protect the extensive sea-board and the inland trade routes in the mainland by the Imperial Andhras sometime prior to the second century A. D. It is also probable that the Bṛhatphalāyanas, Śālaṅkāyanas and the Arournoi (Arvarnoi, Aruarni or Aṿarni) who are mentioned by Ptolemy and who seem to be the Hiraṇyakas, were all contemporaneous in their establishment and rise to power under the Imperial Andhras in the first and second centuries of the Christian era.

It would appear that there were other ruling families also who were stationed as *Mahāsēnapatis* by the Imperial Andhras to govern the eastern dominions of the Empire. There were amongst them, apparently the Kaus'ikas, Musikas and Avas. The Kaus'ikas are mentioned in the Nāsik cave inscription of the seventh year of the reign of Emperor Śri Yajña Śāṭakarṇi;[2] but the locality over which they held sway cannot be known from any other source. The Mūsikas and the Avas are mentioned in the Hathigumpha inscription of Emperor Kharavela of Kalinga.[3] The editors of the Hathigumpha inscription believe that "the Mūsikas were a people of Southern India as in the Mahābhārata they are mentioned along with the Vanavāsas or rulers of Kuntala."[4] There is a river Mūsi which flows through the Hyderabād and Nalgoṇḍa districts in the Western

1 See Cunningham: *Ancient Geography of India*, 1871, pp. 584-39. Manjerika or Manjīradēs'a is described.

2 *E. I.*, VIII, No. 24, p. 94f.

3 *E. I.*, XX, pp. 71ff. text lines 4—11.

4 *Ibid.* p. 83.

Andhra country and joins the Kṛṣṇa on the northern borders of the Gunṭūr district.[1] It is therefore probable that Mūsikanagara, the city on the Mūsi river or the city of the Mūsika dynasty stood somewhere in the Nalgoṇḍa district and possibly on the river which lent its name to both the ruling dynasty and its capital. The great inland trade-routes (*mahā-patha*) from Kōḍūra, Kaṇṭakas'aila, Dhanakaṭaka and Vijayapuri to Pratiṣṭhāna or Paiṭhan, Sorparāga, Gōvardhanagiri and Bharukaccha across the Deccan plateau lay probably through Mūsikanagara. The Avas as a dynasty are mentioned in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* equates them with the Andhras.[2] It is therefore certain that the Ava dynasty was an Andhra family. According to the Hathigumpha rock inscription of Kharavēla, Avarāja a king of the Ava dynasty, is said to have founded the city of Pīthuṁḍa, a market town. Dr. Jayaswal and Prof. Banerjee do not identify the city but take it doubtfully to be the capital of the Ava kings.[3] Avamukta as the name of a subprovince or district in Andhradesa occurs in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta.[4] But its situation is doubtful. Sylvain Levi thinks that the city of Pihiṁḍa mentioned in the Jaina *Uttarādhyāyanasūtra* is identical with Pīthuṁḍa of the Hathigumpha inscription and with the Pitundra of Ptolemy.[5] Like these many feudatory families, the Śālaṅkāyanas too would seem to have held in the beginning a subordinate position under the Imperial Andhras and later under the Andhrabhṛtyas or Śrīparvatīyas in the empire, and finally assumed supremacy in their locality as a paramount power on the fall of their overlords. Next to the Bṛhatphalāyanas and the Ānandas, the Śālaṅkāyanas were the earliest dynasty that epigraphy has disclosed to us as having reigned in Andhradesa.

The sources of our knowledge of the history of this ancient dynasty are only five copper-plate charters of the family that

1 There is another river called Musi in the north of the Nellore district, but this is a small stream and must have been called after the big river of that name in the north.

2 *E. I.*, XXI, pp. 77ff. (p. 73—84) Insc. text lines 4 and 11.

3 *Ibid.*

4 C. *I. I.* Vol. III, No. 1, text 1. 19f.

5 *Ind. Ant.*, LV, pp. 145—147.

have been brought to light by the epigraphists. Fortunately for the historian, all of them are published with notes and translations in English. The earliest of them in point of antiquity is the Ellore Prakrit grant of Vijaya Dēvavarman.[1]

Sources: Only the copper-plate inscription of the family.

The next record is the Kollēru charter of Vijaya Nandivarman.[2] The third is the Peda-Vēgi copper-plate grant of Nandivarman.[3] The fourth and the fifth records of the family are similarly two copper-plate grants found at Kantēru in Guntūr district and belong to the reigns of Vijaya Skandavarman and Nandivarman respectively.[4]

Like the Bṛhatphalāyanas and the Ānandas, the Śālaṅkāyanas also called their family after their *gōtra* name Śālaṅkāyana. The Śālaṅkāyanas were a Brāhmaṇa family like the Bṛhatphalāyanas and the Bhāradvāja-Pallavas of Kāñcī,

Śālaṅkāyana: a *gōtra* name adopted as the family appellation.

though they attached the suffix *varman* to their personal names in accordance with the prevailing practice of the age. The term Śālaṅkāyana seems to be originally the name of a Vedic *ṛṣi* according to the *Matsya Purāṇa* and the *Pravaramañjarī* of Puruṣōttama.[5] Śālaṅkāyana was a descendant of Śalaṅku or Śalaṅka who was one of the sons of Vis'vāmitra. In the *Pravarakāṇḍa*, there are two *gōtras* named after Salaṅkya: One belongs to the Angīrasa *gaṇa* or group and has the same *pravara* as the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, Angīrasa-Bārhaspatya-Bhāradvāja-Śālaṅkāyana. The other Śālaṅkāyana *gōtra* belongs to the Vis'vāmitra *gaṇa* and has the *pravara* Vis'vāmitra-Śālaṅkāyana-Kaus'ika.[6] In the *Gaṇapāṭha* of Pāṇini

1 *E. I.*, IX, p. 56f.

2 *Ind. Ant.* V. p, 175f.

3 *Bhārati* (Madras) August 1924. Edited by M. Sōmas'ēkhara S'arma in Telugu. An English version of it by Mr. R. Subba Rao, M. A., appears in the *JAHRS*, Vol. II, p. 92ff.

4 These charters were first brought to light by the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao, M.A., and published by him first in Telugu in the *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. II. pp. 113ff. Later they were published in English in *JAHRS*. Vol. V. pp. 21ff.

5 See *Gōtra-pravara-nibandha-Kadambam* by R. Chenchal Rao (*Bibl. Mys.*)

6 The Andhra Brāhmaṇas of this *gōtra* at the day mention the *pravara* with seven ṛṣis as *saptārṣēyam*.

the word Śālaṅkāyana occurs twice. Firstly as an example of the change of the nominal stems when the suffix comes in to denote a *gōtra* descendant. Thus Śalaṅku becomes Śālaṅka and finally Śālaṅkāyana.[1] And secondly it occurs as an example of *Ākṛti-gaṇāḥ* in the names of certain territories of rulers as Śālaṅkāyanaka.[2] The reference to the Śālaṅkāyanas and their territory as Śālaṅkāyanaka in Pāṇini indicates that the Śālaṅkāyanas were an ancient family. But it is difficult to postulate on that slender basis that the Śālaṅkāyanas of Vēṅgi had any connection with the country known as Śālaṅkāyanaka of which Pāṇini speaks. The Sanskrit lexicon, *Mēdinī*, gives *Nandi* or the sacred bull of God Śiva as one of the meanings of the word Śālaṅkāyana. The emblem on the seals of the Śālaṅkāyana copper-plate charters like that of the Bhāradvāja-Pallavas of Kāñcī is a bull seated to the proper left. From this it may be inferred that the Śālaṅkāyanas believed themselves to be connected with the *Nandi* in some manner in the beginning.

It appears that the Śālaṅkāyanas of Vēṅgīpura were connected in some manner with the Bhāradvāja-Pallavas. In the first place the Śālaṅkāyana charters bear a strong resemblance to the Pallava grants in the use of epithets in the formal preambles of their records. Secondly the crest of the Śālaṅkāyanas, like that of the Pallavas, is the bull. Thirdly, the Śālaṅkāyanas appear to be on friendly terms with the Pallavas throughout the period of their ascendancy. The Śālaṅkāyanas belong to the same Aṅgīrasa *gaṇa* as the Bhāradvāja-Pallavas in their *gōtra* origin. The Śālaṅkāyanas seem to have copied the expression *Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhaktaḥ*, 'devoted to the feet of the venerable lord the father' from their southern neighbours, for every one of the Śālaṅkāyana kings attached this epithet to himself in his charters.

The word *Bappa* occurs in the inscriptions of several dynasties of Dakṣiṇāpatha during the third and fourth centuries like that of the Guptas, Vākāṭakas, Pallavas and the early

1 Pāṇini : Bk. IV. Chapt. I. No. 99.

2 *Ibid.* Bk. IV. Chapter II. No. 53.

kings of Kalinga.[1] It is thus evident that *Bappa* is not a proper name but simply means in respectable terms 'the venerable father'. It is also interesting to observe that after the fall of the Imperial Andhras and Śrīparvatīyas all the dynasties that rose to power in Dakṣiṇāpatha adopted the epithet *Bappa-bhaṭṭaraka-pāda-bhaktaḥ*; and this denotes that a reaction came over the country about the middle of the third century A. D. The Imperial Andhra and the Andhrabhṛtya dynasties adopted a matronymic nomenclature like Vāsiṣṭhīputra Gautamīputra, Māṭharīputra and Hārtīputra which was abandoned by their political successors. From about the middle of the third century, therefore, the matronymic prefixes were dropped and this change was well marked by the use of the expression *Bappa-bhaṭṭaraka-pāda-bhaktaḥ* in the charters of the period. As the practice of calling themselves by matronymics fell into disuse, the royal donors described their male ancestors even up to the fourth generation in the formal preamble of their charters. Each king thus showed the highest reverence to his father who was always his predecessor on the throne.

*Citrarathasvāmin*: Śālaṅkāyanas: sun worshippers.

The tutelary deity of the Śālaṅkāyanas was the god Citrarathasvāmin. The epithet *Citrarathasvāmi-pādanudhyātaḥ* "one who is absorbed by devotion to the holy feet of the Lord Citrarathasvāmin", which occurs in all their charters clearly bears out this conjecture. Sanskrit lexicons like *Vācaspatyam* mention *Citraratha* as a synonym for 'Sun-god'. The Śālaṅkāyanas, therefore, appear to be worshippers of the Sun-god; and this view rests also on the representation of the emblem of the Sun-god in the form of a disk with illuminating rays countersunk on the surface on some of the Śālaṅkāyana seals.[2] The reference to the worship of the Sun-god (Citrarathasvāmin) in the Śālaṅkāyana records is the earliest instance of Sun worship in ancient Andhradesa. The temple of Citrarathasvāmin seems to have stood in the metropolis Vēṅgīpura itself. Vēṅgīpura has been correctly identified with Peda-Vēgi, a ruined village

1 *E. I.*, XIII p. 44f.

2 *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. XI p. 125 and *JAHRS*. Vol. I. p. 94f.

situated about eight miles to the north-west of Ellore in the West Godavari district.[1] The correctnes of this identification is confirmed by the existence of a small mound at Peda Vegi which is pointed out as the site of the ancient temple of Chitraratha-svāmin at Vēṅgīpura,[2] and the discovery of some fagmentary Prakrit inscriptions. Near that spot at the present day there stands a temple dedicated to God Viṣṇu. Sir Walter Ėliot who carried explorations in that locality in 1840 has left a beautiful account of the remains of the ancient Vēṅgīpura.

Site of Peda Vēgi and Cina Vēgi: Vēṅgipura.

"About eight or ten miles north of Ellore is situated the village of Peda Vēgi, half an hour's walk to the north of which is Cina Vēgi, and five miles to the south of these is another village named Dendulūr with several hamlets attached to it, named Ganganagūḍem, Sānigūḍem etc. According to the local tradition all these formerly constituted one large city in which stood numerous temples which were dedicated to Śiva. The ruins of about fifty fanes sacred to this deity still exist in Dendulūr and likewise four statues or idol of Vighnēs'vara, one of which is very large, is on the southern side of the village near a tank surrounded by date trees. A high mound called Bhīma-lingam *dibba* is found on the east side of the village and a tank named Mācālamma-Ceṛuvu to the north has a mound in the centre of which are two stone bulls. There is another tank to the west of the village called Nārikalavāri-ceruvu on the banks of which are two *Śilās'asanams* standing upright and two more which have fallen down and which were erect about four years ago. Between Peda Vēgi and Cina Vēgi is another remarkable mound. All these places are supposed to conceal enormous treasures."[3]

1 *South Indian Palaeography*, p. 16, note 1 ; *Ind. Ant.* XX, p. 93.

2 *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*. Vol. XI, p. 304.

3 The entire area is worth an exploration by the Archaeological Department of India.

## II

## *Chronology of the Śālaṅkāyanas.*

The chronology of the Śālaṅkāyana kings may be determined with the help of the copper-plate charters of the family. It has been pointed out, while discussing the Pallava Prakrit grants, that Prakrit charters take precedence over the Sanskrit records in point of time. Distinguished epigraphists, like Dr. Fleet and Prof. Georg Buhler, have assumed, and for very cogent reasons too, that kings named in the Prakrit grants belong to an earlier time than those who issued the Sanskrit charters.[1] The Ellore grant of *Mahārāja* Vijaya Dēvavarman, which is in Prakrit, becomes, therefore, the earliest record of the family. The language of this record is more archaic than the literary Prakrit of the British Museum plates of *Yuvamahārāja* Vijaya Buddhavarman's Queen Cārudēvi. Moreover, the record is written in an archaic alphabet.[2] Like the Prakrit charters of the Bṛhatphalāyanas and the Pallavas found in Andhradesa, the Ellore Prakrit plates may be assigned either to the close of the third or the beginning of the fourth century. The record may be assigned, however, to the beginning of the fourth century, reasonably on the assumption that archaic literary Prakrit survived longer in the Northern Andhradesa than in the southern provinces. It is therefore likely that Vijaya Dēvavarman was the earliest member of the family known to history and in all probability the founder of the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty of Vēṅgīpura.

Dēvavarman, the first king.

*En passant* it may be observed that Dr. Jayaswal, a learned writer, draws conclusions about the dynasties of Andhra and Southern India in a somewhat arbitrary manner. And, therefore, it must be said that his conclusions are often misleading. Thus for instance, he assumes that Vijaya Dēvavarman the *Aśvamēdhayajin* of the Ellore Prakrit plates, was a successor of *Mahārāja* Vijaya Nandivarman the donor of the

1 *E. I.*, I. p. 3.

2 *E. I.*, IX, p. 56ff. See the remarks of Dr. E. Hultzsch on the Prakrit language of the Ellore grant.

Kollēru Sanskrit plates.[1] With due respect to Dr. Jayaswal, it may be pointed out that the copper-plate inscriptions of the Early Dynasties of Andhradesa have not been carefully and properly studied in his work. Yet another instance of his arbitrary assumption is that he mixes up apparently two distinctly separate dynasties, the Māgadhas of Piṣṭapura in South Kalinga and the Śālaṅkāyanas of Vēṅgī in Andhradesa as one and assumes that Vijaya Nandivarman of the Kollēru grant changed the dynastic name from Māgadha-*kula* to Śālaṅkāyana, absolutely without any data. These two dynasties, it may be remembered, were two distinct and separate families and reigned over two different but contiguous regions. Vēṅgi lay to the due west of Kalinga, and the two kingdoms were separated by the great river Godavari and its arms, or correctly speaking by the river Yēlēru which flows on the southern side of Piṣṭapura itself.[2] The kingdom of Vēṅgi extended as far as the Kṛṣṇa in the south-west and into the hinterland of modern Telingāna in the Nizam's Dominions in the west. Its northern boundary was the left bank of the Godavari and extended probably beyond for a small distance. The Śālaṅkāyanas were a separate dynasty and had nothing to do with the Māgadha family of Piṣṭapura. Further it is impossible to believe that Vijaya Dēvavarman was a successor of Vijaya Nandivarman, even judging their chronology on palaeographical grounds.[3]

Dr. Jayaswal's theory: merging of two dynasties: incorrect.

Vijaya Dēvavarman's name is not repeated in any of the remaining four charters of the family. Of all the charters the Peda Vēgi plates of Nandivarman alone mention four generations of the family including the donor.[4] They are:

The Genealogy of Peda Vēgi plates.

1 *History of India* (1933) p. 127–128.

2 The river Yēlēru is formed by the union of three streams that take their rise in the hills of Rampa, Golugoṇḍa and Jaḍḍangi respectively and their union is a little to the north-east of Yellavaram.

3 Mr. M. Rama Rao discusses the question under the heading '*A Note on the Śālaṅkāyanas* in *I. H. Q.* Vol. X. pp. 158—161.

4 *JAHRS*. Vol. I. p. 92, *Bhārati* (1924 : August).

Hastivarman
|
Nandivarman (I)
|
Caṇḍavarman
|
Vijaya Nandivarman (II) (*donor*) — Other sons. (*Un-named*)

The Kollēru grant of Vijaya Nandivarman, of Sir Walter Eliot's collections, mentions merely the donor Vijaya Nandivarman as the eldest son of Caṇḍavarman.[1] There remain two more charters, which come from Kantēru, of Vijaya Skandavarman and Nandivarman respectively, for our consideration. These two records do not mention the names of the ancestor of the donors, and hence it is difficult to fix their places in the genealogy of the Śālaṅkāyanas.

Genealogy of the Kantēru plates.

It is probable that Nandivarman of the Kantēru grant was the ancestor of Vijaya Nandivarman of the Kollēru and Nandivarman of the Peda Vēgi grants. The palaeographical evidence is in support of this conjecture. Some scholars, however, assume that Vijaya Skandavarman might be a younger son of Caṇḍavarman, who according to the Kollēru grant had more sons than one.[2] On the other hand, Lakshmana Rao believes Vijaya Skandavarman to be the son and successor of Nandivarman II. While admitting the Ellore Prakrit grant of Vijaya Dēvavarman to be the earliest record of the family, Lakshmana Rao places Hastivarman, the ancestor of the donor of the Peda Vēgi plates, at the top of the pedigree as the progenitor and makes Dēvavarman a son to him.[3] His hypothesis is based on the fact that Hastivarman was a contemporary of Samudragupta, and therefore that Hastivarman might be the first king of the dynasty. His view is untenable, for the contemporaneity of Hastivarman and Samudragupta does not conclusively establish the priority of Hastivarman in the family pedigree even over Vijaya

1 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V., p. 175f.

2 *Bhārati* (1924, August) *Vol.* I. Part viii, p. 110f. See also Mr. M. Rama Rao in Bhārati (Vol. XIII, Part iv, p. 601f.) 1933 April.

3 *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. XI, p. 125f. and *JAHRS*, Vol. V, p. 27.

Dēvavarman. *Vaiṅgēyaka-Hastivarmā* or Hastivarman of Vēṅgi mentioned in the Allahabad *praśasti* of Samudragupta was according to Lakshmana Rao's identification the same as Hastivarman, the Śālaṅkāyana king of Vēṅgi. This identification is no doubt correct. But that is not a proper reason to warrant that he was the progenitor of the family. There is Vijaya Dēvavarman, who on account of his Prakrit grant, becomes the earliest known member of the dynasty. Almost all the scholars who have written on the history of the Śālaṅkāyanas have accepted Lakshmana Rao's scheme of the pedigree and assumed Hastivarman to be the founder of the family.[1] Though the contemporaneity of Hastivarman with Samudragupta enables us to determine the date of Hastivarman, it does not prove conclusively that he was the earliest king. There are, however, no records of the reign of Hastivarman to state with certainty his relationship to Vijaya Dēvavarman. But as the period of Prakrit Charters undoubtedly preceded that of the Sanskrit grants and their age is fixed to be the dawn of the fourth century roughly, Vijaya Dēvavarman has to be placed above Hastivarman in the family pedigree. Accepting an average of twenty years for each generation, the six generations of the Śālaṅakāyana dynasty may be arranged thus:—

1. Vijaya Dēvavarman, *Aśvamēdhayājin* (c. 300—335 A. D)

*

2. Hastivarman, (c. 335—350 A. D.)

3. Nandivarman I. (c. 350—370 A. D.)

4. Chaṇḍavarman. (c. 370—395 A. D.)

5. Vijaya Nandivarman (II) c. 395—410 A. D. | 6. Vijaya Skandavarman c. 410—420 A. D.

Samudragupta's expedition into the Deccan which is fixed roughly in 343 A. D. is the datum upon which the chronology of the Śālaṅkāyana kings has been reckoned. At the rate of about twenty years for a generation, the period of sovereignty

1 *A. R. S. I. E.* 1924-25. Part II, p. 78, M. S. Sarma in *Bhārati* (Aug. 1924) p. 114.

of the Śālaṅkāyanas of six generations extends roughly over one hundred and twenty years. If the rise of Vijaya Dēvavarman is assigned to roughly 300 A. D., about the same time when the Kadamba Mayūras'arman rose to power in the south-west, the closing date of the last king Vijaya Skandavarman, falls somewhere about 420 A. D. The testimony of palaeography of the Śālaṅkāyana charters corroborates this scheme of chronology. All the five records of the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty have to be assigned to the fourth century alone and not either to the later or earlier centuries.[1]

III

## *Political History of the Śālaṅkāyanas.*

### Vijaya Dēvavarman and Hastivarman.

There seems to be no doubt that [2]Vijaya Dēvavarman was the founder of the dynasty. He must have risen to political importance early in the fourth century by destroying the sovereignty of the Ānanda dynasty and successfully establishing the independent kingdom of Vēṅgi. His rise to supremacy in Andhradesa synchronized with the establishment of the Gupta Dynasty in the north by Candragupta I and the Kadamba sovereignty by Mayūras'arman at Vaijayanti in the south-west. Vijaya Dēvavarman's ancestors must have been already masters of Vēṅgi, for the Greek Geographer Ptolemy mentions them. And when opportunity arose they occupied the regions of the lower Kṛṣṇa and the Godavari and extended their sway in all directions. Their rise and expansion, therefore, may be placed immediately after the fall of the Bṛhatphalāyanas. Vijaya Dēvavarman, was probably a vassal king before he rose to

1. Vijaya Dēvavarman. c. 300—335 A. D.

1 Dr. Burnell : *South Indian Palaeography*, p. 16f. plate xxiv.

2 In almost all the inscriptions of the early dynasties of Southern India and Andhradesa, the epithet *vijaya* is added to the names of the kings as an auspicious honorofic. Thus we have Vijaya Skandavarman, Vijaya Buddhavarman among the Pallavas, Vijaya Mandatrvarman and others among the Kadambas and Vijaya Nandivarman and Vijaya Dēvavarman among the S'ālaṅkāyanas. Similarly the royal cities were called Vijaya-Vēṅgipura, Vijaya-Vaijayantīpura and Vijaya-Kandarapura and royal camps as Vijaya-skandhāvāra etc. The term *vijaya* is thus only an honorofic like the term *Siva* which was often attached to the royal names of the Andhrabhṛtya and other early kings. The practice was in vogue till the fifth century. (See also *Jour. Dept. Lett.*) Vol. XXVI, p. 54.

sovereignty. His kingdom probably extended from the eastern seaboard far into the inland in the west and included South Kōsala, in the north. It would appear to have been bounded by the great Vākāṭaka Empire in Central India on the north, the Pallava kingdom on the south and the Kadamba kingdom of Kuntala in the west. It was presumably after the completion of his conquests that Vijaya Dēvavarman celebrated the *As'vamēdha* sacrifice. His title *As'vamēdhayājin* 'the offerer of *As'vamēdha*' is not therefore a boast as has been wrongly assumed by the late K. V. Laskhmana Rao.[1] It was a title denoting supreme sovereignty and imperial dominion over a vast kingdom. We do not find a similar claim to the offering of the *As'vamēdha* by any one of his successors. Not even Mayūras'arman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty[2] and the Pallava king Vijaya Skandavarman II of Kañci could claim the celebration of an *As'vamēdha* in proof of their paramount power. Candragupta, the founder of the Gupta dynasty, too, like the Kadamba king, did not enjoy probably sufficient power and prestige in his own dominions and neighbourhood, to perform the ancient and renowned rite. Both Vijaya Skandavarman II and Mayūras'arman were engaged throughout their reigns in deadly wars with each other and with their respective opponents; and each king proved more than a match for the other. It was impossible for both of them to celebrate the *As'vamēdha* rite. The Pallavas had to fight the Ānandas and others in Southern Andhradesa on the one hand and the Kadambas on the other. It was for that reason they made peace with the newly established power of the Śālaṅkāyana monarch and devoted their undivided attention and resources to conquer Mayūras'arman, only in vain. In the north, the times were not still propitious for the rising Gupta sovereign to offer the *As'vamēdha* or undertake a *dig-vijaya* or conquest of the quarters which was essential for the celebration of the

His As'vamēdha

1 *JAHRS*, Vol. V. p. 24–25.

2 Some later records of the Kadamba dynasty claim however the celebration of the *As'vamēdha* for Mayūras'arman, but it is not corroborated by any early or contemporary record, and particularly the Talgunda inscription of the time of S'āntivarman is silent about it. (*E. I.*, VIII, p. 24)

*Aśvamēdha* sacrifice. It was not so however in Dakṣiṇāpatha. The Vākāṭaka glory had reached the zenith, and the decline was about to commence. Vijaya Dēvavarman, therefore, had a free hand for his conquests in Andhradesa and the expansion of his dominion in Dakṣiṇāpatha.

It is clear from the chronology of the Imperial Vākāṭakas that has been adopted by us[1] and of the Śālaṅkāyanas settled in the preceding section, that Vijaya Dēvavarman was a later contemporary of the Vākāṭaka emperor, Pravarasēna I, (270–330 A. D.) who reigned for sixty years.[2] It was in the latter part of Pravarasēna's reign that Vijaya Dēvavarman rose to paramountcy in the Andhra country. The Vākāṭaka emperor had grown old and feeble and his four sons were either dead by that time or incapable of resisting the expansion of the Śālaṅkāyana domination into his empire which would appear to have embraced the northern-most districts of Āndhradesa. It was at this juncture that Vijaya Dēvavarman accomplished his notable military achievements and probably recovered the northern most region of Andhradesa from the Vākāṭaka Empire. It was probably this notable event preceded by several military successes and exploits that enabled Vijaya Dēvavarman to establish his universal kingship in Andhradesa by celebrating the *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice. This event may be placed about 325 A. D. with approximate certainty. This conjecture is also supported by the fact that the Imperial crown of the Vākāṭakas passed on to the young prince Rudrasēna I, son of Gautamiputra, who succeeded his grandfather as Bhāraśiva descendant and reigned under the aegis of the Bhāraśiva Nāga dynasty, roughly from 330 to 344 A. D.[3] By 330 A. D., the Pallava king Vijaya Skandavarman II, too, had died and was succeeded by his son Siṁhavarman I. The Pallava kings, as stated above, were on such cordial and friendly terms with the Śālaṅkāyanas at this juncture that Vijaya Dēvavarman had a favourable time to perform *dig-vijaya* in the eastern Deccan and offer the *Aśvamēdha*.

1 See Appendix.
2 Jayaswal. *History of India*, 150—350 A. D. pp. 79, 65 and 76,
3 *Opi. Cit.* pp. 76—79 and See also Appendix

It cannot be said, therefore, that Vijaya Dēvavarman's claim to *As'vamēdha* was a boast. To such a great king and warrior, a reign of about thirty-five years to accomplish all that he had done is hardly unreasonable. Vijaya Dēvavarman's reign (c. 300—335 A. D.) was a momentous epoch in the ancient history of the Deccan. Two dynasties rose to sovereignty successively, the Bṛhatphalāyanas and Ānandas, in Andhradesa after the fall of the Ikṣvākus. They attempted to establish an independent kingdom by consolidating the entire Andhra country; but both of them had failed, owing to the vigourous hostility and aggression of the Pallavas of Kāñci. Their failure to rise as a vigorous paramount power was also due in a large measure to the hostility of the revived Vedic Brahmanism and to the waning of Buddhism in Andhradesa. It was the rise of the Brahmanical Śālaṅkāyana dynasty under Vijaya Dēvavarman in Vēṅgi that stemmed the tide of the Pallava aggression into the Northern Andhra country. It was under the vigorous and dominating influence of this Brahmanical dynasty that at least the Northern Andhradesa was united and consolidated as a single kingdom. The Śālaṅkāyanas, however, on account of their friendly relations with the Brahmanical Pallavas of the South, lost Southern Andhradesa and could never gain dominion over that territory. The Pallavas and the Śālaṅkāyanas would appear therefore to have agreed to keep the Kṛṣṇa river as boundary between their respective kingdoms.

Vijaya Dēva-varman's greatness.

Vijaya Dēvavarman called himself a *Parama-māhēs'vara* meaning 'a devout worshipper of Mahēs'vara' or Śiva, though he worshipped the tutelary deity Citrarathasvāmin, established at Vēṅgīpura. His successors, however, called themselves *Paramabhāgavatas*, evidently on account of their having changed their faith from Śaivism to Viṣṇuism.[1] There is nothing improbable in this, for the worship of the Sun-god became gradually changed into the worship of Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu.

His Elūru Prakrit grant.

1 See Kanteru copper-plate grant of Nandivarman (B) *JAHRS*, Vol. V. Part I p. 31.

The Prakrit grant of Vijaya Dēvavarman records the gift of twenty *nivartanas* of land in a handsome locality in Ēlūra to the Brāhmaṇa householder, Gaṇa Śarman of the Babhūrasa *gōtra*, with the exemption from all kinds of taxes and liabilities. The gift also consisted of two house-sites, one for the donee and another for his men, who received half of the crop (*addhiya*) and for his door-keepers.[1] Ēlūra is identical with the modern town of Ellore, the head-quarters of the West Godavari district. The grant is dated the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Pauṣa in the thirteenth year of Vijaya Dēvavarman's victorious reign.

The record is interesting for many reasons. It reads like an order or an official letter addressed by the king to the villagers of Ēlūra headed by their *munyada*. The term *munyada* or *munyadapa-mukhya*, which occurs in the Kollēru plates also seems to denote the headman or the royal officer in charge of the revenue division and represent the *rāṣṭrika* of the Pallava grants and *rāṣṭrakūṭa* or *raṭṭaḍi* of the Eastern Cāḷukya records. The order appears to have been communicated by the king in the immediate presence of the donee, Gaṇa Śarman, probably a high officer in the state or a minister, who had a large retinue of servants, door-keepers and other insignia of a high dignitary. The record further indicates that already by the thirteenth year of his victorious reign, Vijaya Dēvavarman had performed *dig-vijaya*, and celebrated the *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice.

2. Hastivarman c. 335—350 A. D.

It is probable that Vijaya Dēvavarman's successor was Hastivarman. It is difficult to specify in the present state of our knowledge the exact relationship between Hastivarman and Vijaya Dēvavarman. But it is possible to believe that he was a descendant of Vijaya Dēvavarman, and seized the crown by a *coupe de etat* on the death of the aged king. Hastivarman was a great king who held together the great empire founded by his predecessor. There are, however, no records of his reign, but

1 *E. I.*, IX, p. 59, note 8 and *E. I.*, I, p. 6, text line 39. See also the ***Mitakṣara*** on Yājñavalkya-Smṛti.

the Peda Vēgī grant of Vijaya Nandivarman describes him as *anēka-samar-āvapta-vijayinaḥ* 'one who obtained victories in innumerable battles.' There is no information about the wars which Hastivarman had fought and the victories he obtained. Probably he had to fight his own rivals and other enemies of his house in order to establish himself firmly on the throne. He had also to fight probably the hostile elements in the realm to retain the paramount and imperial character of his dynasty.

Samudragupta's expedition.

But the most notable of Hastivarman's exploits was his successful resistance to Samudragupta's expedition into Dakṣiṇapātha which was as remarkable as it was swift and sudden. Scholars are divided in their opinions about the character of the expedition of the Gupta monarch. Vincent Smith believes that Samudragupta returned homewards through the western region of the Deccan subduing on his way the kingdom of Dēvarāṣtra or the modern Maharatta country and then Ēraṇḍapalla or the East Khandesh in the Bombay Presidency.[1] He follows Dr. Fleet's identification of these two territories implicitly. He places the conclusion of this arduous and wonderful campaign approximately in 350 A. D.[2] Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil, on the other hand, differs in the identification of Dēvarāṣṭra and Ēraṇḍapalla and confines them to the north eastern parts of Andhradesa in the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts. Consequently the importance of Samudragupta's expedition into the Deccan turns out to be considerably reduced. The French savant places the event in the beginning of the emperor's reign about 335 or 340 A. D.[3] Dr. K. P. Jayaswal places the date of this campaign in or about 344–45 A. D., sometime after the death of Emperor Pṛthivīsēna I, according to his scheme of the Vākāṭaka chronology. Like Dr. Jayaswal, M. Jouveau-Dubreuil also follows Harisēna the composer of the Allahabad *pras'asti*, and places the event before the northern conquests of Samudragupta were completed.

1 *Early History of India*, 4th Edition, pp. 301.

2 *JRAS*, 1898, p. 369.

3 *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 58.

The date fixed by Dr. Jayaswal falls roughly fourteen or fifteen years after the death of the Vākāṭaka emperor, Pravarasēna I, according to the chronology adopted by me for the Vākāṭaka dynasty. Considering the course of events in the Vākāṭaka Empire, Pravarasena's death has to be placed about 330 A.D.[1] It was about this period that Candragupta I died and his son Samudragupta succeeded to the throne of Magadha. On the death of Pravarasēna I, his grandson Rudrasēna or Rudradēva I succeeded to the Vākāṭaka throne and reigned till sometime about the close of Samudragupta's military pageant in Dakṣiṇāpatha. Rudrasēna I would appear to have been defeated and perhaps slain by Samudragupta at the battle of Eran in Bundlekhand.[2] The event is recorded in the Eran inscription which is certainly earlier than the Allahabad record. Rudrasēna's death may be placed about 344 A. D., and certainly not later than that, for Pṛthivīsēna I, son and successor of Rudrasēna I, rose shortly afterwards to restore the fallen glory of the Vākāṭakas. It would appear that he reigned for a long period; and therefore his reign may be assigned to about 344 to 370 A. D. He conquered Bhagīratha, the Kadamba king of Kuntala about 370 A. D. and proudly claimed the exploit. Samudragupta, courted the friendship of this powerful monarch towards the close of his reign and sealed it with by a marital alliance, giving his grand daughter Prabhāvatīguptā in marriage to prince Rudrasēna II, the heir-apparent of the Vākāṭaka throne. Considering the course of these political events in the Vākāṭaka Empire and Northern India under the Imperial Guptas, Samudragupta's expedition into Dakṣiṇāpatha has to be assigned to sometime between 340 and 344 A. D., and the year 342-43 seems to be a good date for the event.

Its date.

The Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta is no doubt an 'imperial biography" intended to glorify the Emperor composed

1 *Opi. cit.* page 141; Se also Appendix.

2 Jayaswal (*Hist. of Ind.* 1933 p. 63) According to him Pravarasēna I reigned from 284—344 A. D. and his grandson Rudrasēna I from 344—348 A. D. My dates for these two kings are 270—330 and 330—344 A. D. respectively.

by his general Harisēna.[1] It is upon the proper interpretation of this record that the correct history of the reign of Hastivarman and his exploits rests. The interpretation of this inscription, at least so far as the expedition into the South is concerned, has given room to numerous errors and mistaken identifications. Here is the passage from the inscription which gives the list of the names of kings and their territories which Harisēna claims as having been conquered by his sovereign. "*Kausalaka-Mahēndra Mahākāntāraka-Vyāghrarāja Kaurālaka-Mantarāja Pistapuraka-Mahēndra Giri-Kauttūrika-Svāmidatta Airaṇḍapallaka - Damana Kāñcēyaka - Viṣṇugōp Āvamuktaka - Nīlarāja Vaingēyaka - Hastivarma Pālakkak - Ōgrasēna Daivaraṣṭraka-Kubēra Kausasthala puraka-Dhanañjaya prabhṛti sarva-Dakṣiṇāpatha-rāja-grahaṇa-mōkṣānugraha-janita pratāp - ōnmisra mahābhagyasya;*" "One whose great good fortune was mixed with, so as to be increased by his glory produced by the favour shown in capturing and then liberating Mahēṇdra of Kōsala, Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra, Mantarāja of Kūrāla, Mahēndra of Piṣṭapura, Svāmidatta of Giri-Kottūra (*i. e.* Kottūra on the Hill), Damana of Ēraṇḍapalla, Viṣṇugōpa of Kāñci, Nīlarāja of Avamukta, Hastivarman of Vēṅgi, Ugrasēna of Pālakkaka, Kubēra of Dēvarāṣtra, Dhanañjaya of Kus'asthalapura and all other kings of the region of the South."[2] There need not be any doubt about the random manner in which the enumeration of the kings and their regions in Dakṣiṇāpatha is made in the Allahabad record. The composer Harisēna who was one of Samudragupta's generals was no doubt connected intimately with the Emperor's campaign in the South. But it must not be forgotten that the whole record is in panegyrical style, and there is little or no scope for the composer to bear in mind the topographical situation or order of the kingdoms and their kings. All the kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha were evidently strung together in a rhapsodic manner to suit the flourishing diction of the *pras'asti*. Any one who is conversant with the

Allahabad inscription and Harisēna.

1 Jayaswal: *History of India*, 1933, p. 134-35.

2 Fleet: *Gupta Inscriptions* (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III) No. 1, lines 19-20.

geography of the Deccan in general and particularly of Andhradesa in the eastern half of Dakṣiṇāpatha can easily perceive that in the passage above extracted Harisēna makes his sovereign descend into Andhradesa from somewhere in Dakṣiṇa-Kōsala as far as the river Godavari and then proceed along the coast to Piṣṭapura, Giri-Kottūra and Eraṇḍapalla in Kalinga and thence take a long jump to Kāñci in the distant South and then back again with another long leap to Avamukta and Vēṅgi and then march back into the South again as far as Pālakkaka whose situation is still uncertain and then return to Dēvarāṣṭra in Kalinga and finally meet Dhanañjaya of Kus'asthalapura somewhere in Dakṣiṇāpatha. It is thus obvious that Harisēna did not record the string of names in any topographical order or with reference to their geographical situation but in a haphazard fashion. At the same time, one cannot fail to understand the purpose of Harisēna in mentioning the long string of names of all the kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha. The object evidently seems to be to suggest all these kings and princes formed a formidable coalition and gathered together somewhere in the Deccan to resist and repulse the common enemy, the invader from the North.

Before the place where the historic engagement between the Gupta monarch and the coalition of the Southern kings was fought is identified or located, it is necessary to identify the numerous kingdoms and their kings mentioned in the *pras'asti*. Kaus'alaka-Mahēndra was no doubt Mahēndra of Kōsala or Dakṣiṇa Kōsala, which was also called Mahā-Kōsala. The kingdom of Mahā-Kōsala or Dakṣiṇa-Kōsala comprised the Jubbulpore and the Chattisgarh divisions of the Central Provinces. Mahākāntāraka-Vyāghrarāja, was Vyāghrarāja, the lord of Mahākāntārarājya or the Great Forest Kingdom. The region Mahākāntāra seems to be identical with the territory now covered by the tributary states of Orissa and the more backward parts of the Central Provinces in the east which still retain their ancient wild character. Mahākāntāra-rājya may be identical either with Tri-Kalinga which was called also

Identification of the localities.

the 'wild Forest Country of Tri-Kalinga' or *Tri-Kalingāṭavīrājya* in the Eastern Cāḷukya grants, or the *Aṣṭādas'a-aṭavīrājya* or Eighteen Forest Kingdoms, which must have been contiguous to Dabhāla and lain between Gondwara, Bhagelkhand, Chōta Nagpur and Chattisgarh.[1] It apparently lay to the north of the Andhra country.[2] It is, however, probable that the Mahākāntārarājya was another name for the *Aṣṭādas'a-aṭavī-rājya* 'the Eighteen Forest kingdoms' mentioned in the Betul plates of Sankṣōbha.[3] The kingdom then would appear to have comprised the south-eastern portion of the Chattisgarh division of the Central Provinces.[4] The capital of the Mahākāntārarājya was probably Sambhalpūr on the Mahānadī. The kingdom of Kaurāla of Mantarāja has been identified with the territory on the bank of the Kolleru (Kollair) lake by Vincent A. Smith and Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, but this identification is manifestly incorrect.[5] Lake Kolleru or Kolanu lies within a short distance, of about twenty miles, to the south from the ruins of the ancient Vēṅgīpura. Dandin speaks of Vēṅgīpura as Aṁdhranagarī situated on the banks of a large lake, evidently Kolanu or Kollēru. It is, therefore, hardly possible to believe that Kaurāla lay close to Vēṅgīpura, the capital of Hastivarman of the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty. It must be looked for elsewhere in the north itself. It may be identical with the kingdom of Kulūṭa situated to the south of Mēkal Range and to the north of the Indrāvatī and included the Chanda district of the Central Provinces and the Bastar State.[6] It will be thus seen that the kings, Mahēndra of Kōsala, Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra and Mantarāja of Kaurāla form one group and belong to a contiguous region in the north-eastern Deccan.

Immediately to the south of these territories lies the kingdom of Piṣṭapura over which Mahēndra ruled. It is probable that

1 *E. I.*, VIII, p. 286ff.
2 *E. I.*, V, p. 131 text line 17 ; and *Ibid* Vol. XIX p. 137, l. 17 .
3 *E. I.*, VIII, p. 284f.
4 *Opi. Cit.* pp. 285-286.
5 V. A. Smith. *Early History of India*, 4th edn. p. 300, n. 3. Dr. Jayaswal accepts the identification without question. (*History of India*, p. 136).
6 Kulūṭa is mentioned in the Mahēndragiri (broken) pillar inscription of Velanāṇṭi Rājēndra Cōḍa I. (*S. I. I.*, V. No. 1351).

this prince was a descendant of the Māgadha dynasty, and of Vasiṣṭhīputra Śaktivarman, the donor of the Rāgōlu plates.[1] Piṣṭapura is an ancient town, perhaps as old as Dhānyakaṭaka, (Dhanakaṭaka) and Pratiṣṭhāna. Some authors have confounded the meaning of the passage as *Piṣṭapuraka Mahēndragiri Kauttūraka-Svāmidatta* and interpreted it by assuming that Mahēndragiri Hill was mentioned in the inscription. But the passage plainly means that Mahēndra is to be connected with Piṣṭapura and Svāmidatta has to be regarded as the lord of Giri-Kottūra or 'Kottura on the Hill.'[2] There is, therefore, no reference to the hill Mahēndragiri at all. Kottūra or Giri-Kottūra was perhaps the capital of a feudatory principality in the extreme north of Kalinga. Prof. Bhandarkar has recently made a curious suggestion which is quite contrary to reason and chronology. The learned professor seems to be unacquainted with the geography of Andhradesa, both ancient and modern. It is regrettable that there is no attempt to study the place-names of Andhradesa in his paper 'On Mahēndragiri, king of Piṣṭapura.[3] His interpretation of the name of the king of Piṣṭapura as Mahēndragiri is untenable.[4] To the Andhras, village names like Giri-kottūra, the Sanskrit term *giri* meaning *koṇḍa* in Telugu superadded as a suffix to qualify the locality and distinguish it from another village of the same name situated on the plain (*Skt. sthala*; Tel *nēla*) country called merely Kottūra, are quite familiar. Thus for instance may be mentioned village names like Koṇḍa-guḍi,

Piṣṭapura.

Giri-Kottūra.

1 *E. I.*, XII, p. 46.

2 *Ancient History of the Deccan*: It is Mon. Jouveau-Dubreuil who first corrected the error and translated the passage properly.

3 *Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume* 1936, pp. 154–155. The learned Editors of the Volume who are Tamilians and who apparently do not know anything about the place names of Andhradesa fall into the same mistake as the learned writer.

4 Mahēndragiri as a personal name does not occur even to day in the Andhra country. It is certainly therefore an anachronism in the fourth century A. D. Such names as S'ēṣagiri, S'ēṣādri, Kumāragiri, Siṁhādri, Kālahasti and so on with suffixes like *nātha*, *īs'vara* and the like often assumed but invariably omitted in ordinary usage sprang into existence during the thirteenth century or thereabouts with the religious revivals of that period. Mahēndragiri, therefore, cannot be construed as the personal name of the king of Piṣṭapura.

Koṇḍa-Gūtūru, Koṇḍa-Kāra and Koṇḍa-Kaṁbēru and so forth. There are any number of village names of this type in Andhradesa and Giri-Kottūra or Koṇḍa-Koṭṭūru is one of them. Therefore the prefix *giri* must be taken to qualify Kottūra, the village as one that is situated at the foot or on the top of a hill, which was different from Sthala-Kottūra or mere Kottūra. The name Giri-Kottura cannot be split up into two words, and the prefix *giri* be super-added as a suffix to the personal name Mahēndra, king of Piṣṭapura. The name Giri-Kottūra is an indivisible compound name denoting the proper name of a place. The village under that name alone can be identified properly.

Ēraṇḍapalla, the principality of Damana, was at one time wrongly identified with Ēraṇḍol in the East Khandesh district of the Bombay Presidency. As it is mentioned along with the other kingdoms of the east in Dakṣiṇāpatha and immediately after Giri-Kottūra, it must be located in the vicinity of the latter. Ēraṇḍapalla is a town in Kalinga and as a place-name it also occurs in the Siddhāntam plates of the Eastern Gaṅga king Dēvēndravarman of Kalinga.[1] It is said to be the residence of the Brāhmaṇa donee of the grant. Ēraṇḍapalla or Ēraṇḍapalli is a village near Chicacole (Śrīkākulam) Road Railway station in Vizagapatam district. Ēraṇḍapalla is the Sanskritised name for Āmudālavalasa which means 'the town of castor seeds.'

Avamukta, the kingdom of Nīlarāja may be located in the upper Godavari region in the East Godavari district. About thirty miles from Rajahmundry up the river, there is a hill fort called Rāmadurgam or Nēla-kōta on a hill overlooking a large lake. Rāmadurgam has extensive remains of an ancient citadel, which is believed to be the seat of a line of kings that ruled over the interior region, that extended as far as the confluence of the river Indrāvatī with the Godavari, in the early period. Probably Rāmadurgam was the capital of the kingdom of Avamukta.[2] At the same time, Avamukta may be treated as identical with Ava and therefore with the Arvarnoi or Aronornoi mentioned by

1 *E. I.*, XIII, p. 212.
2 *E. I.*, XIII, p. 104.

Ptolemy.[1] "The territory of the Arvarnoi (Arvarnoi)", writes McCrindle in his Ptolemy's Geography of India, was "penetrated by the river Tyna and extended northward to Maisōlia, the region watered by the Maisolus in the lower parts of its course." This description enables us to identify Ava-rāja's kingdom or Avamukta with the Arvornoi, which may be equated to Hiraṇyaraṣtra in the Cuddapah and Kurnool districts. The Avas are mentioned in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* equates them with the Andhras.[2] King Kharavela of Kalinga claims to have conquered a certain Avarāja, whose capital is said to be Pīthuṁḍa.[3] Ptolemy mentions Pithundra, a metropolis in the region that lay to the east of Maisolia.[4] Perhaps both were identical localities.

Vēṅgi of Hastivarman Kāñcī of Viṣṇugōpa and Pālakka of Ugrasēna are well known. Then comes Dēvarāṣtra of Kubēra. Dēvarāṣtra as a province in Kalinga or Yelamañci-Kalingadēs'a occurs in the Kasimikōṭa plates of Cālukya Bhīma I.[5] It corresponds to the southern half of the Vizagapatam district.

Erandapalla

Its capital was Dēvapura for sometime, but the place cannot now be identified.[6] Later on, its capital was Bhōgāpura, now a village of no importance in the Bimlipatam (Bhīmunipaṭṭaṇam) taluk. Kus'asthalapura of prince Dhanañjaya, apparently lay in the interior of the modern Telingana in the Nizam's Dominions. The modern town of Kolanupāka or Kollipāka on the river Ālēru, a tributary of the Mūsī which flows into the Kṛṣṇa, was, according to local traditions, Kusasthalapura, 'the city of Kus'a', the younger son of Śrī Rāma. Kus'asthalapura,

Kus'asthalapura.

therefore, was the capital of the interior province known as Madhyadēs'a or 'Middle

1 McCrindle: *Ptolemy's Geography of India*, p. 65.

2 *E. I.*, XX, p. 84.

3 *E. I.*, XX, p. 79, text line 11.

4 McCrindle: *Ptolemy's Geography of India*, p. 185. See also Gerini; *Researches in Ptolemy's Geography*, p. 668, note 3.

5 *C. P.* No. 14 of 1908–09, text lines 27–28.

6 Siripuram (now S'ṛṅgavarapukōṭa) plates of Anantavarman (*E. I.* XXIII p. 56f.) See also *Bhārati*, Vol. VIII, Part 9, Sep. 1931, p. 451f. text line 1.

Country' that lay between the Godavari on the north and the Kṛṣṇa on the south in Western Andhradesa. Curiously enough a certain prince Dhanañjaya, lord of Kollipāka, in Madhyadēśa appears in the ancestry of the Durjaya chieftains of the Kōṭa family of Dharaṇikōta or Dhānyakaṭaka. The Kōṭa chieftains traced their lineage from a certain Dhanañjaya who was said to be a great warrior and called themselves as having been born in the lineage or *gōtra* of Dhanañjaya.[1] It is probable that this Dhanañjaya was the same king that is mentioned in the Allahabad record.

It is thus clear that the Allahabad inscription does not speak either of Mahēndragiri as the lord of Piṣṭapura or of lake Kollēru as a kingdom in Andhradesa. It does not also speak of Eranḍol in East Khandesh or of Dēvarāṣṭra in Konkan or Mahārāṣṭra. Obviously all the kingdoms mentioned in the inscription, with the exception of Kāñcī, lay in the eastern half of the Deccan and all of them save Kalinga and Dakṣiṇa-Kōsala, comprised the ancient Andhradesa. It appears, therefore, that the expedition of Samudragupta was confined only to the eastern half of Dakṣiṇāpatha. Samudragupta did not make a triumphal march from the east across the Deccan plateau to the west, and then turn towards the north through Mahārāṣṭra, Mālwa and Central India, back to his own kingdom, Magadha, as Vincent A. Smith has assumed.

Samudragupta's expedition: Its character and scope.

Samudragupta's expedition was not also a glorious one.[2] Dr. Jayaswal draws a more vivid picture of Samudragupta's campaign and treats it in very much the same manner. But the truth seems to be that Samudragupta undertook the southern expedition with the object of acquiring or subduing the neighbouring kingdoms and extending the borders of his empire. But in this he appears to have failed. His expedition ended as an unsuccessful military pageant. Samudragupta was no doubt a great soldier and, therefore, loved the joy of battle. He marched into Dakṣiṇāpatha about

1 *Local Records*, Vol. XLII, p. 433f; *E. I.*, VI, pp. 223—225.

2 *Early History of India*. 4th edn. p. 301.

342 A. D. with a well organised, powerful and victorious army. Apparently elated by the successes against Gaṇapati-Nāga and other Northern kings, Samudragupta descended into Chōṭa Nāgpur and marched against the capital of Dakṣina-Kōsala, situated somewhere in Raipur district. There he defeated Mahēndra, king of Kōsala, and then reduced Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra-rājya to submission. The engagement took place perhaps on the Mahānadī in the vicinity of Sambalpur. He then conqured Mantarāja of Kaurāla. He then turned south-wards into Andhradesa in quest of conquest. He did not then cross the forests and the inaccessible hill country on the east that separated Kalinga from the mainland, as Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil has assumed. Even at the present day the region of Eastern Bastar and the forest tract of the Malayas or the Eastern Ghats of Ganjam district are impassable, and it would have been even more impossible to penetrate in the early centuries of the Christian era. That region was called Tri-Kalinga. Samudragupta, therefore, took the old route, proceeded south-wards from Kosala and descended into Andhra-desa along the fertile valley of the Godavari.[1] He crossed the Godavari somewhere above the confluence of the Indrāvatī and entered the territory called Madhyadēs'a in ancient times. From there it was quite easy for the Gupta Emperor to march either on Vēṅgīpura or Piṣṭapura and reduce both the kingdoms on the eastern seaboard to submission. The fall of the Śālaṅkāyanas would mean the subjugation of all Northern Andhradesa and Kalinga and also the destruction of the sove-reignty of the Pallava kingdom. It would therefore appear that all the kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha and the South at once became alive to the common danger. The quick descent of the daring Gupta monarch into the borders of Vēṅgi on the west brought together all the vassal kings of the Śālaṅkāyana monarch in Northern Andhradesa and Kalinga and the Pallava king of Kāñci in the South and his viceroy at Pālakkada on the other.

1 Roughly three centuries later the Chinese Pilgrim, Yuan Chwang took the same route to reach the Andhra country. From Kōsala he travelled south through a forest for about 900 *li* (350 miles) to the An-to-lo country (Andhra country). Watters: *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, Vol. II. p. 209.

The Pallavas were already the allies of the Śālaṅkāyanas. Viṣṇugōpavarman I and his predecessors, Siṁhavarman I and Vijaya Skandavarman II, had already entered into a defensive alliance with the Śālaṅkāyanas and agreed to keep the Kṛṣṇa river as the boundary between the Pallava and the Śālaṅkāyana dominions.[1]

The presence of a common and powerful enemy from the North who threatened the independence and integrity of the paramount kingdoms of Dakṣiṇāpatha and the South, of the Pallavas and the Śālaṅkāyanas, brought into existence a formidable confederacy of kings of the southern region. From Kus'as'thalapura in Madhyadēs'a in the west came Dhanañjaya.[2]

A Confederacy of kings of the south opposed Samudragupta.

From the south came Viṣṇugōpavarman I and his heir-apparent Ugrasēna of Palakkada. From the north-east or Kalinga came the vassal kings, Mahēndra of Piṣṭapura, Svāmidatta of Giri-Kottūra, Damana of Ēraṇḍapalla, Kubēra of Dēvarāṣṭra, and from the south-west came Nīlarāja of Avamukta and others. This great coalition of kings was probably led by Hastivarman of Vēṅgi and Viṣṇugōpavarman I of Kāñci. Both of them were indeed powerful monarchs. That Hastivarman was a great general is evident from the epithet *anēka samar-āvapta-vijayinaḥ* 'one who was a victor in several battles' attached to his name in the records of the family.[3] Equally famous as a victor in innumerable fierce conflicts was Viṣṇugōpavarman I who is described in the grants of his son as *anēka-saṁgrāma-sāhās-āvamardōpalabdha-vijaya-yas'aḥ*, 'one who in the tumult and crush of battles had obtained the fame of victory by his valour and courage'.[4]

It is not clear where the combined armies of the allied kings of the Deccan and South met the Gupta Emperor. It was certainly impossible for Samudragupta to have reached

1 See Book II, *ante* pages 224—229.

2 *Local Records*, Vol. XLII, p. 433. The Peda-Makkena record referred to here calls Dhanañjaya a great and victorous leader of armies.

3 Peda-Vēgi plates of Nandivarman II. (*Bhārati* 1924 : August)

4 *E. I.*, VIII, p. 159f. text line 8-9, *Ibid*. Vol. XV, p. 253f. 1-11-12 text lines 11-12.

Vēṅgi and much more so the river Kṛṣṇa. No battle could have been fought on the banks of the Kollēru lake, within fifteen or twenty miles from the capital Vēṅgīpura, as Dr. Jayaswal seems to think. The course of events that led to the disastrous and sanguinary battle on the Kollēru lake in the beginning of the seventh century was different from that of the fourth century. Samudragupta marched into Andhradesa along the western route at the head of a large army directly from Kosala in the north. He met his foes who came prepared for a decisive battle at a place somewhere in Western Andhradesa. The Western Cālukya king, Pulikes'in II, invaded Kosala, turned eastward, reduced Kalinga and marching along the coast country, stormed Piṣṭapura, crossed the Godavari and marched on Vēṅgīpura. The decisive and bloody battle of the Kolanu was apparently the last of the sanguinary fights in Pulikēs'in's expedition. There is no comparison, therefore, between the expedition of Samudragupta and the invasion of Pulikēs'in II. It appears, therefore, that a pitched battle between the opposing kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha and the Gupta Emperor was threatened, but was not fought. Samudragupta appears to have cleverly averted a great debacle. Instead of encountering the enemy, who appeared formidable, and seeing his great army being either routed or destroyed, he seems to have abandoned the idea of conquest and retreated to his kingdom, making peace with and leaving the great kingdoms of the South utterly unscathed. The Allahabad inscription contains a detail, as rightly pointed out by Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil, that suggests this view.[1] It is stated therein that Samudragupta captured the kings of the South but afterwards released them. It is a dubious statement. It does not state that he subdued the kings of the South and levied tribute form them. Harisēna evidently praised his sovereign in order to glorify him in a record which was incised on a stone pillar somewhere in the distant north and far away from Andhradesa and Dakṣiṇāpatha. After this interpretation of the record, the expedition of Samudragupta presents itself before our

No Sanguinary battle took place.

1 *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 60.

eyes in a different form. It ceases to be a glorious triumphal march from north to south and back to north through west. It was not a *dig-vijaya*, as some scholars wanted to interpret it. It was merely a military pageant.

IV

## *Political History of the Śālaṅkāyanas.* (*Continued.*)

### Successors of Hastivarman.

The son and successor of Hastivarman was his son Nandivarman. About his reign nothing can be known. The Peda Vēgi grant of his grandson describes him as *vividha-dharma-pradhānaḥ* 'one who had for his chief object the observance of various *dharmas* or religions. The meaning of this epithet is, however, not quite clear. It was perhaps intended to denote that Nandivarman had a long peaceful and prosperous reign, that he was a just and pious sovereign and that the various religions of the country received not only tolerance but also patronage at his hands.

3. Nandivarman I
c. 350–380 A. D.

The Kantēru plates of Nandivarman seem to be so different from the Peda Vēgi and Kollēru plates of Vijaya Nandivarman II in phraseology and other matters that it may not be unreasonable to assign them to the reign of Nandivarman I. It is no doubt true that this record was found along with another Śālaṅkāyana copper-plate grant of Skandavarman in Kantēru, Guntur taluk, but that does not seem to be a circumstance which mitigates against the above conjecture. The inscription records the grant of a piece of land, 12 *nivartanas* in extent, in the village of Kuruvāḍa in the Kudrahāra-viṣaya, to the Brāhmana householder, *the celebrated* Svāmicandra of the Maudgalya-*gōtra*, by Nandivarman, for the increase of his family and *gōtra*, splendour and renown, and fame and merit. Svāmicandra, who is referred to by the epithet *prasidha* must have been a well known personality in the realm.

Nandivarman's successor was his son Caṇḍavarman. During his reign, it would appear that, fresh territories were conquered and annexed to the kingdom of Vēṅgi. The Peda

Vēgi plates describe him with the epithet *pratāpōpanata sāmantasya*, one who on account of his prowess was bowed to by vassals. There are however no records of this monarch, but judging from the palaeography of the Peda Vēgi plates of his son, Caṇḍavarman may have been a contemporary of the Pallava king Siṁhavarman II (c. 364—385 A. D.) and *Mahārāja* Caṇḍavarman of Kalinga, the donor of the Kōmarti plates.[1] All the copper-plate charters of the Pallava dynasty are written in characters exactly similar to the alphabet of the Kōmarti plates. The close resemblance of the alphabets of the Peda Vēgi plates of Vijaya Nandivarman and the Kōmarti plates supports the view that both of them, at any rate both the Caṇḍavarmans, must have belonged to the same period.[2] During the reign of the Śālaṅkāyana Caṇḍavarman, an attempt seems to have been made by the feudatory dynasties of Kalinga and other neighbouring regions to throw off the yoke of Vēṅgi and that it had failed, as the epithet *pratāp-opanata-sāmantasya* indicates.

4. Caṇḍavarman.
c. 380—395 A. D.

Caṇḍavarman's successor was probably his son Vijaya Nandivarman or Nandivarman II. It appears that in his reign the Śālaṅkāyanas lost many of their possessions. A new dynasty rose in Kalinga at this juncture under Caṇḍavarman, which soon became a paramount power. The Śālaṅkāyana kingdom consequently was greatly reduced in extent and after the death of Vijaya Nandi-varman declined rapidly. There are two records of this monarch but none of them is dated with details which admit of verification. The Kollēru plates record the grant of the village Vidēnūru-pallikā, in the province of Kuḍuhāra as an *agrahāra* to one hundred and fifty seven Brāhmaṇas, who belonged to various *gōtras* and *caraṇas* and recited their respective Vedas and other sacred texts, and who resided in the excellent *agrahāra* of Kuruvāka, for the increase of his family and *gōtra*, piety

5. Vijaya
Nandivarman or
Nandivarman II.
c. 395—410 A. D.

1 *E. I.*, IV, p. 142ff.
2 *Ibid.* p. 143.

and fame, and splendour and renown, by the king.[1] The charter was addressed to the villagers, headed by the *Munyada*, apparently the headman. The gift was commended to be protected from the levy of dues and taxes by the *dēśādhipati* or governor of the district, *āyuktaka* 'or chief executive officer,' *vallabha* 'revenue official' and other *rājapuruṣas* "royal officers of the district." The charter also conferred on the donees the enjoyment of the original royal dues there. The command was issued on the 8th day of the dark fortnight of Pauṣa of the 7th year of the victorious reign. It was executed by the *ājñapti* (executor) Mūlakura-*bhōjaka* "the lord of Mūlakura, presumably a high dignitary of state.[2] Of the localities mentioned in the grant little information is available. Vidēnūrupallikā cannot be traced now and likewise the *agrahāra* of Kuruvaka. The district of Kuḍuhāra also has not been identified properly till now. Scholars are apparently confused between the district of Kuḍūrahāra of the Koṇḍamudi grant of Jayavarman and Kuḍuhāra or Kudrahāra of the Śālaṅkāyana records. Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil made this mistake about these two names on account of their striking similarity, and the mistake was copied by others.[3] But Kudūrahāra and Kuḍuhāra appear to have been different districts. Kuḍūrahāra was the name of the region that lay to the south-east in the lower Kṛṣṇa region, which comprised the entire delta of the Divi taluk of the Kistna district and the Rēpalli and Tenāli taluks of the Guntur district. The principal town of Kuḍūrahāra was Kōḍūra on the sea and was identical with Koḍḍūra of Ptolemy as pointed out already. The district of Kuḍuhāra lay to the north or north-east of the Kṛṣṇa and

1 *Ind. Ant*, V, p. 175f. The word *Svādhyāyānām* in line 6 of the grant is not properly translated into English by its learned Editor. It does not mean 'belonging to the branches of Private study.' It means 'those who have studied their own Vēda.'

2 Childers' Pali Dictionary gives the meaning 'the village headman' to the term *bhōjaka*, but Dr. Buhler (*E. I.*, I, p. 2f.) translates it as a 'freeholder'. The latter interpretation is doubtless correct. *Bhōjaka* is evidently a derivative from the root *bhuj*, 'to enjoy' and *bhōjaka* therefore means one who enjoys the village free from al immunities. In a corrupt form the term survives to this day as *bhukta* in Vizagapatam and Ganjam districts which formed the ancient Kalinga country. It means the same thing as *bōya* (plural: *Boḷ*) that occurs in the Cāḷukya grants.

3 *Ancient History of the Deccan*. p. 89.

covered the south eastern half of the Kistna district, embracing the Guḍivāḍa, Bandar and Kaikalur taluks and a portion, if not the entire area, of the Kollēru lake. There is a village called Kūḍaravalli which is situated to the west of the Kollēru lake and not far from the right bank of the stream Buḍamēru that empties itself into the Kollēru itself. It is quite possible that this village which has innumerable traces of antiquity lent its name to the district in the early centuries of the Christian era. To the west of the village lies Vennanapūḍi which may well have been the ancient Vidēnūrapallikā. In the later day grants of the Śālaṅkāyanas, Kuḍuhāra occurs also as Kudrahāra and Sir Walter Eliot records a tradition about Kudrahāra that was current in his day.[1] Kudrahāra is said to be the ancient name of the territory now covered by the Kolleru lake. It was formerly inhabited by several Brāhmanas who became so wicked and sinful that they provoked the divine vengeance and were therefore destroyed by Agni, the god of Fire. One virtuous Brāhman and his pious wife, however, received timely warning to fly; the remainder were all burnt to death and the earth around sank to a depth of twenty four and a half cubits or 36 or 37 feet. In proof of this it is asserted that on digging in any part of the lake during the hot weather the soil displays the action of fire. This might be due to a volcanic phenomenon or an earthquake having caused the subsidence of the tract. There are to-day two stone figures representing the virtuous Brāhmaṇa couple on a mound in a conspicuous part in the centre of the lake. The female figure is called Pedda-iṇṭi-Amma, "the Great Lady of the glorious noble house," of Kollēru.

The second record of the reign is the Peda Vēgi plates. The inscription records the grant of thirty two *nivartanas* of land, 10 in the village of Aruture, 10 in the village of Muṇḍūra, six in the village of Kamburañceruva and six in the village of Ceñjeruva to the god Viṣṇugṛhasvāmin, (or Viṣṇu) 'the lord of the Three Worlds,' residing in a temple at Prālūra.[2] The land was converted into *Dēvahala* tenure and delivered to the

1 *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, Vol. XI p. 305. (1840)

2 *JAHRS*., I. pp. 92ff. See also *Bhārati* 1924 August Number, where M. S. Sarma first published the inscription in Telugu.

cow-herds (vraja-pālaka) of Arutore for cultivation. As in the previous records, the royal officers *Dēs'ādhipa*, *āyuktaka*, *vallabha*, *rājapuruṣa* and others were warned not to levy taxes or in any way molest the charity. The grant was made on the 1st day (*tithi*) of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa in the tenth year of Nandivarman's reign. The executor of the charity, as in the previous record, was the *Mūlakura-bhōjaka* or the lord of Mūlakūra. The edict was drawn up on copper plates by the king's Private Secretary, *rahasādhika* Kāṭikuriṇa. It is probable that of the four localities mentioned in this grant, at least three were situated near the capital Vēṅgīpura. Of these Arutore cannot now be identified. Perhaps it had gone out of existence long ago. It is probable that it stood in the neighbourhood of Muṇḍūra and other villages. Muṇḍūra is identical with Muṇḍūru, a flourishing zamindari village situated a few miles to the north east of Peda Vēgi. Kamburañ-Ceruva seems to have become corrupt as Kammara-ceruvu and finally become Kommara or Kommaraceruvu, as it is to day called. There are two villages of that name described as North-Kommara and South Kommara in Ellore taluk and it is quite probable that both of them represented the ancient villages of Kamburañ-ceruva and Ceñjeruva. Prālūra, where the shrine of Viṣṇu-gṛhasvāmin was situated, appears to have been identical with Pālūra. It is a matter of common knowledge that in Telugu the secondary *r* in the first syllable in all similar words is gradually dropped out both in writing and pronunciation.[1] Prālūra meaning the 'town of rice' in another name like Ganjam which means 'depot in which paddy or rice is stored before exporting' and is therefore by implication a mart and a sea-port. Pālūra or Pālūru must have stood on the sea at the mouth of the stream called Uppuṭēru, as pointed already, to the east of Kālīpaṭnam and washed away by a tidal wave. It was a great mart and apparently the largest sea-port of the

Peda-Vegi plates.

Prālura the same as Pālūra of Ptolemy.

1 Examples of this kind like *krotta (kotta)*, *krōti* (*kōti*), *prāta* (*pāta*) *krovvi (kovvi)*, *proyyi* (*poyyi*), *kranta* (*kanta*) and *Krōvūr* (Kōvur) and so on may easily be multiplied to illustrate this phenomenon from the spoken Andhra dialect.

Śālṅkāyana kingdom. It was mentioned by Ptolemy. In Andhradesa to-day there are many Brāhmaṇa families which bear the surname *Pāluri* which indicates that they once belonged to the town of Pālūru or Pālūra.

The successor of Vijaya Nandivarman or Nandivarman II was Vijaya Skandavarman. There is a single record of his time, the Second set of the Kantēru plates. The inscription mentions the grant of the village of Cinnapura along with its hamlets in the Kudrahāra-viṣaya as an *agrahāra* to the Brāhmaṇa, Śivārya of the Maudgalya gotra, a resident of Lēkumāri. The charter was dated from Veṅgīpura on the full-moon day of Vaisakha in the first year of the king's reign. The edict commands the villagers to know and do their duty properly as before and 'give possession of the village to Śivārya with gentle affection and love.' The record mentions all the royal officers but the *munyada* is left out. The village is ordered to be left out of the administration by all the royal officers *niyōga*, *niyuktaka*, *āyuktaka* and the venerable officials, '*viṣayapati-mis'raiḥ*,' of the district. K. V. Lakshmana Rao identifies Cinnapura (Cintapura?) in Kudrahāra with the present village Cinnāpuram in Bandar taluk. Lēkumāri may be identified with Lōkamudi in the Kaikalūr taluk as the epigraphist Venkobarao suggests. Kuravāḍa of the Kollēru plates seems likewise identical with Kūrāḍa in the same taluk.[1]

6. Vijaya Skandavarman. c. 410—420 A. D.

Vijaya Skandavarman appears to be the last king of his line. With him probably the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty came to an end; and the fall of the Śālaṅkāyanas may be placed about 420 A. D. Vijaya Skandavarman's reign evidently synchronised with the break or interruption in the Pallava supremacy in the south. There is a gap of about four decades from the death of Vijaya Viṣṇugōpavarman (II) till the rise of Siṁhavarman III of the *Lōkavibhāga* synchronism, between 395 and 435 A. D. This interval was probably the period of trial for the Pallavas in the south and the Śālaṅkāyanas in Andhradesa. It was the period during which the Viṣṇukuṇḍins rose to power and

1 *JAHRS*, 1898, V. p. 25f. See also *ARSIE*, 1924–5, Part II, pp. 78ff.

supplanted the Śālaṅkāyana sovereignty in Andhradesa. While the powerful Pallavas in the distant south recovered from the onslaught of the Kadambas and their allies the weak Śālaṅkāyanas perished in the struggle with the Viṣṇukuṇḍins.

V

*Buddhism under the Śālaṅkāyanas.*

The period of the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty, (c. 300–420 A. D.) synchronised with the golden age of the Imperial Guptas of the North. It also synchronised with the glory of the Kadambas in Vaijayanti. Andhradesa too enjoyed peace and prosperity during this epoch. Under the Śālaṅkāyanas the kingdom of Vēṅgi, with its fine sea-board and two great rivers, flowing almost from west to east enjoyed a great volume of sea-borne trade. It was during this period that Buddhism, having lost patronage in Andhradesa, travelled far east, beyond the seas into the Indian Archipelago, Siam and Cambodia. A suggestion has recently been made that the Śālaṅkāyanas were responsible for the spread of Buddhism into Burma.[1] The *Śasanālaṅkāra*, a Buddhist work, makes Buddhadatta of Ceylon and Buddhaghōṣa contemporaries of a certain Talaing king San Lan Krom who reigned on the Irawaddy (Airavati) in the modern Pagan district. This king is considered to be in all probability a scion of the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty of Vēṅgi, noted for their maritime activity and naval power. The tradition in Burma seems to record that the Śālaṅkāyanas extended their patronage to the Buddhist clergy at Kāñcīpura and elsewhere. It is stated that king San Lan Krom was responsible for the introduction of Buddhism into Burma. Buddhadatta, who was recognised as a great scholar in Simhala (Ceylon), was very much in requirement at the courts of other princes. He, it is said, was invited by the king of Vēṅgi, whose patronage had set the Buddhist sects at Kāñcīpura on a sound basis. It is also believed that Buddhadatta was also consulted, if not actually deputed in connection with the introduction of Buddhism into Burma, where the Śālaṅkāyana kings had more or less permanent

1 *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. II. pp. 111 (112)ff.

settlements.[1] It is indeed remarkable that the Śālaṅkāyanas who were themselves *Parama-bhāgavatas* 'worshippers of Bhagavat (Viṣṇu)' and followers of Vedic Brahmanism, showed not only tolerance to Buddhism but even patronised it. Here then perhaps lies the clue for the interpretation of the epithet *vividha-dharma-pradhānasya* given to Nandivarman I, in the Peda Vēgi grant of his grandson. Probably the Śālaṅkāyana king who was responsible for the spread of Buddhism into Burma was Nandivarman I himself.

During the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era the Buddhist Church flourished despite the militant revival of Brahmanism. In Andhradesa there lived sometime during this period several eminent Buddhist metaphysicians, philosophers, spiritual teachers, writers and commentators on the canonical works of various schools, like Buddhapālita, Āryadēva, Bhāvavivēka and *Ācārya* Diṅnāga. It would appear that Āryadēva and Bhāvavivēka were Andhras, while the other two were closely connected with Andhradesa. Few particulars are known about these eminent divines who were regarded in their day as Bōdhisattvas. And the little that is known about them is from the Tibetan and Chineese sources.

The Yuan Chwang mentions Diṅnaga and Bhāvavivēka in his *Travels*, and narrates very amusing legends about them in his work.[2] Diṅnāga was born in Siṁhavaktra, a suburb of Kañcī, in a Brāhmana family. He was well trained in the orthodox Brahmanical and Vedic learning.[3] He became famous as a Buddhist propagandist and philosopher and renowned as well skilled in subtle metaphysical dialectics. He was in the beginning a follower of Vātsiputra school of Hīnayānism but afterwrds having incurred the displeasure of his preceptor joined the school of Vasubandhu and devoted the rest of his life to the study and teachings of the Mahāyāna doctrines. Diṅnāga, according to Yuan Chwang, stayed for a long time in the monastery of Acala which is believed to have been at Nasik or more

1 *Ibid*. p. 114.

2 Beal: *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, pp. 217-227; Watters: *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, Vol. II, pp. 209-224.

3 Watters '*On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, Vol. II, p. 212.

probably at Ajanta in Mahārāṣṭra, and towards the end of his life sojourned in a monastery near Vēṅgipura. Diṅnāga is represented as a prolific writer: he was reputed to have been an author of one hundred treatises. He studied the Nyāya system of the Brāhmanas and commented upon it; but the Nyāya scholars regarded his expositions erroneous. Diṅnāga was well versed in *Prajñāpāramitā*, 'Spiritual Knowledge' which gave him vast aspirations for attaining *nirvāṇa* and knowing the subtleties of Yōga. He was the author of the Science of Logic *Hētuvidyā Śāstra*, and an interesting treatise on *Prajñāpāramita*. Yuan Chwang relates that when Diṅnāga entered *vajrasamādhi* in order to attain *samyak sambuddhi* 'Perfect Enlightenment', there was a terrible earthquake and trembling of the mountains and that the king of the country encouraged him in his *Samādhi* practices. He also tells that Diṅnāga gave up the desire in the end on the persuasion of the *Bōdhisattva* Mañjus'rī. If we are to accept the commentator Mallinātha's explanation of the well-known verse in *Mēghasandēs'a*, Diṅnāga appears to have been a contemporary of the celebrated poet Kālidāsa, and that he was also an unsympathetic critic of the poet.[1] Kālidāsa's date seems to lie in the latter part of the fourth and the earlier part of the fifth century. He appears to have been a contemporary of the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman, (c. 390—415 A. D.) Candragupta II, surnamed Vīkramāditya, (c. 380—415 A. D) and the Vākāṭaka king Dāmōdarasēna-Pravarasēna II (390—415 A. D.), the author of the *Setubandha*.[2] It seems, therefore, that Kālidāsa lived roughly between 360 and 430 A. D., and accordingly was a contemporary of Diṅnāga. The date of the Buddhist divine synchronises also with that of the last three kings of the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty beginning with Nandivarman I.

Bhāvavivēka was a native of Malayagiri in South India, probably in Southern Andhradesa. The Eastern Ghats were

1 Weber: *Indian Literature*, p. 209 *n*. and p. 245 note.

2 I have adopted a slightly altered chronology for the Vākāṭakas which is different from that assumed by Dr. K. P. Jayaswal. (*Hist. of Ind.* p. 62 1933). Another writer Mr. M. G. Pai, has put forward an utterly untenable chronology for the Guptas and Vākātakas (*J. I. H.* Vol, XIV, Part I. pp. 26ff and continued in Part II.)

known as Malayagiri in ancient times, and Śrīparvata in Guntūr and Śrīśailam in Kurnool are situated in the Malaya Range. Bhāvavivēka appears to have lived in the period between Diṅnāga and *Siddha* Nāgārjuna, though according to Yuan Chwang he was a contemporary of Dharmapāla and thus lived in the early part of the seventh century or possibly a little earlier still. Bhāvavivēka is said to have written a commentary on the *Prajñālampa Śāstra* of *Ācārya* Nāgārjuna, and two treatises called *Prajñāpradīpa-mūla-Mādhyamika-vṛtti* and *Arkajvālā*. It is also said that in order to obtain solutions for his doubts he resolved to obtain an interview with Maitrēya who was believed to be the next Buddha. Thereupon he repeated in solemn devotion the *Hṛdaya-Dhāraṇi-sūtra* before the *Bōdhisattva* Avalōkitēśvara who appeared before him and directed him to the country of Dhānyakaṭaka, where in a mountain cavern dwelt Vajrapāṇidēva and to recite in devotion the *Vajrapāṇi-dhāraṇi-sūtra* to obtain his wishes. Bhāvavivēka obediently followed the advice and recited the *dhāraṇi sūtra* for three years in uninterrupted devotion. In the end, Vajrapāṇi appeared before him and gave him a secret prescription to carry out for three years more with determination. Accordingly Bhāvavivēka carried out the procedure and three years later struck the Mountain Cliff with charmed mustard seeds and then the rock opened. Bhāvavivēka entered the cavern followed by six of his disciples to remain there till Maitrēya came as the Buddha, and thereafter the opening automatically closed itself.[1]

The story is amusing but it may be noticed that the facts about the magical spells seems to agree with the account of Tārānātha about Dhāraṇikōṭa or Dharaṇikōṭa, the ancient Dhānyakaṭaka, which became a centre of production of the *Māyurīvidyā* or Magical Spells.[2] It will be remembered that while dealing with Buddhism under the Ikṣvākus, we said that it was in the country of Dhānyakaṭaka that *Siddha* Nāgārjuna, who obtained perfection in the *Māyurīvidyā*, lived during the sixth century.[3]

1 Watters: *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, Vol. II, p. 215.
2 Tārānātha: *History of Buddhism*, S. 277.
3 *Ante*: Book. I. pp. 95–96.

CHAPTER IV.

## *The Māṭhara Dynasty of Kalinga.*

(*c.* 350—430 A. D.)

From about the first century of the Christian era till the middle of the fourth century, the history of Kalinga is completely enveloped in darkness. Kalinga must have been an integral part of the Andhra Empire under the Śātavāhanas and later under the Ikṣvākus. With the fall of the Ikṣvākus, it appears that Kalinga become a prey to warring dynasties; and it continued to be so till about the middle of the fourth century. The earliest record that refers to the sub-kings of Kalinga as contemporaries of Emperor Samudragupta is the Allahabad inscription of the Gupta monarch. The inscription mentions among others four sub-kings of Kalinga, namely Mahēndra of Piṣṭapura, Svāmidatta of Giri-Kottūra, Damana of Ēraṇḍapalla, and Kubēra of Dēvarāṣṭra. It is probable that some of these kings at least were vassals of Hastivarman of Vēṅgi. The territory, in which these four principalities lay, apparently covered the entire Kalinga which was bounded by the Godavari on the south-west, Ṛṣikulya on the north east, the rivers Śabarī and Tēlvāhā on the west and the sea on the east. Roughly this territory covers the modern district of Ganjam in Orissa and Vizagapatam and the northern portion of the East Godavari district in the Madras Presidency, and perhaps the southern half of Bastar state as well. All these four kings evidently flourished about the middle of the fourth century.

History of Kalinga-obscure in the Early Centuries.

Immediately after the political upheaval caused by the expedition of Samudragupta had subsided, a new dynasty appears to have sprung into power and acquired paramount sway over the whole of Kalinga. Probably it was not a new dynasty:

The kingdom of Piṣṭapura during the reigns of the successors of Mahēndra seems to have acquired sovereignty over the entire Kalinga. The new dynasty is known to history by the name Māṭhara-*kula*. It was founded apparently by Śaktivarman, the donor of the Rāgōlu plates.[1] The early southern characters and the Sanskrit language of the record clearly indicate that Śaktivarman reigned in the latter part of the fourth century. It is also probable that he was a descendant of, or possibly a rival, who had supplanted Mahēndra, or his successor on the throne of Piṣṭapura who soon acquired the sovereignty of the entire Kalinga. Dr. Hultzsch who edited this grant read the name of Śaktivarman's dynasty as Māgadha-*kula* but recently an amendment has been proposed in the reading as Māṭhara-*kula*.[2] This reading is certainly the correct one for, Dr. Hultzsch tentatively read the letters which were badly damaged as Māgadha-*kula*. The Ragōlu charter describes Śaktivarman as the ornament of the Māṭhara-*kula*, as Vāsiṣṭīputra and lastly as the Lord of Kalinga. Śaktivarman and his ancestors evidently adopted their *gōtra* name Māṭhara as their family appellation like many of their contemporaries, viz., the Bṛhatphalāyanas, Śālaṅkāyanas and Ānandas. Śaktivarmaṅ's matronymic name Vāsiṣṭhīputra indicates that he was a descendant of the Imperial Andhras and the Ikṣvākus or at any rate copied and maintained the traditions of those earlier dynasties in his family. Śaktivarman's capital was Piṣṭapura; and from that city, he reigned over Kalinga. As the only record of his period is dated in the 13th year of his reign, his tenure on the throne, powerful as he was, may have lasted about fifteen years, as C. 350—365 A. D. The Rāgōlu plates record a grant by king Śaktivarman issued from his capital Piṣṭapura, announcing to the inhabitants of Rākaluva in Kalinga-viṣaya, that he had bestowed the village as an *agrahāra* to the Brāhmaṇa Kumāra-śarman, of the Sāvarṇasa *gōtra* which had the *pravara* of five *ṛṣis*, and to his eight sons, to be enjoyed by them and their

Śaktivarman, the founder of the Māṭhara dynasty.

1 *E. I.*, XII, pp. 1–3.

2 *A. S. I.*, 1934-35, pp. 65.

descendants in perpetuity, for the increase of his merit, longevity and power. The *agrahāra* of Rākaluva was exempted from the payment of all taxes and liabilities, and also from the entry of soldiers. The inhabitants of the village were also instructed to wait upon the donees and to supply them with all that had to be measured in grain and paid in gold to the sovereign according to immemorial custom. The edict was dated the full moon day of Vaiśākha in the 13th year of Śaktivarman's victorious reign. The executor of the charity was the king himself; the edict was engraved or composed by the *Amātya* Arjunadatta. The village of Rākaluva seems to be the same as Rāgolu, in Chicacole taluk, where the plates were discovered.

Successors of Śaktivarman.

There is no definite information about the successors of Śaktivarman, who seems to have abandoned Piṣṭapura and made Siṁhapura in the north their capital. The reasons for changing the capital are not forthcoming. Possibly the successors of Śaktivarman lost their southern provinces to their enemies, the Śālaṅkāyanas, and were, therefore, compelled to move into North Kalinga. The Māṭharas held sway in North Kalinga till about the middle of the fifth century when they were overthrown by another dynasty, the Vāsiṣṭhas, known likewise by their *gōtra* appellation. All that can be gleaned about the successors of Śaktivarman is from a recently discovered copper-plate grant of *Mahārāja* Ananta-Śaktivarman issued from Vijaya Siṁhapura[1] Palaeographically this record is later than the Rāgōlu plates of Śaktivarman, and belongs roughly to the beginning of the fifth or the closing years of the fourth century A. D.[2] The composer of this inscription also was one Arjunadatta, who bore the titles *Dēśākṣapaṭalādhikṛta* and *Talavara*. It is noteworthy that the name Arjunadatta appears also in the Rāgolu plates. It is not, therefore, improbable that the composer, *Talavara* Arjunadatta

1 C. *P*. No. 4 of 1934-35 : *ARSIE*, 1935 pp. 52-53. See also *A. S. I.* 1934-35, p. 65.

2 The learned Epigraphists Rao Bahadur Krishnamacharlu and Dr. N. P. Chakravarti assume that the characters of this record belong to the fifth century A. D. I consider it otherwise. I believe that these must belong to an earlier period, to the closing years of the fourth century A. D.

of this grant was the same as the *Amātya* Arjunadatta, the writer of the Rāgōlu plates.[1] It is probable that the *Amātya* lived long till the 28th year of Ananta-Śaktivarman, which was the date of the Sakuṇaka grant, and rose in rank under the successors of Saktivarman by dint of his devotion and ability and consequently came to hold the important offices of *Talavara* and *Dēśākṣapaṭalādhikṛta*. Moreover the peculiar double name of the king, Ananta-Śaktivarman would seem to indicate the king Śaktivarman II was the son of Anantavarman. It is possible to assume that Śaktivarman II superadded the name of his father and thus called himself as Ananta-Śaktivarman so as to distinguish himself from his grand-father. This view indicates, however, that Anantavarman was the son and successor of Śaktivarman I. But there is no information about the reign of Anantavarman; it may be that his reign was short and disturbed or that he did not ascend the throne at all. It seems, however, probable that during the short period of Anantavarman the Māṭhara dynasty lost the southern provinces of Kalinga as well as their capital Piṣṭapura to their enemies, probably the Śālaṅkāyanas.

2. Anantavarman. (c. 365 A. D.)

Anantavarman's successor appears to have consolidated his kingdom in the north with his capital at Vijaya-Siṁhapura. The place may be identified with the modern Singupuram or Singapuram, which lies between Chicacole and Narasannapēṭa in the Vizagapatam district.[2] There are altogether seven records of the descendants of Anantavarman; and in the earliest of them, the family name appears as Māṭhara. In all these charters, occurs the legend *Pitṛbhaktaḥ* 'Devotee of (the feet of) the father' on the seals, and this fact proves conclusively, more than any thing else, that all the seven charters belong to one and the same family, known as the Māṭhara dynasty. The records are: the Sakuṇaka grant of *Mahārāja* Ananta-Saktivarman,[3] the

1 *ARSIE*, 1935 p. 53, para 3. I do not agree with the Government Epigraphist in holding that *Talavara* Arjunadatta might be a descendant of *Amātya* Arjunadatta. As pointed above, the probability is that they were one and the same person.

2 *E. I.*, IV, p. 143. The identification is that of Dr. Hultzsch.

3 C. *P*. No. 24 of 1934-35; *A. S. I.* 1934-35, p. 65; and *ARSIE*, 1935, p. 53.

Tiritthāṇa grant[1] and Kōmarti plates[2] of Caṇḍavarman, the Bṛhatprōṣṭa grant,[3] the Dhavalapēṭa copper-plate grant,[4] and the Tekkali plates[5] of *Mahārāja* Umavarman, and lastly the Koroṣaṇḍa plates of *Mahārāja* Vis'ākhavarman.[6] A noteworthy feature of the new dynasty of the Māṭharas is that the kings of this line dropped their family name in the next generation after the founder in the formal preambles of their family charters, and adopted the legend *Pitṛbhaktaḥ* as the motto on their royal seals. They evidently abandoned the custom of attaching the matronymic appellations, like Vasishthiputra and others to their personal names, according to the prevailing practice of that age and adopted in its place quite peculiarly enough the manner of superadding the patronymic appellation to their personal names. This is best illustrated in the name of Ananta-Śakti-varman himself, the founder of the line of Vijaya-Siṁhapura. Unlike the contemporary Śālaṅkāyanas and other dynasties, the Māṭharas attached to their names the epithet *Parama-daivataḥ*, 'devout worshipper of the gods' in all their charters. More than anything else, this epithet would indicate clearly the religious faith or the cosmopolitan and liberal outlook in matters of religion of the Māṭharas. Except Caṇḍavarman, who called himself in the earlier record of his reign as *Parama-bhāgavataḥ*, all the other kings of the family bore the epithet *Parama-daivataḥ* only.

The Māṭharas or Pitṛubhaktas of Kalinga.

There is only a single record of Ananta-Śaktivarman or Saktivarman II, as he may be designated. The edict was issued from his capital Vijaya Siṁhapura or Siṁghapura. Apparently the latter pronunciation alone lingered in the speech of the country and hence the place came to be called Siṅgupuram.

1 C. P. No. 12 of 1934-35 *A. R. S. I. E.* 1935 p. 51; See also *A. S. I.*, 1934-35, p. 64.

2 *E. I.*, IV, p. 142f, with plate.

3 *E. I.*, XII, p. 4f.

4 *JAHRS.*, X, pp. 143-144.

5 *JAHRS.*, VI, p. 53-54. *C. P.* No. 13 of 1934-35; *ARSIE.*, 1934-35, p. 52. This grant is most shabbily edited, and the readings are mostly incorrect. The article is not accompanied by the facsimiles of the plates.

6 *E. I.*, XXI, p. 23ff. and *J. B. O. R. S.*, XIV, p. 282ff.

The monarch bore the epithet *Parama-daivataḥ* and called himself the ornament of the Māṭhara-*kula*. Ananta-Śaktivarman bestowed the village of Sakuṇaka in the Varāhavartani-viṣaya as an *agrahāra* to two Brāhmaṇa brothers, Nāgas'arman and Dugga-s'arman, who were Taittirīya brahmacārins, of the Kātyāyana-*gōtra*. The inscription is dated the 28th year, evidently of the king's reign, on the 10th day of the bright fortnight of Phālguna. The executors of the edict were the *Kumār-āmātyas*, Śivabhōjaka and Vasudatta. Both of them were apparently high officials of the kingdom: Śivabhōjaka bore in addition the title *Mahābalādhikṛta* (Commander-in-chief?) and Vasudatta was called the *Daṇḍanētṛ*, 'General.' The functions of these officers are not quite clear and they are not mentioned in any treatise on Ancient Polity. It is probable that the title *Kumārāmātya* meant a 'junior minister.' The writer of the charter was Arjunadatta who was both *Dēs'akṣapaṭalādhikṛta* and *Talavara*. While the former title would seem to represent the officer in charge of the royal secretariat and records of the kingdom the latter is not clear. Perhaps, *Talavara* meant, as has been explained elsewhere, 'the Chief Judge'. At any rate the mention of the office *Talavara* is interesting; it reminds us of the title *Mahātalavara* that occurs in the lithic inscriptions of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Allūru and the Koṇḍamudi plates of Jayavarman. As the grant of the king is dated the 28th year, it is probable that he reigned for about 30 years; and his period may be placed roughly between 365 and 394 A. D. From the language of the inscription it would appear that Ananta-Śaktivarman II was a powerful king who rescued the sunken prestige of his dynasty and reigned for a long time.

Sakuṇaka grant of Ananta-S'akti-varman.

Ananta-Śaktivarman's successor was probably Caṇḍavarman. It is probable that he was the son of Ananata-Śaktivarman. The characters of the two records of Caṇḍavarman are undoubtedly more archaic than the alphabet of the inscriptions of Umavarman. The characters of the Kōmarti plates resemble closely those of the Peda Vēgi grant of Vijaya Nandivarman II.

This circumstance clearly shows that both the monarchs were more or less contemporaries. As both the charters of Caṇḍavarman are not dated beyond the sixth year of his reign, it is probable that his tenure on the throne did not last more than six years. Both the charters of Caṇḍavarman give him the title *Kalingādhipatiḥ* 'the lord of Kalinga'. The earlier grant was issued from Vijaya Siṁhapura, and was dated the 5th day of the 2nd fortnight, in the *grīṣma* (summer) season in the 4th year of his reign. It registers the grant of the village Tirtthāṇa or Tiritthāṇavāṭaka *grāma* as an *agrahāra* to several Brāhmanas of the same village. Tiritthāṇa cannot be identified today; it must have gone out of existence. It states that the Brāhmaṇa donees should enjoy all the privileges applicable to the Division of the Thirty-six *agrahāras*. Since Tiritthāṇa is said to be connected with the District of Thirty-six *agrahāras*, it must have been somewhere in Chicacole Taluk. Caṇḍavarman bears the epithets *Paramabhāgavataḥ* and *pitṛ-pādānudhyātaḥ* which are unique in his family. The engraver of this charter was *Des'ākṣapaṭalādhikṛta* Rudradatta, son of Mātṛvara.[1] The second record of the king, the Komarti plates, refer to the grant of the village of Kohetūra which once formed part of the king's domain, as an *agrahāra* to the Brāhmana Dēvas'arman of the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*, a student of the Vajasaneya-*sakha*. This edict also was issued from the capital Vijaya Siṁhapura. Kohetūra cannot be identified, for the *viṣaya* in which it lay is not mentioned in the inscription. The grant was issued on the 5th day of the bright fortnight of Caitra in the 6th year of the reign. Caṇḍavarman called himself *Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-padabhaktaḥ*, like the Śālaṅkāyana and other contemporaries; and this fact, if it indicates anything, suggests the strong revival that came over the land in regard to the worship of devotion to the father in preference to the mother, which was the prevailing practice of the previous Śātavāhana and Ikṣvāku epochs. Caṇḍavarman's short reign was probably due to the interruption caused by the enemies of the dynasty, the Śālaṅkāyanas and others.

4. Caṇḍavarman. (c. 394–400 A. D)

1 C. P. No. 12 of 1934-35 *ARSIE*, 1935. p. 51. The charter is not published and therefore the information about it is necessarily meagre. *A. S. I.*, 1934-35, p. 64.

Rao Bahadur Krishnamacharlu believes that Caṇḍavarman of the Tiritthāṇa grant may not be the same as Caṇḍavarman of the Kōmarti plates but possibly an earlier king. In support of his contention he states that the more angular shape of the letters and the archaic mode of dating with reference to the seasons of the year adopted in the Tiritthāna grant instead of quoting the lunar month and *tithi* as is done in the Kōmarti plates, renders it justifiable to assign Caṇḍavarman of the former record to an earlier date than Caṇḍavarman of the Kōmarti plates.[1] He also states that while the former Caṇḍavarman is described as a *parama-bhāgavataḥ* and *pitṛ-pādānudhyātaḥ*, he of the Kōmarti plates calls himself a *parama-daivataḥ* and *Bappabhaṭṭāraka-pādabhkataḥ*, and that these differences suggest that these two kings were not identical. But against this view it should be noted that these differences are not by themselves serious and sufficient to hold that the two kings were not identical. There is ample evidence to show in the inscriptions of the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era that two modes of writing, angular and roundish styles as well as two kinds of dating the records, were existing simultaneously in Andhradesa. These circumstances merely indicate that those charters belong to the period of transition and nothing more. Again there is not much distinction between the epithets *parama-bhāgavataḥ* and *parama-daivataḥ*. A single king may adopt the one in preference to the other in course of time on account of a change in his spiritual or religious outlook. Likewise, the distinction between *Pitṛ-pādānudhyātaḥ* and *Bappabhaṭṭāraka-pādabhaktaḥ* is but slight and is of no significance whatsoever.

Were there two Caṇḍavarmans?

Caṇḍavarman's successor was probably Umavarman.[2] The three records of his period were dated in the 9th, 30th, and 30th years of his reign respectively. The earliest record was dated from Vijaya Vardhamānapura. This locality cannot be identified now, but judging from the place of discovery which is

1 *ARSIE*, 1935, Part II, p. 51.

2 The Government Epigraphist for India thinks that Umavarman might be a predecessor of Caṇḍavarman. *A. S. I.* 1934-35, p. 64.

north of Tekkali, the city must have stood somewhere in that region. The troubled condition of his reign probably compelled Umavarman to remove the seat of his government to Varddhamānapura, early in his reign. The Tekkali plates record the grant of the village of Astihavēra as an *agrahāra* to the Brāhmaṇa house-holder Yās'a-s'arman of the Kās'yapa-*gōtra*. The edict was issued by the king, by word of mouth personally on the 7th day of the dark fortnight of Māgha in the 9th year of the victorious reign. The charter was engraved on copper-plates by Kēs'avadēva, an inhabitant of Piṣṭapura. This fact and the discovery of the plates somewhere in the Tekkali taluk in the extreme north seem to indicate that once more under Umavarman, the kingdom of Kalinga extended from Piṣṭapura, the modern Piṭhāpuram, on the south-west to the Mahēndragiri Mountain on the north-east. In the opinion of Rao Bahadur Krishnamacharlu, Vardhamānapura, from which the charter was issued may be identical with the village Vaḍama in the Pālakoṇḍa taluk and the village Astihavēra may be probably the same as Atava in the Sṛngavarapukōṭa taluk, both of the Vizagapatam district. The Bṛhatprōṣṭa grant states that Umavarman, the lord of Kalinga (*Kalingādhipatiḥ*), granted the village of Bṛhatprōṣṭha, (evidently a Sanskrit name for the original name like Peda-Muḍiyamu) to the Brāhmaṇa Haridatta, who belonged to the Aupamanyasa-*gōtra*, as an *agrahāra* with all the usual immunities. The village originally formed part of the king's domain in the Dantāyavāgu-*bhōga* or division: it was henceforth caused to be separated from it and joined the division of the Thirty-six *agrahāras*. The executor of the edict was Vasudēva, and the writer was Mātṛvara, son of the donee Haridatta himself who was the *Dēs'ākṣapṭalādhikṛta*. The charter was issued from Vijaya Siṁhapura on the 20th day of Mārgas'ira in the 30th year of the victorious reign. The date of this record is noteworthy, as it shows that the king must have reigned at least for thirty years, if not more. Curiously enough here we have a clue to determine the order of succession of the

5. Umavarman. (c. 400—430 A. D.)

Māṭhara *kula* or Pitṛbhakta kings. The Tiritthāṇa grant of Caṇḍavarman mentions a certain Rudradatta, son of Mātṛvara; and the Bṛhatprōṣtha grant mentions a certain Mātṛvara, son of Haridatta. As the Government Epigraphist rightly points out, Mātṛvara of the Bṛhatprōṣṭa grant seems to be a descendant of Mātṛvara, father of Rudradatta. This will give us the following genealogy of the *Dēs'akṣapaṭalādhikṛtas* of the reigns of Caṇḍavarman and his successor Umavarman:

Mātṛvara (I)

Rudradatta
(*Caṇḍavarman's grant*)

Haridatta

Mātṛvara (II)
(*Bṛhatprōṣṭha grant*)

The interval between the two charters is sufficiently long to support the above conjecture. Moreover, the name Rudradatta has got the same name-ending as Haridatta; and this fact enables us to assume reasonably enough that Haridatta and Rudradatta were sons of Mātṛvara (I) and therefore brothers. This genealogy, of the officers of state, gives us tangible evidence to conclude that Caṇḍavarman was the predecessor and possibly the father of Umavarman.[1]

The Dhavalapēta copper-plate grant of Umavarman, curiously enough, was dated from the same place Vijaya Siṁhapura and on the same date as the Bṛhatprōṣṭha grant. The inscription records that Umavarman, the lord of Kalinga, converted the village of Kottūra in the Mahēndrabhōga or viṣaya into an *agrahāra* and bestowed it on the Brāhmaṇa householder Śryllasvāmin of the Vatsa-*gōtra* and a student of the Vājasanēya-*s'ākhā*. It appears that the Brāhmaṇa donee was a *saha-pāṭhaka* or co-student of the king. It has been stated above that Caṇḍavarman's reign would seem to have been cut short by the rise of his enemies, probably the Śālaṅkāyanas and others. The occurrence of Caṇḍavarman's name both in the Śālaṅkāyana and Māṭhara dynasties renders it plausible to

1 *A. S. I.* 1934-35.

assume that both these families were related to each other by ties of marriage. Probably, the very relationship was the cause of hostilities between the two dynasties. This view seems to find corroboration in the records of Caṇḍavarman's son and successor Umavarman. In the Tekkali plates, dated the ninth year, Umavarman does not call himself *Kalingādhipati*, while in the other two later charters he assumes that title. This is noteworthy, and the absence of the title in the earlier record seems to denote that Umavarman had lost the southern provinces of Kalinga after the death of his father to some hostile power, whether it be to the Śālaṅkāyanas or others. It appears that it was only towards the end of his reign that he had retrieved his position and became once more the lord of all Kalinga. The long reign of this monarch, Umavarman, would show that it was a glorious period for the Māṭhara dynasty. It will be remembered that according to the scheme of chronology adopted by us, king Umavarman would become a contemporary of the last of the Śālaṅkāyanas. It was during his reign that the Śālaṅkāyanas were uprooted by the rising Viṣṇukuṇḍins under Mādhavavarman I. In that period of tumult and confusion, the lord of Kalinga would seem to have restored the sovereignty of his house once more as far as Piṣṭapura in the south-west.

6. Vis'ākhavarman (c. 430—440 A. D.)

The last known king of this line appears to be Vis'ākha-varman, the donor of the Koroṣaṇḍa copper-plate grant. On palaeographical grounds the inscription may be assigned to about the middle of the fifth century A. D. The alphabet resembles the characters of the Bṛhatprōṣṭha grant of Umavarman and the Īpūru plates of Madhavavarman II.[1] The record describes Vis'ākhavarman as *Parama-daivataḥ* and *Bappabhaṭṭāraka-pādabhaktaḥ*; but the title *Kalingadhipatiḥ* is omitted. From this it may be assumed justifiably, that during the reign of Vis'ākhavarman, the Māṭhara dynasty was deprived of the sovereignty of South Kalinga, apparently by the powerful Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch Mādhavavarman I. The record registers

1 *E. I.*, XVII, p. 337f.

the grant of the village of Tāmpōyaka in the Korosaṇḍaka-viṣaya or Korosaṇḍaka-pāñcāli to five Brāhmaṇas, namely Viṣṇus'arman, Śreṣṭhis'arman, Agnis'arman, Nāgas'arman and Śivas'arman, all of the Ātrēya-*gōtra* and residents of the village Śabarabheṇḍa, as an *agrahāra* by the king for increasing the merit of his father who was in heaven. The date of the record is the 20th day of the 7th fortnight of the hēmanta (winter) season in the 7th year of the king's victorious reign. As this is the only record of the reign, and dated in the 7th year, it is not improbable that Vis'ākhavarman's period did not exceed a decade. Vis'ākhavarman would appear to have been conquered and overthrown by the rising Vāsiṣṭhi king Guṇavarman, or perhaps by Mādhavavarman I. Whoever it was that uprooted the king, it seems fairly certain that with the fall of Vis'ākha-varman, the Māṭhara dynasty of Kalinga came to an end. Vis'ākhavarman seems to have made the grant mentioned above on the occasion of the anniversary of the death of his father. The edict was issued from the victorious city Śrīpura which was probably the king's capital at that time. This also supports the view that Vis'ākhavarman spent the few years of his reign in fighting his enemies and consequently was obliged to remove the seat of his residence from Vijaya Siṁhapura to Śrīpura. Vis'ākhavarman's father is not mentioned in the inscription; for the present he may be assumed to be Umavarman. Vis'ākha-varman's reign appears to have come to an end about 440 A. D. And it is roughly the date of the eleven *As'vamēdhas* and *Rājasūya* by the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king, Mādhavavarman I.[1]

The seven charters of the family, with the exception of the Rāgōlu plates, furnish to us altogether six generations of the Māṭhara dynasty. Though the records do not specifically mention the names of the donor's father, we shall assume for the present that they were all related to one another as father and son and so on. The history of this line of kings who held the sovereignty of Kalinga from about the middle of the fourth to about the middle of the fifth century is completely lost in obscurity. The history of this dynasty appears to have

1 See Book IV below.

been the history of the hostilities and protracted wars for nearly a century with the Śālaṅkāyanas, of Vēṅgi, Vāsiṣṭhas of Dēvarāṣṭra and others who are not known to epigraphy. There is no doubt that the Māṭharas were a powerful family, who despite the hostility of their neighbours and subordinate vassal kings, held the sovereignty of Kalinga for a long period. The genealogy of the kings of this illustrious dynasty may be arranged as follows for easy reference:

*Māṭhara-kula.*

1. Śaktivarman (I) *c.* 350—365 A. D.
2. *Anantavarman c.* 365 A. D.
3. Ananta-Śaktivarman or Śaktivarman II. *c.* 365—394 A. D.
4. Caṇḍavarman. *c.* 394—400 A. D.
5. Umavarman. *c.* 400—430 A. D.
6. Viśākhavarman. *c.* 430—440 A. D.

The Māṭhara dynasty seems to have made the first attempt known to history to establish a paramount monarchy for the entire kingdom of Kalinga, during the four or five centuries after Christ. The sovereignty of the Māṭharas throve well so long as the weak Śālaṅkāyana kings in the south-west were in power. The hostility and later, the fall of the Śālaṅkāyanas hastened the fall of the Māṭharas the hands of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. The expansion of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Empire proved a menace to the sovereignty of the Māṭhara in Kalinga. With the rise and expansion of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins a new chapter begins in the Early History of Andhradesa and Kalinga. And the first attempt to annex and incorporate Southern Kalinga into Andhra as a part of that country was made during the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Epoch. We shall pursue the history of this dynasty in the next chapter.

The Māṭhara family seems to have survived several centuries after they were overthrown. They sank to the level of subordinate chiefs, and ruled over small principalities in North Kalinga or Bastar. This is borne out by a record of the time of Mahā-Bhavagupta-rājadēva or Mahā-Bhavagupta II, of Yayātinagara, the ornament of Sōma-*kula* and the lord of Tri-kalinga. A certain chieftain named Rāṇaka Śri Puṁja, who had obtained the *pañca-mahā-s'abda*, the Maṇḍalika and son of Rāṇaka Śrī Vōḍa, and who called himself a feudatory of King Mahā-Bhavagupta II is mentioned in that inscription.[1] Rāṇaka Śrī Puṁja is said to have been born in the Maṭhara-*kula*, which may be the same as Māthara-*kula*; and he is called in the inscription the 'lord of fifteen villages.' From this it appears that the Maṭhara (Māṭhara)—family sank into a subordinate position and some scions of the dynasty survived till tenth or eleventh century as subordinate chiefs in the north.

1 Kudoplai plates of the time of Mahā-Bhavagupta II.: *E. I.*, IV, p. 254ff.

# Book IV

# THE VIṢṆUKUṆḌINS: *c.* 420—620 A. D.

# THE VIṢṆUKUṆḌINS

## INTRODUCTORY

The Viṣṇukuṇḍins were the first great dynasty, since the fall of the Ikṣvākus, that held paramount sway over the entire Andhra country including Kalinga and played an imperial role in the history of the Deccan during the fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian era. Till now the history of this powerful dynasty has not been properly studied, and its importance in relation to the ancient history of India has not been rightly estimated by any scholar. Professor F. Kielhorn, Dr. E. Hultzsch and K. V. Lakshmana Rao have edited the inscriptions of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and advanced theories regarding the *origin* of the family, the growth and extent of their kingdom, their chronology and lastly the glorious and important part played by them. Later, Prof. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil attempted a brief but connected outline of the history of the dynasty.[1] Later still a similar attempt was made by Prof. S. V. Vis'vanātha.[2] More recently a systematic study of the family has been published by Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sircar who seems to have recognised the important part played by the dynasty in the ancient history of the Deccan.[3] But Dr. Sircar has not handled the evidence properly; and he has presented the chronology, pedigree and political history of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins from an utterly wrong angle altogether. His conclusions are wholly untenable and misleading. His scheme of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin chronology is confused; and the reasons for the confusion are three-fold. Firstly he is at a disadvantage when dealing with the charters of the dynasty as well as other matters relating to ancient Andhradesa.

Earlier Writers

1 *Ancient History of the Deccan* (1920) Pondicherry.

2 *Jubilee Number Q. J. M. S.* Vol. XXV, pp. 75-86 (Parts I—III.)

3 *I. H. Q.* Vol. IX, pp. 273ff. and pp. 957ff. See the same is published in a different form in the '*Successors of the S'ātavāhanas*' in the *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. XXVI. Calcutta University, 1935.

He seems to be ignorant of the geography and topography of the Andhra country; likewise he is not conversant with the physiography, with the natural and historical divisions, their extent, names and situation. Secondly, his conclusions or assumptions are based upon a somewhat defective reasoning. For example, he is unconvincing when he entirely disapproves of the testimony of palaeography and proceeds to identify the kings and determine their chronology and their place in the pedigree soley on a comparison of the epithets attached to their names in the formal preambles of the family charters. There is no doubt that these epithets and phrases, if properly interpreted and compared with one another correctly, do constitute by themselves very valuable and conclusive evidence. But Dr. Sircar has not done so. Often the evidence of palaeography offers the best clue for correctly determining the chronology of the kings, especially when other facts do not arise in conflict with it. And therefore to reject entirely the palaeographical evidence as untrustworthy is not justifiable. Thirdly, in Dr. Sircar's Viṣṇukuṇḍin chronology, the history and chronology of the contemporary dynasties of Ancient India are altogether ignored. In fact the history of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins has been studied by him in complete isolation from the rest. Consequently the chronology and political events connected with the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, as proposed by Dr. Sircar have become thoroughly untenable. A fresh attempt, therefore, is now made in these pages to properly interpret the family charters and reconstruct the genealogy of the family. In this scheme the history of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins is presented in a new manner and from what I consider to be the proper perspective.[1]

The sources of history of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins are mainly the copper-plate charters of the family which are written in Sanskrit and to some extent the inscriptions of the contemporary dynasties which sometimes afford striking synchronisms for some political events of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Epoch. There are

1 A Telugu version of this chapter on the Viṣṇukuṇḍins by me was published in the *Bhārati* 1934-35. There the untenability of Dr. Sircar's scheme of chronology was fully discussed.

only five copper-plate grants of the family and happily they are all published with translations and exhaustive notes. There is also an unpublished stone inscription of the family, at Vēlpūru in Sattenapalli taluk, Guntur district, which will be referred to in the proper place. The published inscriptions are: The Cikkulla plates of Vikramēndravarman II dated the tenth year;[1] the Rāmatirtham plates of *Mahārāja* Indravarman dated the twenty seventh year;[2] the Polamūru copper-plate grant of Mādhavavarman (III) dated the forty eighth year;[3] the Īpūru plates of Mādhavavarman III, dated the thirty seventh year;[4] and the Īpūru plates (II set) of Mādhavavarman II, son of Dēvavarman, dated the twenty seventh year.[5]

Sources.

Besides the inscriptions mentioned above, additional materials are also available in the Sanskrit and Telugu Literatures. Several historical legends and traditions relating to the kings of the dynasty are found embedded in the Telugu literature of the sixteenth century and the *Local Records* of the Mackenzie collection. These will be referred to in the following pages as occasion arises in the discussion.

1 These plates were found in 1866 and published in *E. I.* IV. pp. 193ff.

2 These plates were discovered at Rāmatirtham near Vijayanagaram in 1908 by the late G. V. Appa Rao, and published in *E. I.*, XII, pp. 133—136.

3 The plates were first brought to light by the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao in the *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. XI.

4 *E. I.*, XVII, pp. 334—337.

5 *E. I.*, XVII, pp. 337—340.

CHAPTER I.

## *The Genealogy of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins.*

From the point of view of palaeography the Īpuru plates (II set) of Madhavavarman II, dated the 27th year seems to be the earliest of all the Viṣṇukuṇḍin records.[1] In the opinion of Dr. E. Hultzsch, " the alphabet reminds us of the British Museum plates of Vijaya Buddhavarman's queen, Cārudēvi."[2] But Cārudēvi's grant is in Prakrit language, and elsewhere it has been assigned by us to the latter part of the third century. Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri thinks that the Prakrit charters of the Pallava kings have to be assigned to the beginning of the fourth century A. D. if not earlier.[3] But the present record is not in Prakrit; it is in Sanskrit prose, and contains two verses at the end. The abbreviation *va* in line 13 at the end presupposes the Prakrit form *vasa* or *varṣa* in Sanskrit. This fact, coupled with the palaeography of the alphabet indicates that the record belongs to the period which followed the Prakrit epoch, to the fifth century, but not later.

Ipūru plates, II set.

The record mentions three generations of the family including that of the donor, Mādhavavarman II.

*Mahārāja* Mādhavavarman I
|
S'ri Dēvavarman
|
*Mahārāja* Mādhavavarman II.

Mādhavavarman I is described with the epithet *Ēkādas'-ās'vamēdh-āvabhṛt āvadhūta-jagat-kalmaṣasya Agniṣṭoma-sahasra-yāiinō-nēka-sāmanta-makuṭa-kūṭa - mani - khacita-caraṇa - yugala - kamalasya mahārājasya*, "The glorious great king who had stains of the whole world by bathing at the end of eleven *As'vamēdhas*; who had performed thousands of *Agniṣṭōma*

1 The date of the record will be discussed below.
2 *E. I.*, VIII, p. 143f.
3 *E. I.*, XIV. pp. 247–248.

sacrifices, and whose pair of lotus feet was studded with the jewels on the top of the diadems of many bowing vassals." His son, Dēvavarman, is not given even the kingly title *Mahārāja* but mentioned merely as *Kṣattriyāvaskanda-pravartit-āpratima vikhyāta parākramasya*, "The glorious one, who displayed matchless well-known valour in attacking the Kṣatriyas" or warriors. The omission of the kingly title to this prince is conspicuous and may possibly be also significant. The omission perhaps denotes that Dēvavarman had either a very uneventful reign or probably died shortly after he ascended the throne. His son is called, *Viṣṇukuṇḍinām Śrī Mādhavavarmā* 'the glorious Madhavavarman, (II) apparently king of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family'. This epithet denotes that he was a king and like his ancestor a *Mahārāja*. It is possible that the scribe inadvertently omitted the title *Mahārāja* to Mādhavavarman II, the donor of the grant. A careful examination of the writing on the plate, which is much worn out, shows that in engraving this passage the scribe struggled in vain for space for the insertion of the word *mahārāja* after the phrase 'Viṣṇukuṇḍinām' which he left out by oversight. Mādhavavarman II is given the titles *Trikūta-Malayaadhipatiḥ*, 'the lord of the Trikūta (Hill) and Malaya (Mountains) and *Bhagavat Śrīparvatasvāmi-pādānudhyātaḥ*,' 'who meditates on the feet of the holy lord of Śrīparvata.' He is also described with the epithet *naya-vinaya-sattva saṁpannaḥ*, "one who is endowed with policy, modesty and honesty", qualities which are essential requisites in a great monarch. This record of Mādhavavarman II is dated the 47th year according to Dr. Hultzsch, but in my opinion the 27th year, on the 7th day in the seventh fortnight of the rainy season.[1]

The next record in point of antiquity seems to be the Rāmatīrtham plates of Indravarman, dated the 27th year; and the next following one is the Cikkulla plates of Vikramēndravarman II. Putting the pedigrees of these two charters side

1 Dr. Sirkar takes the numerical symbols to mean 10+7=17; Dr. Hultzsch reads them as 40+7 *i. e.* 47. I think the symbol preceding the numeral 7 is 20 and not either 10 or 40, and therefore the regnal year is 27.

by side, we get altogether four generations of the family. The Rāmatīrtham plates give only three generations of the family including that of the donor, but the Cikkulla plates mention four generations of the dynasty including that of the donor.

Rāmatirtham plates

| *Rāmatīrtham plates.* | *Cikkulla plates.* |
|---|---|
| 1. *Mahārāja* S'rī Mādhavavarman | I. *Mahārāja* Mādhavavarman |
| 2. *Rāja* Vikramēndravarman (I) | 2. *S'rī* Vikramēndravarman (I) |
| 3. (*Dear son*) Indravarman | 3. *Mahārāja* Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman |
| | 4. *Mahārāja* Vikramēndravarman (II) |

In the Rāmatirtham plates, Mādhavavarman is given the epithets, *Bhagava-cchrīparvatasvāmi-pādānudhyātaḥ sakala-mahīmaṇḍal-āvanata - sāmanta - mukuṭamaṇi - kiraṇ-āvalīḍha - caraṇa - yugō-vikhyāta-yas'aḥ Śrīman-mahārāja*, "the glorious *Mahārāja*, who meditated on the feet of the divine Lord of Śrīparvata, whose pair of feet were covered by the rays of the jewels in the diadems of bowing vassals on the whole circle of the earth, and whose fame was widely known," and *tasy-ōrjjita-s'riyō-Viṣṇu-kuṇḍi-pārthiv-ōdit-ōdit - ānvaya - tilakasya samudbhūt-aikādas'-āsvamēdhā - vabhṛt - āvadhauta - jagat - kalmaṣasya kratu-sahasra yājinaḥ snānapuṇy - ōdaka - pavitrīkṛta s'irasaḥ*, "of him whose glory was mighty, who was an ornament of the ever rising family of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, who had washed off the impurity of the world by bathing at the end of eleven horse sacrifices, who had performed thousands of other sacrifices and whose head had been purified by the sacred water of ablutions at places of pilgrimage." The above epithets seem to be identical with those given to Mādhavavarman, in the Cikkula plates. Mādhavavarman is described, as *Bhagavataḥ Śrīparvatasvāmī-pādānudhyātō Viṣṇu-kuṇḍinām Ēkādas'-ās'vamēḍh - āvabhṛt-āvadhautajagat-kalmaṣa-sya kratusahasra - yājinaḥ sarvamēdh-āvāpta - sarvabhūta - svārājasya bahusuvarṇa-pauṇḍarīka - puruṣamēdha - vājapēya - ūkthya-ṣōḍasi-rājasūya-prādhirājya-prājāpatv-ādy-anēka-vividha-*

Cikkulla plates.

*pṛthu-kratu-vara-s'atasahasra-yājinaḥ kratu-var - ānuṣṭadhiṣṭita - pratiṣṭhita parameṣṭhitvasya mahārājasya sakala-jaganmaṇḍala-vimala - guru - pṛthu - kṣitipati - makuṭa - maṇigaṇa nikar-āvanata-pādayugalasya* (Mādhavavarmaṇaḥ), "*Mahārāja* Mādhavavarman, who meditates on the feet of the holy Lord of Śrīparvata and who belongs to the family of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, who washed off the stains of the world by his ablutions after eleven *As'vamēdha* sacrifices, who celebrated thousands of sacrifices, who by a *Sarvamēdha* sacrifice obtained the supreme dominion over all beings, who celebrated a hundred thousand *Bahusuvarṇa*, *Pauṇḍarīka*, *Puruṣamēdha*, *Vajapēya*, *Ukthya*, *Ṣōḍasin*, *Rājasūya*, *Prādhirājya*, *Prājāpatya* and various other large and important, excellent sacrifices, *who by the celebration of excellent sacrifices attained to firmly established supremacy*, and whose two feet were bent down by multitudes of heaps of jewels from the daiadems of stainless, noble and great kings of the great orb of the earth." From a comparison of the two sets of epithets it will become evident that Mādhavavarman of the Rāmatirtham plates and Mādhavavarman of the Cikkulla plates were one and the same person. In both the epithets occurs a very significant description of the greatness and renown of King Mādhavavarman. He was a Great King, who increased the power, glory and prestige of his house by rising to imperial dignity in the Deccan. It is, therefore, probable that he was the founder of his illustrious house.

Madhavavarman I

The next king in both the charters is Vikramēndravarman I. The Rāmatīrtham record gives him merely the title *Rājan* while the Cikkulla charter omits even that title. This omission is interesting. It seems to denote that Vikramēndravarman I did not attain to the political status which his illustrious father Mādhavavarman acquired for himself. He is called *ubhaya-vaṁs'-ātmajālaṅkāra-bhūtaḥ* "born as an ornament to both the families" in the Rāmatirtham plates, and the Cikkulla plates describe him as *praṇapta-Viṣṇukuṇḍi-Vākāṭa(ka) vaṁs'a-dvay-ālaṅkṛta-janmanaḥ*, "whose birth was embellished by the two families, the Vākāṭakas and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins." This epithet plainly alludes to the matrimonial alliance between the Vākāṭaka and Viṣṇukuṇḍin

Vikramēndra-varman I.

families; it suggests that Mādhavavarman married a Vākāṭaka princess and that the offspring of that illustrious union was Vikramēndravarman. The statement indicates further that Mādhavavarman's claims to imperial dignity in Dakṣiṇāpatha and eleven *As'vamēdhas* were not empty boasts.

Vikramēndravarman's son was Indravarman or Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman. He is called the *priya-sūnuḥ* 'the dear son' in the Rāmatirtham plates and this denotes that Vikramēndravarman I had other sons besides Indrabhaṭṭāraka. The word *bhaṭṭāraka* means a 'great king' and is apparently attached to Indravarman's name as a mark of deep veneration in the Cikkulla charter. The identity of Indravarman with Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman is also based upon another fact. In both the Cikkulla and Rāmatīrthaṃ plates there is an almost identical passage describing the greatness and exploits of the king. The Rāmatīrtham plates speak of Indravarman as *anēka-caturddanta-samaras'ata saṁghaṭṭa-vijayī*, "the glorious king who is victorious by encountering in hundred thousands of battles of numerous four-tusked elephants." The Cikkulla plates describe him as *anēka-caturddanta-samara-saṁghaṭṭa-dvirada gaṇa-vipula-vijayasya*, "the mighty king who gained extensive victories when his troupes of elephants encountered in battle numerous four-tusked elephants." There is no doubt therefore that Indravarman and Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman were one and the same person. Vikramēndravarman II is called the eldest son of Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman in the Cikkulla record.

Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman.

Now arises for consideration the question of identification of *Mādhavavarman* the ancestor of Vikramēndravarman II, and Mādhavavarman I mentioned at the top of the pedigree in the Īpūru plates *second set*. The Viṣṇukuṇḍin charters do not specifically mention anything that enables us to solve the problem in a satisfactory manner. Nevertheless the epithets attached to Mādhavavarman I in the Īpūru plates and those that are attached to Mādhavavarman in the Rāmatīrtham and Cikkulla plates seem to be helpful. They appear to be somewhat similar. It can be seen at a glance that both the Mādhavavarmans

had several epithets and achievements in common between themselves. Both had celebrated eleven *Asvamēdhas* and both had performed thousands of Agniṣṭōmas and other *kratus*. And both were worshipped by a host of powerful, noble and great kings of the earth and thus both had attained to the dignity of a *samrāṭ* or emperor in the Deccan. For every *kratu* that is performed, Agniṣṭōma is necessary, and must be offered in the beginning; and therefore the thousands of Agniṣṭōma sacrifices which Mādhavavarman I is said to have performed according to the Īpūru plates (*second set*) may have included all the *kratus* mentioned in the Cikkulla plates. Moreoever, all the three early Viṣṇukuṇḍin charters, namely, the Īpūru, Rāmatīrtham and the Cikkulla plates, speak of *Mahārāja* Mādhavavarman, presumably the *first*, who was bowed to by a host of great, noble and powerful vassal kings of the earth, and who held imperial sway over a wide area in the eastern Deccan. It is, therefore, probable that Mādhavavarman I of the Īpūru plates *second set* and Mādhavavarman of the Rāmatīrtham and Cikkulla plates were one and the same king. If this view is accepted, then Mādhavavarman I becomes the first paramount king and founder of the dynasty. He had apparently two sons, Dēvavarman and Vikramēndravarman I; and the latter was born of the Vākāṭaka princess. Accordingly, we get the following six generations of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty :

Mādhavavarman of the Rāmatirtham and Cikkulla plates *same* as Mādhavavarman I of the Ipūru plates (II set.)

Mādhavavarman I.
(Offerer of eleven *Asvamēdhas*, a *Rājasūya*, a *Sarvamēdha* etc)

- (*By the 1st queen*)
  - 2. Dēvavarman.
    - 3. Mādhavavarman II
- (*By the Vākāṭaka princess*)
  - 4. Vikramēndravarman I.
    - 5. Indravarman or Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman (*priya-sūṇuḥ* : 'dear son.')
      - 6. Vikramēndravarman II (*Jyēṣṭha-putraḥ* : 'eldest son')
      - Other sons (*Un-named*)
    - Other sons (*Un-named*)

There remain two more records for our consideration,—the Īpūru plates (I set) of Gōvindavarman's son Mādhavavarman and the Polamūru copper-plate grant of Mādhavavarman III. The Īpūru plates (I set) are dated the 15th day of the 7th fortnight of the hot season in the thirty-seventh year of the reign and, the Polamūru grant is said to have been issued on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon in Phālguna in the 48th year of the victorious reign. The Īpūru charter mentions only three generations of the family, namely, Mādhavavarman the donor, his father Gōvindavarman, and lastly the donor's son, prince Mañcyaṇṇa-bhaṭṭāraka, the executor of the charity. The Polamūru grant also gives three generations of the family but furnishes additional information. It mentions the donor, his father and his father's father. Thus both the records put together give us the following four generations of the dynasty:

Īpūru plates and Polamūru grant of Mādhavavarman.

1. Vikramahēndravarman
|
2. Gōvindavarman, surnamed *Vikramās'raya*
|
3. Mādhavavarman (III), surnamed *Janās'raya*
|
4. Mañcyaṇṇa-bhaṭṭāraka

In the opinion of Dr. Hultzsch, which is undoubtedly the most reasonable and correct, the Īpūru plates (*second set*) of Mādhavavarman II are earlier than the Īpūru plates (*first set*) of Gōvindavarman's son Mādhavavarman. The learned Doctor therefore calls Mādhavavarman, the son of Gōvindavarman, Mādhavavarman III. In doing so he has apparently borne in mind the pedigrees of the Rāmatīrtham and the Cikkula plates. Dr. D. C. Sircar, on the other hand, wrongly assumes Gōvindavarman's son Mādhavavarman to be the same king as Mādhavavarman who had married the Vākāṭaka princess. This wrong identification has led Dr. Sircar into hopeless confusion in reconstructing the genealogy and the political history of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. There are several reasons that strongly suggest that Mādhavavarman III, the donor of the Īpūru first set and

the Polamūru grant, could not have been Mādhavavarman II, the donor of the Īpūru II set, or Mādhavavarman, the ancestor of the donors of the Rāmatīrtham and Cikkulla plates. In the first place, Mādhavavarman III is said to be the son of Gōvindavarman. But the father's name of Mādhavavarman II, the donor of the Īpūru second set, is given as Dēvavarman. Secondly, Mādhavavarman, the ancestor of the donors of the Rāmatīrtham and Cikkulla plates, is said to have married a Vākāṭaka princess and begot on her a son named Vikramēndravarman. Thirdly, Mādhavavarman (III) is not spoken of as having been in any manner connected with the Vākāṭaka dynasty. Dr. Sircar's interpretation of the epithets *Trivaranagara-bhavana-gata-parama-yuvatī-jana-viharaṇaratiḥ*, 'who took delight in the company of charming young ladies standing on the top of the palaces of Trivaranagara', of the Polamūru grant and *Trivaranagara-bhavana-gata-hṛdaya-nandanaḥ*, "who delights the hearts of the young ladies standing on the top of the palaces of Trivaranagara" of the Īpūru plates (first set) as referring to the marriage of Mādhavavarman with the Vākāṭaka princess is utterly untenable. Here there is no reference to the Vākāṭaka capital, for Trivaranagara was not the Vākāṭaka city. Trivaranagara was the capital of the Sōmavaṁs'i kings or the Later Gupta dynasty of Mahākōsala. Fourthly, the Īpūru First set mentions prince Mañcyaṇṇa-bhaṭṭāraka as the *dear son* of the donor Mādhavavarman. Neither the Mādhavavarman of the Cikkulla plates nor the Mādhavavarman I, of the Īpūru (second set) had a son named Mañcyaṇṇa-bhaṭṭāraka. There is nothing in the statements of those two records to enable us to infer that Mañcyaṇṇa bhaṭṭāraka was the son of a Mādhavavarman, who was *not* Mādhavavarman III. Fifthly, the Polamūru grant gives Mādhavavarman III the title *Janās'raya* which is not given to the two Mādhavavarmans known to us from the second set of the Īpūru and Rāmatīrtham plates. Sixthly, the donor of the Polamūru grant and Īpūru first set is not stated to have performed any of the great *kratus* like Puruṣamēdha, Vājapēya, Rājasūya, Prādhirājya, Sarvamēdha and Prājāpatya and thousands of Agniṣṭōma sacrifices like Mādhavavarman I of the Īpūru second set, Rāma-

tīrtham and Cikkulla plates. The seventh and the most important reason of all is that the epithet *hiraṇyagarbha-prasūtiḥ* attached to Mādhavavarman III in both the grants of his reign, is not given to any other Mādhavavarman in the three remaining charters. This epithet seems to be peculiar to Mādhavavarman III and his special epithet. The two earlier Mādhavavarmans had apparently no title to it. Two out of the three Mādhavavarmans bore the title *Mahārāja* but the *first* and the *third* only claimed the celebration of eleven *As'vamēdhas*. This does not by itself conclusively prove that the three kings named Mādhavavarman were one and the same person, or two persons as has been assumed by Dr. Sircar. Moreover, the fact that two kings named Mādhavavarman, out of the three, bore the epithet 'the performer of the eleven *As'vamēdhas*,' must have a different significance altogether which has been lost sight of by Dr. Sircar. There are, therefore, three kings of the name of Mādhavavarman. Mādhavavarman I, who married the Vākāṭaka princess, the founder of the dynasty, and offerer of eleven *As'vamēdhas* Mādhavavarman II, the lord of Trikūṭa and Malaya Mountains, and Mādhavavarman III, surnamed *Janās'raya*, the offerer of eleven *As'vamēdhas*, the delight of the princesses of Trivaranagara, and *Hiraṇyagarbha-prasūtiḥ* and *Parama-brahmaṇyaḥ*.

Three kings of the name of Mādhavavarman.

What then is the place of the consolidated pedigree of the Polamūru grant and the Īpūru first set put together? It is somewhat embarrassing to find none of the familiar names is repeated save that of Mādhavavarman (III) alone in the family pedigree. Despite this, however, we may identify first king Vikramahēndravarman, the ancestor, with Vikramēndravarman II, the donor of the Cikkulla plates. The name Vikramahēndra is plainly a variant of Vikramēndra, and both mean the same name. Moreover, Vikramahēndravarman cannot be identified with Vikramēndravarman I. For, epithets like *ubhaya-vaṁs'ātmaj-ālaṅkāra-bhūtaḥ* and *pranapta - Viṣṇukuṇḍi-Vākāṭa-vaṁs'a-dvay-ālaṅkṛtaḥ* attached to his name are not given to Vikramahēndravarman. On the other hand, the Polamūru

grant describes Vikramahēndravarman as *appratihata-s'āsanasya sva-pratāp-ōpanata-sāmanta-manujapati-maṇḍalasya virahitaripu-ṣaḍvar-gasya vidhivad-upacita-trivargasya vibudhapati-sādhya-s'arīra-vibhava-bala-parākramasya*, "whose commands were irresistible, *i. e.* one who had no rival, who by his own prowess made the circle of great kings bow to him as vassals, who had overcome the six internal enemies, who had fully attained the triple objects of life, *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*, by following the injunctions laid down, and who possessed the best arms, warriors, wealth, magnificence, strength and heroism like Indra, the lord of the gods". This passage may be compared with the description which the Cikkulla plates give of the donor. Vikramēndravarman II is described as *gariṣṭaḥ s'ais'ava-eva sakala-nṛpa-guṇ-ālaṇkṛtasya samyag-adhyārōpita sakala-rājyabhāraḥ*, "the most noble, who in childhood already, embellished with all the virtues or qualities of a king, had duly taken upon himself the burden of the government." The comparison shows that Vikramahēndra mentioned in the Polamūru grant was the same king as Vikramēndravarman II, the donor of the Cikkulla plates. Accordingly, we get three more generations of the family from Vikramēndravarman II, and thus, altogether nine in all.

## CHAPTER II.

### *The Chronology of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins.*

The Polamūru grant enables us to determine the chronology of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty in a roughly accurate manner. The record gives certain astronomical data which fortunately for the historian admit of verification and calculation. And there is another circumstance which makes the date probable. It so happened that the Viṣṇukuṇḍin grant and another copper-plate grant of *Mahārāja* Jayasiṁhavallabha I of the Eastern Cālukya dynasty, were found together in an ancient site at Polamūru, a village in Rāmachandrāpuram taluk, East Godavari district. The accident of this interesting discovery, coupled with the charities recorded in the two inscriptions, affords a splendid synchronism that enables us not only to fix the date of the Polamūru grant conclusively, but also the forty-eighth year of Mādhavavarman III.

Polamūru grant basis for the Viṣṇukuṇḍin chronology.

The Viṣṇukuṇḍin Polamūru plates record the grant of the village of Puḷoṁbūru, which was apparently the ancient name of Polamūru, as an *agrahāra*, with all the immunities to the *Taittiriya Brahmacārin*, (a *Brahmacārin* of the *Taittirīya-s'ākhā* or *Kṛṣṇa-Yajurvēda*) Śivas'arman of the Gautama *gōtra*, who was the son of Dāmas'ārman and grandson of Rudras'arman. The donee is spoken of as a *Caturvēdin*, 'one who mastered the four Vedas' and as a resident of Kuṇḍūru in Karmarāṣṭra. The grant was made on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon in Phālguna, in the 48th year of the reign of Mādhavavarman III. The Eastern Cālukya Polamūru grant records the re-grant of the same village as an *agrahāra* to the Brāhmaṇa Rudras'arman of Gautama-*gōtra*, who was the son of Śivas'arman and grandson of Dāmas'arman and an inhabitant of the village of Asanapura, by Jayasiṁhavallabha I. It is interesting to note that the donee is referred to as the *pūrv-āgrahārīka*, "the former free-holder of the *agrahāra*." The charter is dated the 7th day of the 8th

fortnight of the hot season of the fifth year of the king.[1] The pedigrees of the two donees under the two charters respectively as well as the epithets attached to the names of the donees and their ancestors clearly show that Rudras'arman the *pūrvāgrahārīka*, was the son of Śivasarman, the original donee. Here are the two pedigrees for comparison :—

*Viṣṇukuṇḍin Grant.*

Gautama-*gōtra*

1. Rudras'arman (I) (*Vēda-vēdāṅga-viduḥ*)
2. Dāmas'armaṇ (*sva-pituradhika-guṇ-ādhyāsita-tanuḥ*)
3. S'ivas'arman *(donee)* (*Taittirīyaka-sabrahmacārin Caturvēdin ; resident of Kuṇḍūru in Karmarāṣṭra*)

*Eastern Cālukya Grant.*

Gautama-*gōtra*

1. Dāmas'arman (*Vēda-vēdaṅga-viduḥ*)
2. S'ivas'arman (*sva-pituradhika-guṇādhivāsaḥ*)
3. Rudras'arman (II) (*donee*) (*pūrvāgrahārīka*, resident of Asanapura, *Taittirīyasa-brahmacārin* and *dvivēdin)*

The epithet *pūrvāgrahārīka* that occurs in the Eastern Cālukya grant shows that Rudras'arman II was formerly in the enjoyment of the *agrahāra* of Puḷoṁbūru for sometime and that he had lost it some years previously during the dark days of confusion and chaos that followed the fall of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty and the conquest of Andhradesa by king Satyās'raya Pulikēs'in II, and that he had obtained it again during the reign of Jayasiṁha-vallabha I, the second Eastern Cālukya monarch. According to the Eastern Cālukya Chronology proposed by me, the reign of Jayasimhavallabha I falls between Ś. S. 563 and Ś. S. 595, corresponding to 641 and 673 A. D.[2] Jayasiṁhavallabha's

1 *C. P.* No. 5 of 1913–14. See *ARSIE*, 1914, p. 85. Also *E. I.* XIX, p. 254ff and plate. See also *Bhārati*, Vol. VIII, Part I where Mr. M. Sōmas'ēkhara Sarma gives his own version of the text, as an appendix to the Polamūru grant of Mādhavavarman III. He reads the date of the record correctly as year 5.

2 Revised Chronology of the Eastern Cālukyas (*JAHRS*, Vol. IX, Pt. 4. p 1f. and the chart facing page 30.

grant is dated as has been already stated in the 5th year of his reign, which falls roughly in Ś. S. 567 or 645 A. D.[1]

The date of Jayasiṁhavallabha's grant, 645 A. D., is the landmark. It can help us to determine the date of the prior Viṣṇukuṇḍin grant of the same village with approximate certainty, and likewise the date of accession of the donor Mādhavavarman III. The donees of the two Polamūru grants are father and son respectively and the latter is stated to be the former holder of the *agrahāra*. The epithet *pūrvāgrahārīka* presumably indicates that Rudras'arman II enjoyed the *agrahāra* for sometime before he was dispossessed. The interval, therefore, between the date of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin grant and of the Eastern Cālukya re-grant, may have been about half a century and not more. Andhradesa was invaded, conquered and annexed to his dominions by Pulikēs'in II, early in 611 A. D.[2] Roughly thirteen years later, about 624 A. D., Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana, younger brother of Pulikēs'in II, established himself at Piṣṭapura as the paramount sovereign of the Andhra country.[3] The two Polamūru grants clearly show that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins preceded the Eastern Cālukyas in the sovereignty of Andhradesa. Now that the two events, namely, the invasion of Pulikēs'in II and the consequent overthrow of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin sovereignty in Andhradesa are placed in and about 611 A. D., it seems probable that the death of Mādhavavarman III, the last king of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, occurred about the same time. It is thus obvious that the date of the first

1 *Opi. Cit*. p. 17. According to the practice that seems to have prevailed in the Eastern Cālukya dynasty the last year of the predecessor was also reckoned as the initial year of the successor, and especially so when the death of the last sovereign and the accession of his successor take place in one and the same year.

2 See *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*. IV. p. 43—54: *E. I.* XVIII, p. 257f. Dr. Hultzsch who edits the grant afresh in this Journal (*E. I.*) disagrees with Lakshmana Rao's view regarding the date of the Koppāram plates and incidentally, the date of Pulikēs'in's conquest of Andhradesa. I have also discussed the date of the Koppāram plates in the Revised Chronology of the Eastern Cālukya Kings (*JAHRS*., Vol. IX, pp. 6—11 Part iv) and come to the same conclusion as Laskhmana Rao, Dr. Hultzsch's equivalent of the details of the date of the Koppāram grant is thoroughly incompatible with the chronology of the Eastern Cālukyas and the political events of the first quarter of the seventh century.

3 Revised Chronology of the Eastern Cālukya Kings, *JAHRS*. IX part iv, p. 16.

Polamūru grant must have lain some years prior to the death of Mādhavavarman III. Accordingly, the eclipse of the full-moon *tithi* in Phālguna in the 48th year of Mādhavavarman III must be looked for in the years that preceded the Cālukyan conquest of Andhradesa. In all certainty it seems to have occurred in the closing years of the sixth century. The only eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of Phālguna that lies within the proximity of the Cālukyan conquest is that of the Phālguna full-moon *tithi* in Ś. S. 516, corresponding to Wednesday, February 10, 594 A. D.[1] And this date seems to be undoubtedly the most probable equivalent of the lunar eclipse of Phālguna full-moon *tithi* in the forty-eighth year of Mādhavavarman III.

This date is supported by other facts. In the Viṣṇukuṇḍin grant, the donee Śivas'arman is said to be a master of the 'four Vedas.' It is a well known fact that in order to master the four Vēdas a *brahmacārin* had to spend at least thirty-six to forty years in a *gurukula*. Śivas'arman must have been, therefore, at least forty-five years old or even more at the time of his obtaining the grant of the *agrahāra* of Pulombūru from Mādhavavarman III. According to Manu (III-i-2) a *brahmacārin* has to spend thirty-six years in the house of his preceptor (*guru*) to study three Vedas. Even if it be accepted that Śivas'arman was a man of brilliant and precocious intellect and that therefore he began the study of the Vēdas from his eighth year, he would be forty four or forty-five years old by the time he became a master of the four Vēdas. Moreover says the same authority, (IX-94) that a *brahmacārin* of thirty should marry a girl of twelve years and likewise a *brahmacārin* of twenty-four a girl of eight years. Granting that Śivas'arman married according to the precepts of Manu and begot his son Rudras'arman (II)

1 *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Cal. Uni. Vol. XI, p. 64f. where the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao in his editorial notes on the Polamūru plates of Mādhavavarman III discusses the date fully. There were altogether five eclipses of the moon in Phālguna in the years 575, 593, 594, 612 and 621 A. D. The first and the last years may be rejected on the ground that they fall outside the scope of the chronology of the Eastern Cālukya conquest. The eclipses of 593 and 612 A. D. are not useful for our purposes because the two eclipses occurred before the sun had set and were therefore no eclipses at all for Andhradesa or India. So the only eclipse that is in close proximity to the date of Pulikēs'in's conquest was that of the year 594 A. D. It was visible in the Andhra country.

sometime after his obtaining the grant of an *agrahāra*, the latter (Rudrasarman) would be about sixteen years old at the time of the Eastern Cālukya conquest in 611 A. D., and about thirty years at the time of the establishment of the Eastern Cālukya sovereignty by Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana. Śivaśarman and his son, therefore, would appear to have enjoyed the *agrahāra* for some years before the establishment of the Eastern Cālukya kingdom. Rudraśarman II would seem to have lost the *agrahāra*, probably in the days of confusion and chaos that followed the destruction of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty and the subsequent wars. It would also appear that roughly a quarter of a century afterwards Rudraśarman II, the *pūrvāgrahārīka* obtained in his old age a re-grant, or confirmation of the prior grant of the *agrahāra*, from Jayasiṁhavallabha I in 645 A. D., and returned to the place from Asanapura. Herein lies the explanation for the discovery of the two grants, the Viṣṇukuṇḍin and the Eastern Cālukya, together in the same spot at Polamūru, imbedded in earth on an ancient site which might have been possibly the locality on which stood the house and other buildings belonging to Rudraśarman and his descendants.

If then, the year 594 A. D. or Śaka Saṁvat 515 expired[1] was the 48th year of the reign of Mādhavavarman III, the date of his accession would be about 546 A. D. or Śaka Saṁvat 468 expired. Taking 546 A. D. as the probable and approximately the correct date of Mādhavavarman III's accession, the chronology of the other kings that preceded him on the throne may be determined with reasonable certainty.

Chronology settled.

We may assume that it was Mādhavavarman III who was conquered and perhaps slain by Pulikēśin II. Then his reign would appear to have lasted from about 546 A. D. to about 611 A. D. for about 65 years. This would mean that Mādhavavarman III came to the throne at a very early period of his life and, that enabled him to reign for an unusually long period of about sixty-five years.

It is probable that Mādhavavarman III ascended the throne as an infant. That seems to be the only manner in which his

1 Śaka Saṁvat 515 *expired* began on March 9, 593 and ended on February 25, 594 A. D.

long reign can be explained. His father Gōvindavarman must have had, therefore, a very short reign, probably not exceeding five or six years. His early and probable sudden death seems to have paved the way for the accession of his infant son. Gōvindavarman's period may be fixed about 540—546 A. D. Gōvindavarman's predecessor on the throne was his father Vikramēndravarman II, whose only record was dated the 10th year of his reign. A short reign of about ten years, therefore, seems to be quite reasonable for him in view of the unusually long reign of his grandson Mādhavavarman III. Accordingly the reign of Vikramahēndravarman or Vikramēndravarman II may be placed between circa 530—540 A. D.

The predecessor of Vikramahēndravarman was his father Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman or Indravarman. The Rāmatīrtham plates of this king were dated the twenty-seventh year of his reign. This shows that Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman had a long reign of about thirty years, *circa* 500—530 A. D. Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman was the dear son of Vikramēndravarman I, 'the ornament of the two families.' From the manner in which Vikramēndravarman I is described in the Rāmatīrtham and Cikkulla plates, it appears that he was already well advanced in years at the time of his accession and therefore had probably a brief tenure of about five years. This view is also based upon the fact that his son had a long reign of about thirty years. Vikramēndravarman I's short reign of about five years may have lasted from about 490 to 495 A. D.

The predecessor of Vikramēndravarman I may have been his cousin, possibly Mādhavavarman II, the donor of the Īpūru plates, *second set*. The date of this record has been variously interpreted, as the 17th year by Dr. D. C. Sirkar and as the 47th year by Dr. E. Hultzsch. The numerical symbol denoting 'twenty' has been so completely beaten down by hammer that it appears to be *ten* to Dr. Sircar and *forty* to Dr. Hultzsch. The beaten symbol has traces of the figure 20 still on the plate and can be seen on a close examination. There seems to be, therefore, no doubt about the figure 20, and thus the date of the record is the 27th year of Mādhavavarman's reign.

Apart from this even, a fairly long reign of about twenty-seven or thirty years is a reasonable period for Mādhavavarman II, considering the political events of his epoch. Thus the period *circa* 460—490 may be allotted to Mādhavavarman II which reasonably enough makes him a contemporary of Skandavarman IV, or Trilōcana-Pallava of Kāñci.

Mādhavavarman II's predecessor was his father Dēvavarman. The manner in which the Īpūru charter refers to this prince clearly indicates that he had a short and troubled reign. To him, therefore, a brief tenure of two or three years from about 455 to 458 or 460 A. D., may be allotted. He would become therefore a contemporary of the great Pallava king Siṁhavarman III. Dēvavarman's predecessor was his father the illustrious Mādhavavarman I, the Great. This king, may have been possibly the founder and the first paramount king of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty. He is said to have subdued the great, noble and powerful kings on the orb of the earth and celebrated eleven *As'vamēdhas*, a Rājasūya, a Sarvamēdha, a Puruṣamēdha and a number of excellent great sacrifices. He was a great and powerful monarch who rose to imperial dignity in Dakṣiṇāpatha. A reign of about thirty-five years, circa 420—455 A. D. may be allotted to him. As the rise of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins appears to have synchronised with the decline and fall of the Śālaṅkāyanas, Madhavavarman I, may have commenced to reign from about 420 A. D. The annexation of Southern Andhradesa once more by Siṁhavarman III, was evidently accomplished by about 460 A. D. That was shortly after the death of Mādhavavarman I. And, therefore, the period 420—455 A. D. seems to be good for his reign. The interval between 455—460 A. D. may have been the period of the troubled and disastrous reign of Dēvavarman.

The genealogical succession in the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Dynasty may be thus summarised :

1. Mādhavavarman I, the Great. *c.* 420—455 A. D.
   *Ekādas'-As'vamēdhayājin* and offerer of *Rājasuya* etc.

- (By an unnamed queen)
  - 2. Dēvavarman. *c.* 455—458 A. D.
    - 3. Mādhavavarman II *c.* 458—488 A. D.
      - A probable usurper (protege of Vākāṭaka Harisēna.) *c.* 495–500 or *c.* 493–500 A. D.
- (By Vākāṭaka princess)
  - 4. Vikramēndravarman I. *c.* 488—493 A. D.
    - 5. Indravarman or Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman *c.* 500—530 A. D.
      - 6. Vikramēndravarman or (Vikramēndravarman II) *c.* 530—540 A. D.
        - 7. Gōvindavarman *surnamed* Vikramās'raya *c.* 540—546 A. D.
          - 8. Mādhavavarman III, *surnamed* Janās'raya *c.* 546—611 (?) A. D.
            - 9. Mancyaṇṇa Bhaṭṭāraka
      - other *unnamed* sons.
    - other *unnamed* sons.

The above arrangement is also based on a study of the political history of the Deccan and of the history of the contemporary Pallavas, Vākāṭakas, Guptas and Kadambas. Earlier writers did not take into account the course of political events in Dakṣiṇāpatha, Kāñci and Kuntala. Their assumptions had been more or less arbitrary. The schemes of genealogical succession put forward by the earlier writers and particularly by Dr. D. Sircar, become untenable. All the earlier arrangements have therefore to be rejected.

## CHAPTER III.

### *The original home and the dynastic name of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins.*

All the records of the family speak of the dynastic name as *Viṣṇukuṇḍi*, and the phrase *Viṣṇukuṇḍinām Mahārāja Śrī* that precedes the personal name of every monarch in all the five copper-plate charters of the dynasty, as in the case of the Pallava, Vākātaka and Kadamba kings, plainly denotes that the appellation *Viṣṇukuṇḍi* is purely a dynastic or family rather than a tribal or clannish name.[1] The term *Viṣṇukuṇḍi* does not also seem to be the name of a *gōtra*, like the names Śālaṅkāyana, Bṛhatphalāyana and Ānanda. In any *Pravarakāṇḍa* the name Viṣṇukuṇḍi does not occur as a *gōtra* name. In spite of this, Lakshmana Rao argues that Viṣṇukuṇḍi might be a *gōtra* name and that the royal family adopted their *gōtra* like their predecessors the Śālaṅkāyanas, as their dynastic appellation.[2] He assumes further that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins might be a separate clan or caste like the Agnikula-Kṣatriyas, or Vahnikula-Kṣatriyas as they are also called, who sprang from a sacrificial fire technically called *Viṣṇu* and therefore came to be called by the appellation Viṣṇukuṇḍi.[3] These are mere conjectures and made apparently without any basis or evidence.

1 The Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings have the title *Mahārāja* followed by the word *s'rī* prefixed to their personal names like the Vākāṭaka, Kadamba, Pallava and other early kings. Before the title *mahārāja* there stands in each case the genitive plural *Viṣṇukuṇḍinām*. Thus for instance the passage *Viṣṇukuṇḍinām mahārāja s'rī Mādhavavarman* cannot be translated as if the genitive *Viṣṇukuṇḍinām* were governed by the title *mahārāja*, *i. e.*, "the illustrious Mādhavavarman, the Great king of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins", or "*Mahārāja* of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, the illustrious Mādhavavarman". The genitive form must always be taken to qualify *not* the title *Mahārāja* but the whole phrase *Mahārāja s'rī Mādhavavarman* and more specially the personal name of the king which is the chief component of the phrase so that the meaning is "Mahārāja, the illustrious Mādhava-varman of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins *i. e.*, of the Viṣṇkuṇḍin family. We have similarly genitive plurals like *Maitṛakāṇām* in the Valabhi plates (*E. I.*, IX, p. 269 text line 4), *Kadambanām I. A.*, VI, p. 26, I. 5; p. 14, I. 14; p. 18, I. 5; *I. A.*, VII, p. 35, I. 4) *Vākāṭakānām* (*C.I.I.*, III, p. 235 etc.) See Kielhorn's remarks in *E. I.*, IX, p. 269, n. 4.)

2 *Journal of the Department of Letters* (Cal. Uni.) Vol. XI, p. 54f.

3 *Opi. Cit.* See also *Bhārati.*, Vol. VIII, Part 2. p. 302ff.

The Viṣṇukuṇḍins never claimed to have sprung from any sacrificial fire called Viṣṇukuṇḍi. On the other hand the epithet *Kṣattriy-āvaskanda-pravarttit-āpratima - vikhyāta - parākramasya*[1] that is given to Dēvavarman in the Īpūru plates II set, seems to indicate that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, at any rate the earlier members of the family, considered themselves to be superior to Kṣatriyas and therefore by implication Brahmans. It is therefore improper to assume, as Lakshmana Rao does, that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins were a low caste, clan or community and possibly the Vahni-kula Kṣatriyas. The term Viṣṇukuṇḍi undoubtedly seems to be a family name like the Pallava, Gupta, Vākāṭaka or Kadamba, and to have nothing to do with their caste or origin.

Kielhorn holds that Viṣṇukuṇḍi might be a sanskritised form of Vinukoṇḍa which is the name of an ancient town in Guntūr district.[2] Vinukoṇḍa seems to be a variant of the Prakrit form Viṇhukuṇḍi or Veṇhukuṇḍa, or the Sanskrit term Viṣṇukuṇḍi. It is a common and well known practice among the Andhras to take as their family name the name of the village or locality from which they came originally. It is therefore probable that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins took their family name from the original place of their habitation or rulership. There are instances where a village or district lent its name to the ruling dynasties of the province and country. Thus there are the Durjayas of Velanāṇḍu called Velanāṇṭis, Durjayas of Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi-sīma as Koṇḍapaḍumaṭis, and the imperial Āravīḍu Dynasty of Vijayanagara which acquired the name from Āruvīḍu, a village in Cuddapah district. It is therefore probable that the ruling house of Viṣṇukuṇḍinagara or Viṣṇukuṇḍinapura acquired the family appellation *Viṣṇukuṇḍi* on account of their long association with that town, in course of time. It seems probable further that while the Sanskrit form *Viṣṇukuṇḍi* remained unaltered, being engraved on copper-plate charters and in stone records, the Prakrit form Vinhukuṇḍi or Veṇhukuṇḍa gradually changed and finally became Viṇukoṇḍa.

1 Compare this passage with the epithet *Khatiya-dapa-māna-madanasa* line. 5, Nasik cave Ins. No. 2, *E. I.*, VIII, p. 60.

2 *E. I.*, IV, p. 195 (Cikkulla plates of Vikramēndravarman II)

Until we obtain evidence to the contrary about the meaning of the term *Viṣṇukuṇḍi*, we may assume that Viṣṇukuṇḍinagara or Viṣṇukuṇḍinapura, the modern Vinukoṇḍa, was the original seat of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty and that the royal family took its name from the city. It is therefore, probable that Viṣṇukuṇḍinapura was the first capital of the family.

Vinukoṇḍa the ancient Viṣṇukuṇḍinapura.

Vinukoṇḍa is an ancient site that has not been properly explored. It is likely that the place would yield invaluable evidence if the Archaeologist explores and excavates it.[1] It was a place of strategical importance, and history tells us that in medieval and Vijayanagara times it occupied an important position as the head-quarters of a viceroy or governor in that locality. Moreover, local tradition in Gunṭūr district refers to a certain city called Kuṇḍinapura or Kuṇḍinagara which existed in by gone days. People identify Kuṇḍinapura ignorantly with Koṇḍavīḍu because the glory of that city during the Reḍḍi Epoch is still fresh in their minds. The identification seems to be wrong. Kuṇḍinapura is apparently an abbreviation of the Viṣṇukuṇḍinapura and that represents Vinukoṇḍa. The original home of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, thus seems to have been the region on the southern bank of the Kṛṣṇa and in the heart of Andhradesa. It is also certain that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins were an indigenous family and were, therefore, Andhras. Contemporary dynasties referred to them as Andhras.

*Viṣṇukuṇḍi* seems to have been as much a place name as the name of a small stream near Vinukoṇḍa. This view is based upon the analogy of the river name Brahmakuṇḍī which is another name for the river Guṇḍlakamma in Gunṭūr district. The existence of a river called Brahmakuṇḍī indicates the probable existence of two more streams in the same locality under the names Rudrakuṇḍī and Viṣṇukuṇḍi. Brahmakuṇḍī as another name for the Guṇḍlakamma often oucurs in the inscriptions of the Guntur district and it appears that it was

1 For a fuller description of the antiquities of Vinukoṇḍa, see Sewell's *Topographical List of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 67.

also known by the name Kuṇḍi-prabhā or Kuṇḍi-nadī.[1] The Brahmakuṇḍi, or Guṇḍlakamma is joined by two small tributaries, Pasapulēru (lit. Yellow stream) and Kālēru (Black stream). All these three streams rise in the Malaya Range or the Eastern Ghats of the Guntūr District. The Pasapulēru might have been called Viṣṇukuṇḍi in ancient times. It flows by the western side of Vinukoṇḍa and joins the Brahmakuṇḍi about two or three miles south by west from Vinukoṇḍa. Further down, the Kālēru, which may accordingly represent the Rudrakuṇḍi, falls into the Guṇḍlakamma. While there is epigraphical evidence to show that Guṇḍlakamma was also called Brahmakuṇḍi, similar evidence with regard to the other two streams is still lacking. Nevertheless it may be assumed that the Pasapulēru was known by the Sanskrit name Viṣṇukuṇḍi and the town that grew by its side acquired the appellation Viṣṇukuṇḍinapura or Viṣṇukuṇḍinagara. Thus gradually the ruling house of Viṣṇukuṇḍinagara adopted the name of the town where they ruled as their family appellation. The original home of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins also would seem to have been Vinukoṇḍa and its vicinity in the Guntūr district.

There are several facts which go to support the conclusion that Viṣṇukuṇḍins rose to power in Karmarāṣṭra or the Guntūr district and that they were originally an Andhra family. The Viṣṇukuṇḍins called themselves *Bhagavat Śrīparvatasvāmi-pād-ānudhyātasya*, "who meditated on the feet of the holy Lord of Śrīparvata". Both Kielhorn and Lakshmana Rao hold Śrīparvata to be identical with Śrīśailam in the Kurnool district and that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins were worshippers of Śiva, established on the hill Śrīśaila, under the name Mallikārjuna. But the recent discoveries at Nāgārajunakoṇḍa and the inscriptions of the Ikṣvāku dynasty have completely set at rest any doubt or controversy in respect of the identity of Śrīparvata. And it is now conclusively established that Śrīparvata and Śrīśailam are two different localities, and that while the former was the name of a celebrated hill in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley in Guntūr district, the latter is the name of a peak in the Nallamala Hills

1 *E. I.*, VIII, p. 9f and *S. I. I.*, VI. No. 226.

in Kurnool district, celebrated as Śrīśailam in Andhradesa and Dakṣiṇāpatha.[1] Śrīparvata is the hill which is connected with the renowned Buddhist divine Nāgārjuna and the *Mahācaitya* of a genuine *dhātu* (relic) of the Great Buddha. Śrīśaila and Śrīparvata are therefore the names of two distinctly separate peaks on the Nallamala Range. Śrīparvata is in Guntūr district and stands at a distance of about eighty miles as the crow flies from Śrīśailam in Kurnool district. But it appears that from the early centuries of the Christian era to the fifteenth century, both in Sanskrit and Telugu literature and in the inscriptions of the land, Śrīśaila was frequently referred to as Śrīparvata. Subandhu in his *Vāsavadattā* speaks of Śrīparvata as the abode of Mallikārjuna-Śiva;[2] and he appears to have lived about the beginning of the fifth century A. D.[3] Ana-Vēma, the greatest king of the Reḍḍi dynasty of Koṇḍavīḍu built a flight of steps along the steep side of the hill from the edge of the Kṛṣṇa below called the *Pātāla Gangā* to the top of the mountain, and acquired the proud title, *Śrīparvata - sōpāna-sthāpaka*, 'the builder of steps to Śrīparvata.'[4] It also appears from other inscriptions of the land that the celebrated hill was also called Śrīgiri. Śrīparvata, Śrīgiri and Śrīśaila, therefore, all appear to be the names by which the holy mountain was known from the earliest times. Moreover, almost all the holy peaks like Śrīparvata, Tripurāntakam, Ahōbilam, Śrīśailam and Mahānandi, are all situated on the Nallamala Range which runs from the Guntūr to Kurnool district along the lower Kṛṣṇa valley. On this account, the entire mountain range seems to have acquired also the appellation, Śrīparvata, 'the Holy Mountain,' or the 'Glorious Mountain.' Though Śrīparvata, the abode of Mallikārjuna-Śiva, was the original name, the devotees of Śiva would seem to have distinguished it by the new name Śrīśaila and thus avoided all confusion in the minds of the people. Śrīparvata was as much the abode of Buddhism as it was of Śiva worship. But when the name was used in a

1 *A. S. I.* 1926–27, pp. 156ff.; *Ibid* 184—189; 1927–28, p. 114f. See also Book I.

2 Vānivilas Sanskrit series. 1906. p. 100. *śrīparvataiva sannihita Mallikārjunaḥ.*

3 *JASB*, 1095, p. 253.

4 This appears in all the Reḍḍi copper-plates and in their records.

restricted sense it referred to Śrīparvata in Guntūr district, in later times. But during the Viṣṇukuṇḍin epoch Śrīparvata was also the name for the abode of Mallikārjuna-Śiva. It appears, therefore, that the Holy Lord of Śrīparvata whom the Viṣṇukuṇḍins worshipped was Mallikārjuna-Śiva, established on the summit of Śrīs'aila in Kurnool district.

As the Viṣṇukuṇḍins called themselves the "worshippers of the feet of the holy lord Śrīparvatasvamin", it would appear that their original home, was or lay in the vicinity of Śrīparvata, either in Kurnool or in Guntūr district. As pointed already, Vinukoṇḍa, the probable home of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins is situated in the neighbourhood of Śrīs'aila, Śrīparvata and Vijayapurī. Moreover, the title *Trikūṭa malayādhipatiḥ* of Mādhavavarman II, that occurs in the Īpūru plates second set, admirably supports this conjecture. Dr. Hultzsch identifies Trikūṭa with a mountain on the Bombay side and the Malaya with the Western Ghāts, and remarks that both these localities were at a safe distance from the dominions of Mādhavavarman II although he professes to be their lord and therefore the claim that he was the 'Lord of Trikūṭa and Malaya Mountains' must be a boast.[1] Dr. Hultzsch is evidently at a loss to know how Mādhavavarman II, lord of Andhradesa could have reigned over these distant localities. He is evidently mistaken in his identification. There are many mountains and peaks of the name of Malaya and Trikūṭa in the vast region of Dakṣiṇāpatha and therefore, the Trikūta and Malaya mountains over which Mādhavavarman II claims to have held sway need not be such distant localities as those in Mahārāṣṭra and Malabar so as to render the claim a mere boast. In Andhradesa itself in the vicinity of Viṣṇukuṇḍinagara or Vinukoṇḍa and Śrīparvata there are mountains which bear the names Malaya and Trikūṭa. Kōṭappakoṇḍa, the celebrated hill of pilgrimage in Narasaraopet taluk, was called in former times by the names Trikūṭa-parvata and Trikūṭādri; and the Śiva *linga* established on its summit is known by the name Trikūṭēs'vara or Trikōṭēs'vara. The names Trikūṭēs'vara and Trikōtēs'vara occur in the inscriptions found

1 *E. I.*, XVII, p. 338 : *Ibid* Vol. XI, p. 220.

on the hill locally called Kotappa-koṇḍa, "Hill of Kōṭappa."[1] The celebrated hill lies within a distance of about twenty miles from Viṇukoṇḍa towards the east.

Malaya likewise is an ancient name for the hill range known as the Eastern Ghats in modern geographies. The hill range is known by various local names in the eastern districts of Andhradesa. In the old Ganjam district the mountain range is called Malaya mountains; in the Vizagapatam district the Eastern Ghats are locally called Gōlugoṇḍalu and the Sanskrit name is Malaya. In the Godavari district the local name for the hill range is Pāpi-koṇḍalu and the hilly tract is referred to in general parlance as *Manyam* which is a corrupt form of the term *Malayam*.[2] Similarly, in the Guntur district the hill range is called Nalla-goṇḍalu or Nallamala in Telugu,[3] and in Sanskrit it is referred to as Malaya. The name Nallamala is a mixed compound of Telugu and Sanskrit terms *Nalla* and *Mala*, which means 'Black Mountain Range'. Nallamala and Erramala are also the names for the Eastern Ghats in the Kurnool district. In Cuddapah the mountains are called by the local names Ēlumala 'Fierce Range' and Nallamala. The Eastern Ghats have the local name Tirumala in Telugu and Tamil and the Sanskrit appellation Śēṣādri in Chittoor district. Thus it appears that Malaya is also a local ancient name for the Eastern Ghats in Eastern Andhradesa. It is therefore clear that Mādhavavarman II claimed no boastful epithets, as Dr. Hultzsch assumes, but with characteristic and justifiable pride referred to the celebrated peaks and mountains of his home province, apparently to signify his re-conquest.

1 *S. I. I.* Vol. IV. Nos. 915—919. Kōṭappa is a compound of two Telugu words *Kōṭa* and *appa*; the Sanskrit term *kūṭa* became corrupt as *kōṭa* in Telugu and thus Trikūtēs'vara or Trikōṭēs'vara became corrupt as Kōṭappa in Telugu. Both the compounds means the same ' the Lord of the Trikūṭa. Trikūta-parvata became in Telugu Kōṭappa-koṇḍa.

2 On account of corrupt pronunciation *Malaya* became *Manya* in Telugu and therefore *Malayam* is referred to as *Manyam*. It may be noted that in Telugu language *n* and *l* are freely interchangeable. The best illustration of the rule can be found in the name of the language itself. *Telugu* is also pronounced as *Tenugu* or *Tenuṁgu*.

3 The name Nallagoṇḍa as a place name occurs in the name of a town in the Nizam's Dominions. The name Bhramara-giri referred to by the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang means the same thing.

Amarapura, the capital of Mādhavavarman II has not been also properly identified. Dr. Hultzsch is unable to suggest any identification. Lakshmana Rao, however believes that Amarapura represents the modern town of Amarāvati on the banks of Kṛṣṇa.[1] This identification seems to be correct though there is no epigraphical or literary evidence in support of it. Amarāvati became renowned as a place of pilgrimage on account of the shrine of Śiva called Amaravaṭēs'vara or Amarēs'vara. Amarāvatī grew up into a flourishing suburb of the imperial capital Dhānyakaṭaka or Dhanakaṭaka apparently after the shrine of Amarēs'vara sprang and acquired celebrity, in the days of the Brahmanical revival.[2] It is probable that Amarapura became renowned first during the Viṣṇukuṇḍin period. Dhānyakaṭaka according to local tradition was the capital of the Pallava viceroy, Trilocana-Pallava, who ruled over the southern Andhra country. It is probable that the Pallava rulers occupied and made it their seat after the fall of Dēvavarman. After the fall of the Śātavāhana dynasty the city seems to have acquired importance again under the Imperial Viṣṇukuṇḍins during the reign of Mādhavavarman I. Its glory apparently reached the zenith during the fifth century. But after the fall of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins the city became the seat of Trilocana-Pallava. To this day, the inhabitants of Dhānyakaṭaka or Dharaṇikōṭa as it is called connect the ancient town with Trilōcana-Pallava and point to an extensive ruined site where the citadel of the Pallava king is said to have stood.[3] If Mādhavavarman's claim to the reconquest of his home province from the enemies of his house be true or even probable, there is nothing unreasonable in the Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch making Amarapura once more his capital. Lord Śiva in the temple of Amaravaṭes'vara, according

1 *Jour. Dept. of Letters.* (Cal. Uni.) Vol XI. p. 51.

2 The *Sthalamahātmyam* and Telugu literature refer to the temple of S'iva at Amarāvati under the name Amarēs'vara. In the inscriptions of the Durjaya chieftains of Kōṭa family, the deity is mentioned as Amarēs'vara. A solitary copper-plate grant of the time of the Eastern Cāḷukya king Amma II (*E. I.* XXIV p. 191ff) refers to the deity under the name Amaravaṭēs'vara and as the abode of the saints of the Lakulis'a Pāsupata sect. At one time Dhānyakaṭaka and Amaravati formed one and the same city, the latter being the quarter where the temple of Amarēs'vara stood on the edge of the Kṛṣṇa river.

3 Sewell: *Report on the Amarāvatī Tope*, p. 5.

to the *Sthalapurāṇa*, is believed to have been established by Amarēs'vara, "the Lord of the gods" or Indra. It is, therefore, probable that Amarapura was the original name of Amarāvati, though both the appellations were derived from the name of the deity itself.

## APPENDIX

The *Sthalamahātmya* narrates interesting legends about the Trikūṭa Hill and Trikūṭēs'vara-Śiva, established on the hill. One legend states that Śiva after the destruction of the *Prajāpati*' Dakṣa's *yajña*, took up his abode in the *bilva-vana* on the Trikūṭa Hill in a calm mood and became known as Dakṣiṇāmūrti. This is the central peak which is called Rudras'ikhara; here the lord manifested himself as a *Jyōtir-linga*. The temple of Trukūṭēs'vara-Śiva on the Rudras'ikhara is the most sacred spot, but as there are no proper steps to reach the top, pilgrims do not generally go to worship in that shrine. The temple is considered to be as sacred as the shrine of Mallikārjuna-Śiva on Śrīs'aila. To the north-east of the Rudras'ikhara is another peak called Viṣṇus'ikhara. It is said that Viṣṇu, performed penance on this hill to wash away the sin of having accepted the *havis* in Daksa's *Yajña*. Lord Śiva took compassion on Viṣṇu, and manifested himself on the Peak. Desiring to absolve Viṣṇu from the sin, the lord, struck his *tris'ūla* on the ground; and from there holy water sprouted. Viṣṇu bathed in the sacred *tīrtha* and his sin was washed away. At this *tīrtha* Śiva is called *Pāpa-vināsa dēvara*, and the *linga* 'the Destroyer of sins' is believed to be a *svayambhu*, 'self incarnate'. Pilgrims first go to the *tīrtha*, and, after a bath in the holy waters, proceed to the shrine of Pāpavināsadēvara and then to the temple of Trikūṭēs'vara. On the Rudras'ikhara,

*Sthalamahātmyam* and the legends about *Trikuta-parvata*.

Brahma too prayed Śiva to manifest himself. Accordingly, to the south-east of Rudras'ikhara on a peak lower down, which is called the Brahmas'ikhara, Śiva manifested himself. This peak is not so high as the other two. Here stands the temple of Trikūṭēs'vara or in local parlance Krotta-Kōṭappa, 'New Kōṭappa'. This shrine is obviously of later origin. The people of Guntūr and adjoining districts call the god Trikūṭēs'vara by the popular name Kōṭēs'vara or Kūṭēs'vara or in Telugu Kōṭappa. Hence the hill came to be called Kōṭappa-koṇḍa or the Hill of Kōṭappa. On *Śivarātri* day a big *yātra* is held every year and pilgrims from the entire length and breadth of Kistna and Guṇṭūr districts lying on either bank of the Kṛṣṇa river flock to the sacred hill in large numbers.

Tradition narrates an interesting legend about the origin of Trikūṭēs'vara on the Brahmas'ikhara which is called the temple of Krotta-Kōṭappa or New Kotappa. To the south-east of the peak there is a village called Koṇḍa-Kāvūru. There lived a cow-herd named Nanda with his wife Kundarī and daughter Ānandavalli. The birth of Ānandavalli, after a long period of childlessness, brought prosperity to Nanda. Ānandavalli became a staunch devotee of Trikūṭēs'vara even from her child-hood; she played all day on the hill near the shrine in deep devotion to the Supreme Lord. As she grew older she saw the manifestation of the Lord and her desire to remain there for ever in the company of the deity struck deep roots. So great and deep was her devotion for the Lord that she was blessed with a son, virgin though she was. But soon after its birth, the child vanished, and Ānandavalli too left her mortal coil and obtained *Śivalōka*. There is a cavern which is believed to be the spot where Ānandavalli gave birth to a child and became united in the Eternal Spirit. Pilgrims worship Ānandavalli in that shrine and then go to the temple of Krotta-Kōtappa or Trikūṭēs'vara. At the time Ānandavalli obtained *Śivalōka*, there lived a pious person named Śalaṅkāyya in the land. He came to Trikūṭa and built a shrine to Ānandavalli. He built another shrine near by to Trikūṭēs'vara, which is the modern temple of *Krotta-Kōṭappa* on the *Brahmas'ikhara*

on the Trikūṭa Hill. Sometime after, Sālaṅkayya proposed to build a shrine for Pārvati also and endow for the wedding festival (*kalyāṇa*) of the deity every year. But an invisible voice dissuaded Sālaṅkayya from proceeding with the construction of the temple. Śiva appeared as Dakṣiṇāmūrti on this hill, after the destruction of Daksa and observed *brahmacarya* for a long time. The Lord, it is said, desired that no wedding festival should be celebrated to Him, for he was without a consort at that time. That is said to be the reason for not celebrating the wedding festival to Trikūṭēs'vara on the Kōṭappa-Koṇḍa.

Curiously enough the names Nanda, Kundarī, Ānandavalli and Sālaṅkayya remind us strongly of the Ānanda and Śālaṅkāyana dynasties. Nanda may be a distortion of the name Ānanda, the Ānanda-maharṣi; and likewise Kundarī may be Kandari or Kandarapura, the capital of the Ānandas. Ānandavalli's legend bears a striking parallel to the story of Mahādēvī, the daughter of the Ānanda king, and her son, who was the last of the Ānandas, apparently according to the Cēzerla stone inscription. These are mere surmises. But it is quite probable that the shrine of Trikūṭēs'vara or Trikōṭēs'vara on the Trikūta Hill had its origin during the period of the Early Ānanda kings who renounced Buddhism and embraced Brāhmanism and styled themselves *Parama-māhēs'varas*, 'the devout worshippers of Mahēs'vara, *i.e.* Śiva.' The shrine of Trikūṭēs'vara may possibly have acquired celebrity during the Ānanda and the Śālaṅkāyana epochs, and enjoyed royal patronage.

## CHAPTER IV.

### *The Rise and political ascendancy of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins.*

A survey of the period, from the fall of the Ikṣvākus to the rise of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins.

The period, from the fall of the Ikṣvākus in the third century till the rise of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins in the fifth century, of one and half centuries roughly, was one of bitter struggle and of protracted wars, between the Pallavas of Kāñci and the successive dynasties that rose to sovereignty in Andhradesa. The Pallavas carried on relentless fight for the perpetuation of their domination in Southern Andhradesa. And the successive dynasties of Andhradesa, struggled only in vain to deliver their home-land from the Pallava dominion and restore paramount monarchy in the land. The Pallava kingdom extended as far as the Kṛṣṇa river; and therefore Karmarāṣṭra became the bone of contention, the cockpit of protracted hostilities. First came the Bṛhatphalāyanas, and in the wake of their destruction emerged the Ānandas who became fierce opponents of the Pallava domination over Andhradesa. Then the Viṣṇukuṇḍins came. The Viṣṇukuṇḍins were the political successors of the Ānandas in the struggle for freedom. The earliest Viṣṇukuṇḍin charter seems to point to a close connection between the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and the Ānandas. The Viṣṇukuṇḍins rose in the very region on the southern bank of the Kṛṣṇa where the Ānandas had lately held sway. They would seem to have acquired the sovereignty almost immediately on the death or fall of Attivarman, the last independent king of the Ānanda dynasty. The Ānandas bore the epithet, *Trikūṭa-parvata-patiḥ* 'the lord of the Trikūṭa Mountain'; and Mādhava-varman II, the third king of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty proudly called himself, *Tirkūṭa-malayādhipatiḥ*, 'the Lord of Trikūṭa Mountain' or 'Lord of Trikūṭa and Malaya Mountains.' Certain legends, too, recorded in literature and to which we shall presently turn, seem to suggest the connection between the two dynasties in a vague manner.

If we turn to the history of Kāñci in the fifth century, we find that the Pallava supremacy was considerably crippled by the ascendancy of the Kadambas under a succession of three great monarchs, Kākusthavarman and his two sons, Śāntivarman and Kṛṣṇavarman I. With the accession of Kākusthavarman, the history of the Kadambas enters on a new epoch. It marks the period of expansion of Kuntala into north, south and south-east. The northern boundary of the Kadamba kingdom touched the borders of the Vākāṭaka Empire, in the Deccan. It encroached upon the dominions of the Pallavas in the east and south. Kākusthavarman strengthened his power and prestige in the south by a number of dynsatic marriages; and the most notable of them all is the alliance with the Imperial Guptas of Magadha. The Western Gaṅgas, or the Jāhnavīyas as they are also called, became more or less subordinate allies of the Kadambas; and both the powers embarked upon a conflict with the Pallavas and even threatened to destroy their sovereignty. A series of crushing reverses during the early part of the fifth century eclipsed the glory of the Pallavas. In the end the Kadamba successes paved the way for the celebration of an As'vamēdha sacrifice by Kṛṣṇavarman the Great, about 435 A. D. About the same period we find the Viṣṇukuṇḍins under Mādhavavarman I already as a formidable power in Andhradesa and in Eastern Dakṣiṇāpatha. And the Pallavas were dislodged from their possessions in the southern Andhra country.

Political condition of South India in the first part of fifth century.

### 1. *Mādhavavarman I, the Great*, c. 420—455 A. D.

It is impossible to trace the events by which Mādhavavarman I rose to be the supreme lord of Andhradesa, to establish a dynasty of his own and acquire the imperial dignity in Dakṣiṇāpatha. It is, however, obvious that he destroyed the Śālaṅkāyanas, conquered and drove out the Pallavas from Andhradesa and uprooted innumerable minor dynasties that opposed his rise to power. He was indeed a great monarch, a mighty soldier, a just ruler and a great statesman. And yet nothing is known about Mādhavavarman I and his ancestors

and the gradual degrees by which he rose to be the emperor in Dakṣiṇāpatha. K. V. Lakshmana Rao opined that the ancestors of Mādhavavarman I and possibly Mādhavavarman I, too, would have held high positions of rank and responsibility in the Vākāṭaka Empire under Pṛthivīsēna I (*c*. 344—370 A. D.) and his son Rudrasēna II (*c*. 370—385 A. D.), and thus risen to sovereignty ultimately with the help of the Imperial Guptas and Vākāṭaka influence, during the uneventful period of the regency of Queen Prabhāvatīguptā (385—415 A. D.) on account of the minority of her two sons, Divākarasēna and Dāmōdarasēna-Pravarasēna II.[1] Lakshmana Rao's theory is a mere conjecture; it is not based upon facts. He seems to base his conjecture on the legend in the *Sthalamāhātmya* of Śrīs'ailam. According to that story, princess Candrāvatī, daughter of the Gupta king Candragupta, conceived a passion for Lord Śiva of Śrīs'aila, worshipped Him by offering daily a garland of jasmine (*mallika*) flowers, and eventually became united in the Supreme Spirit. It is difficult to see how this legend which mentions a certain king Candragupta, no doubt a historical name, could have anything to do with the origin and rise of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty. This legend if it has any background in history has to be interpreted in a different manner. In fact the earliest Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch did not rise to power until the close of first quarter of the fifth century. Lakshmana Rao's theory may have had for its basis the matrimonial alliance between the Vākāṭakas and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. But in this fact there is nothing to indicate that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins rose to power solely on account of the marital alliance with the Vākāṭaka dynasty. The ancestors of Mādhavavarman I do not, on the other hand, seem to have had any connection either with the Vākāṭakas or their Gupta kinsmen of the north. It is no doubt true that some Vākāṭaka chiefs are mentioned in one of the Amarāvatī Prakrit inscriptions.[2] The inscription may be assigned to about the second or third century after Christ. But that solitary reference

Mādhavavarman's rise to power: Lakshmana Rao's theory.

1 *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. XI, p. 46.

2 *E. I.*, XV, p. 267, No. 27.

to the Vākāṭakas, cannot be accepted as sufficient evidence to connect the rise of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins to the Vākāṭaka dynasty, roughly two centuries afterwards. The Viṣṇukuṇḍins were already a great power in Dakṣiṇāpatha by the time the Vākāṭakas entered into a marital alliance with them. The Viṣṇukuṇḍins, therefore, appear to have risen to power solely by the force of their own strength and prowess. Their dynastic name, their royal insignia, their capital and their tutelary deity and lastly the epithet '*Trikūṭa-Malayādhipatiḥ*, all point to the conclusion that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins were an Andhra dynasty and that their origin or rise to power had nothing to do either with the Vākāṭakas or Guptas. There is not even a single event or circumstance which justifies Lakshmana Rao's conjecture. On the contrary, the ancestors of Mādhavavarman I appear to have been either vassals of rank or military officers of importance under the Ikṣvākus, Bṛhatphalāyanas and Ānandas and thus gradually risen to power. Mādhavavarman's rise in Andhradesa almost synchronised with the decline of the Ānandas on the southern bank of the Kṛṣṇa, with the fall of the Śālaṅkāyanas in Vēṅgī and lastly with the disastrous events that overwhelmed the Pallava power in the south for nearly half a century.

Legends about a king named Mādhavavarman.

A certain legend recorded in Telugu Literature and connected with the ancient history of Anumakoṇḍa, the early capital of the Kākatīyas, (modern Hanmakoṇḍa near Warangal in the Nizam's Dominions,) contains an account of the origin and exploits of a mythical king named Mādhavavarman. The legend may be briefly narrated here, for it seems to furnish us with a clue to the origin of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and the rise of Mādhavavarman I. The legendary prince Mādhavavarman is said to be the posthumous son of Sōmadēva, king Kandāra. The lord of Kaṭaka, desirous of destroying the power of Sōmadēva and annexing his kingdom to his own dominions invaded his territory and laid seige to Kandāra. Sōmadeva held out for a long time and thus the fight became protracted. The lord of Kaṭaka however, resolved to uproot Sōmadēva. At that time, the king of Kandāra had no sons; and fearing that

he might die on the battlefield without an heir to the throne, consulted his ministers and commanders. He longed for a son and the ministers advised him to perform a sacrifice known as *putrakāmeṣṭi* and please the gods who would give a son. Sōmadēva prayed for the birth of a son who would rise to be a hero and destroy the power of the Lord of Kaṭaka one day. When the news of Sōmadēva's sacrifice reached his ears, the lord of Kataka grew angry and wanted to prevent the successful completion of the sacrifice. He therefore made another sudden and unprovoked attack on Kandāra in order to destroy Sōmadēva and his family. Sōmadēva finished the sacrifice, and came out of his city to offer battle to the enemy. In a patched battle that was fought outside the gates of the city, Sōmadēva was defeated and slain. His city was destroyed and razed to the ground. Meanwhile, his queen Siriyāladevi, who was pregnant, fled the kingdom with the help of a few trusted followers and took refuge in the house of a Brāhmaṇa house-holder, Mādhavas'arman, at Anumakoṇḍa in the neighbouring province. Mādhavas'arman protected the queen like his own daughter. Meanwhile the lord of Kaṭaka learnt through his spies, much to his disappointment and chagrin, the news of the escape of Siriyāladēvī to Anumakoṇḍa. Immediately he despatched an army to capture the fugitive queen and slay her pregnant though she was. As soon as he heard this, Mādhavas'arman, accompanied by his disciples and followers, remonstrated with the commander of the army that the lady in his protection was not Siriyāladēvī but his own daughter who was left behind by her husband who had proceeded on a pilgrimage to Vārāṇasī. The lord of Kaṭaka would not believe the remonstrance. He desired to put the Brāhmaṇa chief and his followers to severe test, and to prove truth of their assertion. Mādhavas'arman true to his word agreed to the test proposed by the king, for such was devotion and loyalty to the deceased king of Kandāra. The lord of Kaṭaka bade Mādhavas'arman and his followers to eat at the hands of the lady who was claimed to be a Brāhmaṇa. But as Brāhmaṇas would not eat at the hands of a pregnant woman Mādhavas'arman and his followers agreed to eat the ghee and salt served by Siriyāladēvī. The lord of Kaṭaka

was then satisfied. He released the captive queen from custody. In course of time Siriyāladēvī gave birth to a son at an auspicious moment; and the son of Sōmadēva was called Mādhavavarman, after the name of his Brāhmaṇa god-father. Mādhavavarman grew into a valiant and strong youth. He heard the harrowing tale of his father's defeat and death and the loss of his kingdom at the hands of the Vallabha, (Pallava) the lord of Kaṭaka. He then took a vow of vengeance against his hereditary foes. Soon, he raised a large army, gathered the scattered followers and the trusted commanders of his father, marched upon Kaṭaka and defeated and slew the enemy of his father. Having then reduced the earth to subjection, Mādhavavarman established himself once more as the supreme lord of the country and reigned in peace for one and hundred and sixty years.

Criticism of the legend.

The legend is almost similar to the Eastern Cālukya tradition recorded in the Raṇastipūṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya. But the similarity cannot be the sole ground for the rejection of the legend as unworthy of credence or historical criticism. There are certain things in this legend which seem to have a historical background. Thus Kaṭaka may be the same as Dhanakaṭaka, the capital of the Pallava viceory, mentioned in the British Museum Plates of Cārudēvī. Similarly Vallabha seems to represent Pallava, at any rate it does not seem to be a personal or proper name but represent an officer, or governor in charge of a province or district. Kandāra, the capital of Sōmadēva may be Kandarapura, the capital of the Ānanda kings. Sōmadēva himself might be a king of the Ānanda dynasty, who ruled for sometime after the fall of Attivarman. All this is after all a mere surmise. Nevertheless, here in the legend is a fading glimpse of the fierce conflict that raged between the Ānandas and Pallavas for a very long time, from the fall of Damōdaravarman in *c.* 300 A. D. to the death of Attivarman, about *c.* 420 A. D. The legend seems to suggest also a hazy connection between the Ānandas of Kandarapura and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins of Amarapura. The legend mixes up several things which are beyond verification. But it still seems to

throw light on the obscure problem of the origin of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and the course of events by which they rose to power. The period of one hundred and sixty years to Mādhavavarman is obviously incredible. It may be explained however as meaning the period of Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule in Andhradesa. Curiously enough, only those who bore the name of Mādhavavarman attained greater glory than the rest and reigned for longer periods than the other kings of the dynasty.

There are no events specifically recorded as such of the reign of Mādhavavarman I, the founder of the dynasty, except a vague statement that he was worshipped by a host of powerful bowing vassals, that he had performed a hundred thousand Agniṣṭōmas, bathed at the end of eleven *As'vamedha* sacrifices and thus washed off the stains of the world, performed *Rājasūya Prādhirājya Sarvamēdha, Puruṣamēdha* and other great and excellent sacrifices and thereby attained to the firmly established supremacy and imperial dignity in Dakṣināpatha. Unfortunately nothing is known further about the great military exploits and conquests from the records of his family. His claim to *Rājasūya*, *Puruṣamēdha* and eleven *As'vamēdhas* however, suggests that he had conquered the neighbouring kingdoms, and vanquished many an enemy. Mādhavavarman's claim to these sacrifices shows beyond doubt that he was a great and mighty monarch who not only brought the whole of the Andhra country under his sway but carved out a vast and powerful kingdom, and founded a dynasty which endured a long time.

We have said that Mādhavavarman I would appear to have risen to power in Southern Andhradesa and quickly overthrown the Pallava dominion. His Pallava contemporary then would be the unknown predecessor of Skandavarman III. It is probable that Mādhavavarman I defeated and destroyed him completely, and that is why nothing is known about the kings of Kāñci that reigned during period following the fall of Vijaya Viṣṇugōpavarman II. It is also probable t hat the Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch uprooted the Śālaṅkāyanas by

Probable events that led to Mādhavavarman's *Rājasūya* sacrifice.

overthrowing Vijaya Skandavarman, the last of the dynasty. The Pallavas who were already overpowered by the Kadambas were unable to oppose Mādhavavarman I and much less come to the rescue of their ally, the weak and declining Śālaṅkāyana in Vēṅgi. Thus by slow degrees and unopposed by any power or king in Andhradesa, Mādhavavarman I subdued the entire half of the Eastern Deccan and became the undisputed lord of entire Andhra country. These events may be assigned to the early part of Mādhavavarman's reign, *c.* 420—430 A. D. These events were probably the occasion for the *Rājasūya* sacrifice. By performing the renowned sacrifice the Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch firmly established himself as the paramount lord of Andhra. He had apparently unified and brought the entire region under his supreme sway. And the sacrifice itself might have been performed about 430 A. D.

During the early part of Mādhavavarman's reign there was no formidable opponent in Dakṣiṇāpatha or South India to resist the expansion of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kingdom. Kṛṣṇavarman I had just ascended the throne of Kuntala. He and his predecessors, on account of their hostility to the Pallavas, were perforce friendly to the Viṣṇnkuṇḍin king. Mādhavavarman's rise to sovereignty almost synchronised with the accession of Narēndrasēna to the Vākāṭaka throne. According to the Ajanta cave inscription of his descendant, Narēndrasēna was a boy of a eight years at the time of his anointment to the kingdom.[1] Narēndrasēna's accession, according to the chronology adopted by me, which differs slightly from that of Dr. Jayaswal[2] took place about 415 A. D. Narnēdrasēna appears to have reigned for a long time, and therefore a fairly long period of about fifty five years, from *c.* 415 to 470 may be allotted to him, because the Ajanta inscription states that 'having ascended the throne at the early

Causes for the unimpeded expansion of Mādhavavarman's power.

1 *Ajanta Cave* (No. *XVI*) *Inscription of Harisēna*. *ASWI*, IV. p. 124, vv. 10-11. There is a good deal of controversy about the identity of the boy king whose name is lost in the inscription. I believe, like Dr. Jayaswal, the name of the boy king whose name is lost to be Narēndrasēna.

2 K. P. Jayaswal: *History of India* (1933) 62ff.

age of eight years, he (Narēndrasēna) reigned for a long time.[1] That brings the close of his long reign in his sixty-third or sixty-fourth year, which is not an improbable span of life. The Vākāṭaka monarch was a contemporary of Emperor Kumāragupta I of Magadha to whom he was also closely related. Narēndrasēna was the grandson of Queen Prabhāvatīguptā, sister of the Gupta emperor. On account of this nearness of relationship, the Vākāṭaka king commenced his reign peacefuly under the aegis of the Imperial Guptas. Being young Narēndrasēna would have sought the alliance with the powerful Viṣṇukuṇḍins whose kingdom lay contiguous to his dominions in the south. The Kadambas, too, needed strong allies in the north, for they were involved in a fierce and protracted conflict with the powerful Pallavas in the south. The Viṣṇukuṇḍins were already their allies; but the Kadambas were not content with that. They needed to be friendly with the Vākāṭakas too, their neighbours in the north, as well as their kinsmen the Imperial Guptas. To them an alliance with the Vākāṭakas would bring about an alliance with all the northern powers by one stroke as it were. Kṛṣṇavarman I, therefore, gave his daughter Ajjhītabhaṭṭārikā in marriage to the Vākāṭaka king and thus sealed the alliance.[2] The event may have taken place sometime between 425 and 430 A. D. It enhanced the glory and prestige of the Kadambas, and brought them into the friendly zone of the northern powers. About the same time or probably some years before that, the Vākāṭakas entered into a marital alliance with Mādhavavarman I who was fast rising to imperial dignity in Dakṣiṇāpatha.[3] The Cikkulla plates speak of the Viṣṇukuṇḍi-Vākāṭaka alliance and state that the offspring of the union of the two houses was Vikramēndravarman. The Vākāṭaka princess was in probability an elder sister of the young

1 See *note 1* on p. 440. The passage in question in the inscription runs thus: *avāpya rājyam aṣṭabdakō yaḥ pras'asā sa samyak*: v. 19.

2 The Bālāghāt plates of Pṛthivīsēna II. (*E. I.*, IX, p. 267) See above, in the topic "On the Pallava-Kadamba relations" in BOOK II.

3 As Mādhavavarman, the father of Vikramēndravarman I (*Rāmatīrtham plates*) has been identified with Mādhavavarman I of the Ipūru plates (II set.) the Vākāṭaka princess becomes the queen of Mādhavavarman I.

king Narēndrasēna. The marriage itself might have taken place sometime before the *Rājasūya* sacrifice. It was an event of great political importance. It strengthened the power of the Vākāṭakas and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins simultaneously. The expanding Viṣṇukuṇḍin kingdom proved to be a source of great strength to the Vākāṭakas, whose kingdom lay next door to Andhradesa. The Viṣṇukuṇḍi-Vākāṭaka matrimonial alliance and later the Vākāṭaka-Kadamba union brought about a formidable coalition of the great powers of Northern India and the kingdoms of Dakṣiṇāpatha. This great confederation was to save the ancient culture and civilization of Bharatavarṣa from the ravages of the predatory and barbaric Hūṇas and other nomadic tribes that began to infest the great Gupta Empire during the last years of Kumāragupta I and later, of his successors in the latter part of the fifth century.

The protracted hostilities between the Pallavas and the Kadambas in the south during the first half of the fifth century gave Mādhavavarman I a free hand in Andhradesa to conquer and consolidate his dominions. It was a great opportunity. Mādhavavarman's claim therefore to the performance of the *Rājasūya*, *Puruṣmēdha Sarvamēdha* and eleven *As'vamēdha* sacrifices and a host of other sacrifices does not seem to be a boast after all. On the contrary, judging from the course of political events in the Deccan and South, the celebration of these sacrifices does not appear to have been an impossible task for the great king Mādhavavarman I. The Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch must have gained innumerable victories and had notable military exploits to his credit; and thus his reign must have been eventful. Despite the paucity of materials for reconstructing history of his period, the performance of the *Vājapēya*, *Rājasūya* and eleven *As'vamēdha* sacrifices reveal the fact that Mādhavavarman I acquired a large and extensive kingdom and rose to imperial dignity in Dakṣiṇāpatha and claimed to be the *Cakravartin* in his time.

The real political significance of the *Rājasūya* and Eleven *As'vamēdhas* of Mādhavavarman I

The question that has to be considered now is this: What is the real political significance of the *Rājasūya* which Mādhavavarman I performed? The destruction of the Pallava power in Andhradesa, the uprooting of the Śālaṅkāyanas, the subjugation of the powerful sub-kings in the outlying parts of Andhra and Kalinga and above all the unification of all Andhradesa under his sceptre were probably the important events that paved the way for the celebration of the *Rājasūya* sacrifice. If we turn to the Mahābhārata, we find that it is not ordinary kings that can perform the sacrifice. Yudhiṣṭhira says:[1] 'He in whom everything is possible, he who is worshipped everywhere, and he who is king of all kings, can alone perfom this sacrifice.' Nārada warns him then saying: "O king, it is said that this sacrifice is full of many obstacles.........On the commencement of such a sacrifice a war may break out, which may destroy the Kṣatriyas and which may be the cause of the total destruction of the world. By performing the *Rājasūya* sacrifice, king Hariścandra became superior to all kings in energy and renown." But the ministers of Yudhiṣṭhira persuade him to offer the sacrifice. "A king already in possession of a kingdom", they urge, "wishes to acquire all the attributes of an emperor by means of this *Rājasūya* sacrifice; and this sacrifice helps him to acquire the attributes of Varuṇa." "At the conclusion of a *Rājasūya* sacrifice, the king is said to be installed in the sovereignty of an empire. He is then rewarded with the fruits of all sacrifices including the *Agnihōtra*. It is for this reason that he is called the conqueror of all." Again in another place in the Mahābhārata, speaking of the *Rājasūya*, Śiśupāla says (in the *Arghyaharaṇaparva*) addressing the assembly in the sacrificial hall, "we have paid him (Yudhiṣṭhira) tribute because he was desirous of obtaining the imperial dignity from the motive of virtue.[2]

From the foregoing it is clear that the *Rājasūya* is performed only by powerful and influential monarchs with the desire

1 Sabhā Parava: *Rājasūyārambha parva*, Chapters, XII & XIII. See XII: Verses 29, 30, and 17. XIII-Vv. 21,24 and 47.

2 Sabhā Parva, Chap. XXXVII, verses 19-20.

of attaining to imperial dignity. From the Śruti literature it appears that only a Kṣatriya had the right to celebrate the *Rājasūya*, and not either the Brāhmaṇa or Vais'ya.[1] The essential features of a *Rājasūya* sacrifice are described in the *Śukla Yajurvēda* (*Adhyāya* XI), in the *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa* (VII. 3,4.) and in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (IV. 6). The *Rājasūva* has many supplementary or auxiliary sacrifices and lasts usually five days.[2] On the first day, the sacrificer performs a *hōma* sacrifice called *Iṣṭāpūrta*; and then the *Sōmayāga* during which the *sōma* plant is crushed, and after ceremonial *hōma*, he drinks the *sōma* juice. On the second day, the sacrificer perfroms another *iṣṭi* called *Dīkṣanī-yēṣṭi*, and by a religious fiction becomes a Brāhmaṇa. Then he performs the *Udavasānīyēṣṭi*, which is the most important constituent part of the *Rājasūya*. Till the completion of *Udavasānīyēṣṭi*, the king remains a Brāhmaṇa.[3] During the *Udavasānīyēṣṭi*, the *pas'uvis'asana* ceremony is performed. A Kṣatriya prince, usually a conquered and captive king, is offered as *pas'u* in the sacrifice. After the conclusion of the *Udavasānīyēṣṭi*, the sacrificer becomes once again a Kṣatriya. The *vidhis* laid down in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* with regard to the *Rājasūya* amply bear out this fact. The story of Haris'candra's *Rājasūya* which is described at length in

*The ritual and importance of Rājasūya.*

1. राजा राजसूयेन यजते ।

2 *Iṣṭi* is an ancillary yajña. *Iṣṭāpūrta* consisits of two minor or component rites, *iṣṭā* and *pūrta*. The *hōma* that is offered by the king as the protector of Vēda and Vaidic *dharma* is called *Iṣṭa*. The king offers another *hōma* as the protector of the four orders of the society, as the protector of public works, like gardens, water ways, tanks etc. which is called the *pūrta*. After the completion of the *Iṣṭā-pūra hōmas*, the sacrificer is consecrated for the *Rājasūya* rite. *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa* VII. 34 Adh. 3 Khaṇḍa, S'āyaṇa Commentary.

इष्टापूर्त शब्दार्थः—वर्णाश्रमान्वयी धर्मं इष्टं पूर्तमथेतरत् ।
प्रपातटाकादिरूपं तच्च सर्वत्र दृश्यते ॥

3 *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa* (VII. 34, 4.)

ब्रह्मप्रपद्ये ब्रह्ममाक्षत्राद्गोपायतु ब्रह्मणे स्वाहेति । ......ब्रह्मप्रपद्ये ब्राह्मणो भवामि......ब्रह्मवा एष प्रपद्यते यो यज्ञं प्रपद्यते ब्रह्मवै यज्ञादुहवा एष पुनर्जायते यो दीक्ष ते तं ब्रह्मप्रपन्नं क्षत्रं न परिजिनाति ब्रह्ममाक्षत्राद्गोपायत्वित्याह......क्षत्रंप्रपद्ये क्षत्रं मा क्षत्रियो भवामि......क्षत्रंवा एष प्रपद्यते यो राष्ट्रं प्रपद्यते क्षत्रं हि राष्ट्रं etc.

the *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa* shows that the killing of a human being (*pas'uvis'asana*) on the second day is a necessary constituent part (*aṅga*) of the sacrifice. On the fifth day the *punarabhiṣēcana* ceremony, which consists of re-inaugurating the *yajamān* as the king of kings and the final religious bath or ablution, takes place and thus the *Rājasūya* rite is completed. On this occasion the king is crowned on a specially erected *simhāsana* in the sacrificial hall surrounded by his ministers, nobles, subjects, kings and Brāhmaṇas. After *hōma* and other rites by the sacrificer and the *Ṛtvics*, certain *mantras* are uttered by the king, the substance of which is as all follows; "For the sake of the empire, for the protection of the virtue (*dharma*) for the increase of good government and for the increase of prosperity of my subjects and for increase of all foodstuffs in my kingdom, and for the perpetuation of imperial dignity and for the attainment of firmly established supremacy (*paramēṣṭhitva*), for obtaining supreme dominion over all kings, and for obtaining self control, I ascend the throne."[1] The king sits on the throne placing his right leg on his left thigh in great splendour amidst the rejoicings of all those that are assembled. He is then sprinkled with holy water and anointed according to the rules laid down by the Śrutis. After the *punarabhiṣēcana* ceremeny, the sacrificer becomes the supreme king (*Mahārāja* or *Adhirāja*) among the kings. The *Rājasūya* has many supplementary or comstituent sacrifices, like the *Agnicayana* and *Vājapēya*. The offerer of the *Rājasūya* and *Agnicayana* has to perform the *Ūkthya* and *Sautrāmaṇisava* just in the same manner as the *Vājapēya* sacrificer has to perform the *Bṛhaspatisava*. Other sacrifices like *Puruṣamēdha*, *Sarvamēdha Prādhirājya*, and *Prājāpatya* all seem to be rites connected with or at any rate followed or preceded the great *Rājasūya* sacrifice.

That *Puruṣamēdha* and *pas'uvis'asana* form component parts or *anga* of the *Rājasūya* rite appears not only from the story of Haris'candra's and Śunaḥs'ēpa in the *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa* but also from the converation between Kṛṣṇa and

1. राज्याय साम्राज्याय भौज्याय स्वाराज्याय वैराज्याय पारमेष्ठ्याय राज्याय महाराज्याधिपत्याय स्वावश्याय आतिष्ठायरोहमि ॥

Jarāsandha in the Mahābhārața.[1] Kṛṣṇa accuses Jarāsandha of wanton cruelty and in human conduct towards the Kṣatriya princes whom he had conquered and imprisoned and whom he wanted to sacrifice to please Lord Śaṅkara. He says, that the slaughter of human beings was never seen or heard of and that human beings were treated as beasts. Jarāsandha replies that his conduct was not inhuman because he never intended to sacrifice a Kṣatriya whom he had not conquered and taken as a prisoner in a war. He says that a victor in war has the right to deal with his captives as he liked. He states also that it was the duty of a Kṣatriya to bring others under his sway by displaying his own prowess and then to treat them all in the way he liked. The slaying of Śiśupāla in the sacrificial hall of Yudhiṣṭhira by Kṛṣṇa plainly shows that that act was previously contemplated and that it constituted the *paśuviśasana* ceremony connected with the *Puruṣamēdha* rite. On the pretext of offering *Arghya* to the preceptor, *ṛtvic*, relative, *snātaka*, friend and king, and then first to the foremost of them, Yudhiṣṭhira offends Śiśupāla and his followers. Kṛṣṇa finally takes him unawares and severs his head with his *cakrāyudha*. These incidents in the Mahābhārata, reveal the fact that the king who performs *Rājasūya* can sacrifice human beings to please the gods and that a Kṣatriya prince can sacrifice a fellow Kṣatriya prince if he had defeated and made him a prisoner of war.

From the foregoing, it appears that the *Rājasūya* sacrifice involves a *Puruṣamēdha* or *Naramēdha* and the sacrificer offers a Kṣatriya prince as a sacrifice to the gods. Mādhavavarman I claims to have offered a *Puruṣamēdha*, *Vājapāya* and *Rājasūya* among other sacrifices. Naturally therefore he must have sacrificed a prince or ruler of a neighbouring kingdom whom he had defeated and made a captive in war.

Mādhavavarman's *Rājasūya* and *Puruṣamēdha*

It has been stated above that he would have defeated the Pallava king of his time, the predecessor of Skandavarman III, and uprooted the Śālaṅkāyana, Vijaya Skandavarman of Vēṅgi. It is probable that one of these kings was offered for sacrifice at

1 Sabhā Parva. Chap. 22. V-v, 8, 9, 11, 12, 27–29.

the *Puruṣamēdha* during the *Udavasānīyēṣṭi* rite on the second day of the *Rājasūya* rite. Mādhavavarman's *Rājasūya*, therefore, was a remarkable political event. Since the days of Yudhiṣṭhira, none had had performed it. In the historical period, the Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch alone celebrated it. And he must have a great and powerful king in Dakṣiṇapatha to have been able to perform it. In performing this great rite, Mādhavavarman I would have had the help and advice of the friendly neighbours and the Vākāṭaka and Kadamba kings.

Having performed the *Rājasūva*, Mādhavavarman I claimed to be the *samrāṭ*, 'emperor' in Dakṣiṇāpatha. His fame and glory had now reached the farthest corners of India. He was able to establish his imperial sway in the Deccan and South India by destroying the power of the Pallavas in the south and numerous dynasties in the north and in Kalinga. His marriage with the imperial Vākāṭaka princess and his *Rājasūva* and *Puruṣamēdha*, greatly increased the glory of the house. And that has inspired him to surpass even the glory of the Guptas, Vākāṭakas and the Bhāras'iva-Nāgas. His contemporary and ally Kṛṣṇavarman I of Kuntala could celebrate a Horse-sacrifice by crushing the power of the Pallavas. Mādhavavarman I, who was undoubtedly more powerful and rich than his neighbour and ally and who had apparently performed *dig-vijaya* in eastern Dakṣiṇāpatha could surpass even the glory of his contemporary as well as of the heroes that preceded him in Bharatavarṣa. Emperor Pravarasēna I (c. 270—330 A. D.) of the Vākāṭaka dynasty is said to have celebrated the *Agṇiṣṭōma*, *Āptōryāma*, *Ūkthya*, *Ṣoḍas'in*, *Atirātra*, *Vājapēya*, *Bṛhaspatisava* and *Sadyaskara* sacrifices and four *As'vamēdhas*.[1] The same inscription speaks of the Bhāras'ivas as having performed ablutions after the celebration of ten *As'vamēdhas* on the Ganges. The fame of the Vākāṭakas as the performers of four *As'vamēdhas* and that of the Bhāras'ivas as the offerers of ten *As'vamēdhas* was known in Dakṣiṇāpatha for a long time. Roughly one century after Pravarasēna I, rose Mādhavavarman I of Andhradesa to the dignity of *samrāṭ*

1 The Cammak copper-plates of Pravarasēna II. *C. I. I.*, III, No. 55 p. 235ff.

(emperor)[1] in Dakṣiṇāpatha. Naturally, therefore, when an illustrious descendant of the great emperor, the offerer of four *As'vamēdhas* and of the Bhāras'ivas the offerers of ten *As'vamēdhas*, sought alliance with him and gave his sister in marriage to him, Mādhavavarman I, a great king and a mighty warrior, and offerer of the *Rājasūya* proudly emulated the example of the Vākāṭakas and Bhāras'ivas and even proclaimed his superiority by perfroming several important *kratus* and eleven *As'vamēdhas*. Mādhavavarman I was not only a great soldier and a mighty king, but was the most fortunate monarch in all Dakṣiṇāpatha of his time. It is probable that Mādhavavarman's eleven *As'vamēdhas* sacrifices were celebrated on the southern bank of the Kṛṣṇa near Amarāvati, the ancient Amarapura, his capital.

Essential features of *As'vamēdha* sacrifice.

According to the Śrauta literature, an *As'vamēdha* can be performed only after the celebration of *dig-vijaya* or conquest of the quarters. A feudatory king or petty prince, therefore cannot, perform *digvijaya* and celebrate a Horse sacrifice. Prof. Keith points out rightly that "the *As'vamēdha* is an old and famous rite, which kings alone can bring to increase their realm."[2] The *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (xv-i) says that "a king victorious and of all the land, should perform the sacrifice." It is stated in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (III, 8.9. 4), "he is poured aside, who being weak offers the *As'vamēdha*." The same authority states in another place (V. 4, 12. 3), "It is essentially like the Fire Offering, an *utsannayajña*, a great sacrifice of great extent and elaboration."[3] The *Āpastamba Śrauta Sutra* (xx, 1,1.) states that" a universal king, '*sārvabhauma*' alone can perform the *As'vamēdha* but not (*n-āpi*) an un-universal king, a *sārvabhauma*."[4]

1 *Samrāṭ* or *Samrāj* means a sovereign who rules over kings and has performed a *Rājasūya* sacrifice. (See *C. I. I.*, III, p. 147, *n.* 1.)

2 A. B. Kieth : *Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas and Upanishads*, p. 343.

3 A. B. Kieth : *Black Yajus*, pp. cxxxii-iv.

4 It is quoted in the *Sabdakalpadruma-paris'iṣṭha* (Hitabadi Office, Calcutta). In the place of *n-āpi* there is an alternative reading *api* which according to Prof. Keith is a later interpolation (*Black Yajus*, p. cxxxii) but which means to say that un-universal king or *asārvabhauma i. e.* who is not master of all the land) could also perform the *Aṣvamēdha* sacrifice.

From an alternative reading of this passage it is possible to assume that very powerful kings who did not claim to be rulers of the whole or a major portion of India but at any rate of a vast area could also perform the *As'vamēdha*. It is in this sense that the ten *As'vamēdhas* of the Bhāras'iva monarch Bhava Nāga and the four *As'vamēdhas* of Pravarasēna I and the eleven *As'vamēdhas* of Mādhavavarman I, have to be interpreted. Every one of these great emperors was a *sārvabhauma* and reigned over a vast portion of Ancient India with none to impede his universal kingship, glory and power in his own time. In the Vākāṭaka inscriptions, Pravarasēna I is called *samrāṭ* which term can never signify a subordinate king.[1] The Bhāras'ivas are described as having been "besprinkled on the forehead with the pure water of the river Bhāgīrathi that has been obtained by their valour", and as "having performed the ablutions on the completion of ten *As'vamēdhas*." Emperor Pravarasēna I, got his son Gautamiputra married to the daughter of the Bhāras'iva king Bhava Nāga. The event was so important as a political marriage that it was incorporated in the preambles of the official charters of the Vākāṭakas.[2] The exploits of the Bhāras'iva king were not insignificant events. Similarly in the Viṣṇukuṇḍin charters, Mādhavavarman I is described as the great king, "who by a *Sarvamēdha* sacrifice obtained the supreme dominion over all beings, who by the celebration of excellent sacrifices attained to firmly established supremacy and whose two feet were bent down by multitudes of heaps of jewels from the daiadems of the stainless, noble and great kings of the whole of the earth."[3] From this passage it is clear that Mādhavavarman I, did perform *digvijaya* by conquering or subduing the kings of the four quarters before he celebrated the eleven *As'vamēdha* sacrifices in addition to the other important rites.[4]

1 Bālāghāt plates of Pravarasēna II, (*E. I.*, IX, p. 270, text line 4;) and Cammak Copper-plate inscription of Pravarasēna II (*C. I. I.*, vol. III, 235, text line 3.)

2 *Opi. Cit.*

3 *E. I.*, IV, p. 193ff. text lines 4–9.

4 There is a good deal of confusion, arising out of the imperfect scheme of Viṣṇukuṇḍin Chronology that has been adopted, in the mind of Dr. D. C. Sircar (*Indian Culture*, Vol. I. pp. 311–313) about the identity of Mādhavavarman I, who first performed the *digvijaya* and then celebrated eleven *As'vamēdha* sacrifices. While it appears that both

The essential feature of the *As'vamēdha*, besides the slaying of the sacrificial horse and the ritual connected with it is the completion of a victorious march or *digvijaya* or conquest of all quarters. A king who aspired to be the *Cakravartin* performed the *As'vamēdha* sacrifice after a *digvijaya*. As revealed in the later texts, the *As'vamēdha* sacrifice was essentially one of kingly greatness. A fine steed is chosen for the sacrifice for the *digvijaya* to be completed. "The horse chosen must be swift, in front black, behind white, and with dark mark." After consecration the horse is set free to wander about at its pleasure, even to go into the outlying parts of kingdom and neighbouring territories. It is "free to wander with a hundred old horses and guarded by four hundred youths of the same relative rank as the ladies of the queen, who are armed with armour, with swords, arrows or sticks according to their rank as princes, warriors, sons of heralds and headmen and sons of attendants and charioteers".[1] The steed roams about usually for one year and the princes, nobles and warriors that accompany it must guard the horse from any danger including bathing and intercourse with mares and from all impediments by the opponents of the sacrificer. When the animal returns the sacrifice is performed. The offering usually begins on the eighth or the ninth day of Phālguna or in the hot season. It is reckoned as a *ahīna* rite and therefore occupies three days. On the evening of the first day at the bidding of the *adhvaryu*, a lute player (*vīna-gāthin*), a *rājanya* (nobleman), sings to the lute three *gāthas* or verses composed by himself and which refer to the victories in battle and military exploits connected with the *digvijaya* of the sacrificer.[2] The second day is the most important day when

The ritual of *As'vamēdha*.

Mādhavavarman I and his descendant Mādhavavarman III performed *digvijaya* and celebrated eleven *As'vamēdha* sacrifices, Dr. Sircar thinks that one Mādhavavarman alone, that is Mādhavavarman III performed the *digvijaya* and celebrated eleven *As'vamēdha* sacrifices. In the section dealing with the reign of Mādhavavarman III, it will be shown that he too performed *digvijaya* and celebrated eleven *As'vamēdha* sacrifices like his illustrious ancestor.

1 *Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas and Upanishads*, p. 343f. (344)

2 *Ibid.* See also *Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa* (Sacred Books of the East) Vol. XIII, iv-ii-5 and *Baudhāyana Srauta Sūtra* (Vol. XVI. S. B. E.)

the consecrated horse is killed and the rite performed. On the third day, the sacrifice is completed. To manage these requirements it is simply impossible for a subordinate king or a feudatory chieftain. For, often unless the sacrificer is a powerful king who won victories by the strength of his arms and force of his valour in fierce battles and thereby subdued the circle of great and hostile kings of the land, the progress of the *Aśvamēdha* is impeded by other kings who challenged the sacrificer's authority to perform it.

There are recorded instances to prove this fact in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* itself, (XIII, 5–3, 21–22). There are other instances, too, recorded elsewhere. It was offered twice by Vēda Śri Śātakarṇi, the Andhra king.[1] It was performed twice by Puṣyamitra[2] and once by Parāśarīputra-Gajāyana-Sarvatāta[3] and once by Samudragupta. In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* (Act v) it is stated that Puṣyamitra had a quarrel in connection with his *Aśvamēdha* with a neighbouring king who opposed him. It is said that Puṣyamitra's sacrificial horse was set free to roam about for a year at its free will under the guardianship of his grandson Vasumitra who was attended by a hundred princes; when the horse reached the southern bank of the Sindhu, it was captured by the Yavana horsemen, and Puṣyamitra brought back the horse after defeating the Yavanas. It is recorded in the Udayēndiram plates that Udayacandra, general of *Mahārāja* Nandivarma-Pallavamalla defeated and forced to flee the Niṣāda king Pṛthivī-Vyāghrarāja who was accompanying the sacrificial horse (*aśvamēdha-turaṅgam*) let loose in connection with the Horse-Sacrifice by the Eastern Cāḷukya king Viṣṇuvardhana III and thus frustrated his attempt.[4] Mādhavavarman I, therefore must be regarded as a very powerful monarch who performed *digvijaya* unopposed, and humbled all the kings who had impeded the progress of his sacrificial steed, and thus attained to the dignity of *Sārvabhauma* or emperor in Dakṣiṇāpatha.

1 *ASWI*, V. p. 60.
2 *E. I.* XX, p. 57.
3 *Ind. Ant.* LXI. p. 203; *I.H.Q*, Vol. IX p. 795.
4 *E. I.*, III, p. 143ff.

There is another noteworthy feature about the *As'vamēdha.* The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* says (XIII, 5-4, 1), "Verily, he who performs the *As'vamēdha* extinguishes the guilt incurred by all evil doing, all Brāhmaṇa slaughter." It is in this sense presumably that Yudhiṣṭhira offered the famous rite. He was stricken with grief of having committed the sin of *Brahmahatya,* (for he had slain his own preceptor Drōṇa,) of killing his kinsmen and lastly of annexing the territories and kingdoms of his neighbours. He had to perform therefore three *As'vamēdhas* for extinguishing the three great sins which he had committed. The words of the sage Vyāsa in this connection are noteworthy.[1] "Let the Horse-Sacrifice be performed in such a way" says Vyāsa, "that no limb may become defective. On account of the very large quantity of gold that is required for this sacrifice, it has come to be called the 'sacrifice of profuse gold.' Do you also, O great king, make the *Dakṣiṇa* of this sacrifice, *three* times of what is enjoined. Let the merit of your sacrifice *increase threefold.* The Brāhmaṇas are competent for the purpose. Acquiring the merits then of *three* sacrifices, each with profuse presents, you shall be freed, O king, from the sin of having killed our kinsmen." In the end Kṛṣṇa endorses what the sage Vyāsa had spoken. This significant passage in the Mahābhārata clearly lays down that he who gives *Dakṣiṇa,* triple of what is ordained, is looked upon as having performed three Horse-Sacrifices; he consequently acquires the proportionate increase of merit. In this sense we may explain the eleven *As'vamēdhas* of Mādhavavarman I, four *As'vamedhas* of Pravarasēna I and ten *As'vamēdhas* of Bhava Nāga.[2]

Another feature of the *As'vamēdha* Expiation of sins.

1 Mahabharata-As'vamēdhaparva: Chapter III Verses 3-17; Chapter LXXI, v. 17; and Chapter LXXXVIII, verses 13-15.

2 In the S'āntiparva (Chapt. XXIX, v, 46) Bharata son of Duṣyanta, and Sagara, the Aikṣvāku king are reported to have performed a thousand *As'vamēdhas* each. No details are furnished about Sagara. But in regard to Bharata, it is said that he dedicated three hundred horses to the gods on the bank of the Yamunā, 20 on the banks of the Sarasvati and 14 on the Gangā, that is to say he sacrificed in all 334 steeds. Then if an *As'vamēdha* can be trebled by trebling the *dakṣiṇa,* the sacrificer if he is a rich monarch can as well acquire the merit of a thousand or more *As'vamēdhas* by increasing the *dakṣiṇa* proportionately. Bharata's 334 Horse-Sacrifices multiplied by 3 that is by trebling the *dakṣiṇa,* become 334+3=1002 *As'vamēdhas.* And the Mahābhārata statement becomes true.

Apparently in each case, not more than one *As'vamēdha* was performed but the merit thereof was increased elevenfold, fourfold and tenfold, by profuse quantity of gold *Dakṣiṇa* that was given away to the Brāhmaṇas and priests. During the innumerable military campaigns, Mādhavavarman I must have gathered incalculable riches and become easily the wealthiest monarch in India. And he would have killed many people during those wars, and committed the sins of *Brahmahatya* and slaying his own kinsmen. To extinguish the guilt of all such evil doing, of conquest and annexation, man slaughter and *Brahmahatya*, Mādhavavarman I performed the *As'vamēdha* sacrifice, increased the *Dakṣiṇa* eleven-fold and thus attained the proportionate increased merit of eleven sacrifices. The inscriptions of his son and great-grandson clearly state that he (Mādhavavarman I) had washed off the stains of the world by his ablutions after eleven *As'vamēdha* sacrifices. That he was the richest monarch of his time is proved by the statement that he had celebrated "a hundred thousand *Bahusuvarṇa*, *Pauṇḍarīka Vājapēya*, *Ukthya*, *Ṣoḍasin*, *Prādhirājya*, *Prājāpatya*, and various other large and important excellent sacrifices."

Mādhavavarman's Vedic sacrifices: a landmark in the Religious History of Andhradesa.

These great sacrifices which Mādhavavarman I performed are an important landmark in the religious history of Andhradesa. The Vedic sacrifices, the so called Śrauta sacrifices such as the *Rājasūya* or 'the consecration of a king' *Puruṣamēdha*, *Sarvamēdha* and *As'vamēdha* were no doubt elaborate ceremonies intended to strengthen the temporal power of the kings. Though in the beginning these *s'rauta* sacrifices had elements of public, tribal or national festivals, they also acquired gradually in course of time a great political importance. But the celebration of these sacrifices by Mādhavavarman I in Andhradesa on an elaborate scale is full of religious importance as well. Their celebration represents the militant spirit of the Brahmanical revival or the aggressive self-assertion of the Vedic Brāhmanism once more in Andhradesa, which was the erstwhile stronghold of Buddhism.

The Brahmanical revival was remarkably swift and revolutionary. The fifth century of the Christian era witnessed the supplanting and quick disappearance of Buddhism with all its cultural vestiges and the rapid revival of Brahmanism and Brahmanical culture in Andhradesa. And it would appear that it was partly the achievement of the first Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch.

Yuwan Chwang's Story of revival of Brahmanism in Andhradesa.

Yuan Chwang narrates an interesting event connected with the forcible conversion of a celebrated Buddhist Monastery and Caitya, perhaps at Amarāvati, into a Brahmanical temple in his somewhat confused account of Dakṣiṇa Kōsala, the celebrity Nāgarjuna and his patron Śātavāhana. Though Yuan Chwang's account of Andhradesa and the South is full of discrepancies, and confusion, still some of the facts recorded by him bear a stamp of historicity. It is stated in his *Travels* that once there arose a dispute between the Brāhmanas and the Bhikkus that resided in the Great Monastery built by king Śātavāhana for Nāgārjuna. The Buddhists approached the king of the land with a request to settle their dispute. Seeing that the Bhikkus were away the Brāhmanas planned to take forcible possession of the Great Monastery and the *Stūpa*. After consulting together and waiting for an occasion, the Brāhmanas destroyed the *Saṁghārāma*; and after occupying it, strongly barricaded the place in order to keep out the Buddhists. Thereafter the Buddhists never regained their hold on the Great Monastery which was soon after converted into a seat of Brahmanical learning and worship.[1] To-day if we look at the temple at Amarāvates'vara or Amarēs'vara-Śiva at Amarāvati on the Kṛṣṇa, we can perceive at once that the temple was built on the summit of a *stūpa* which was dressed with hewn stone on all sides. The peculiar structure and architecture of the shrine amply bear out this conjecture. The temple itself stands on a unique spot overlooking the beautiful Kṛṣṇa river who flows majestically by its side. It is

1 Beal: *Budhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II. p. 217. See also Watters '*On Yuan Chwang's Travels*', Vol. II. p. 201.

probable that the Chinese Pilgrim refers to the conversion of the Great *Stūpa* at Amarāvati into the celebrated temple of Amarēs'vara-Śiva, in his account. It is equally probable that the conversion took place during the fifth century in the reign of Mādhavavarman I, who made Amarapura or the modern Amarāvati, the capital of his kingdom.

Probable date of Mādhavavarman's Eleven *As'vamēdhas*.

The celebration of Eleven *As'vamēdhas* may be assigned to about 440 A. D., when Emperor Mādhavavarman I was at the zenith of his glory. The Pallavas were defeated and humbled by the Kadambas on the one hand and Viṣṇukuṇḍins on the other. There was no king or power in Ancient India at that time who opposed the great king Mādhavavarman I, the lord of Andhradesa. It was a splendid occasion for him to carve out a rich and vast empire in Andhradesa and beyond. Therefore he would appear to have reigned in glory and peace for a pretty long time. The period of Mādhavavarman I was thus a glorious epoch in the history of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty. In the first part of the fifth century, Andhradesa prospered and the fame of its mighty king travelled far and wide.

Death of Mādhavavarman I c. 455 A. D.

Towards the close of the first half of the fifth century, the Kadambas under Kṛṣṇavarman I, Vākāṭakas under Narēndrasēna and the Imperial Guptas under Kumāragupta I passed through troubled period. Kṛṣṇavarman I was defeated and slain in a battle by the Pallava king Nanakkāsa who, it will be remembered, has been identified with Siṁhavarman III. The battle and the devastation of the country that followed are narrated in a graphic and touching manner in the Aṇājihobli stone inscription of the Kēkaya prince Sivanandivarman.[1] For a time the great kingdom of Kuntala lay trembling at the feet of the Pallava conqueror, humbled and crushed. In the north, the powerful Puṣyamitra Republic to whom were allied the republics of the Paṭumitras and Padmamitras rose

1 Ep. Carn. Vol. XI, Dg 161. See Book II. ante. p.

and attacked the confederacy of the Imperial Guptas and Vākāṭakas.[1] Some of the republican tribes were subordinate to the Imperial Guptas while others acknowledged the suzerainty of the Vākāṭakas.[2] These Republican tribes were semi-independent states and were situated in Mālava and Central India. Towards the end of the reign of Kumāragupta I, the hostile confederate states became wealthy and powerful; and consequently revolted. They attempted to assert their independence by the force of their arms. It is probable that at this juncture that the Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch repaired to the north to the assistance of his kinsmen, Narēndrasēna and Kumāragupta I in their hour of trial. The details of the conflict between the Imperial powers and the Republican nations are not necessary for our purpose. But it is certain that the imperial armies were completely defeated and Kumāragupta I himself was slain. It is probable that about the same time the aged king Mādhavavarman I too perished on the battlefield. The event may be placed about 455 A. D. The shock of the military disaster had endangered the stability of the Gupta Empire which was 'tottering' to its fall when the energy and ability of Skandagupta, the crown prince, restored the fortunes of the family by complete overthrow of the enemy.[3]

Events in the North.

About the same period and probably connected with or inspired by the revolt of the republican tribes was the attempt of the Traikūṭakas under Dahrasēna to achieve independence.[4] They were a dynasty which had been established under that designation in imitation of the Vākāṭakas in the region of Aparanta, which was the ancient name for the territory between the Tapati, Western Khandesh, Kanheri and the Western sea. Dahrasēna, son of Indradatta, proclaimed independence by

1 Fleet (*Ind. Ant.* XVIII, p. 2281 places in the region of the Narmadā; but more probably they were in the further north. See *JRAS*., 1909, p. 126, where Hoermle conjectures an identification. See also Pargiter *D. K. A.* p. 73.

2 K. P. Jayaswal: *History of India* p. 101; and V. A. Smith: *E. H. I.* 4th edition, p. 326.

3 C. *I. I.* Vol. III, p. 52f. Bhiṭāri Stone Insc. of Skandagupta, text lines 10–11)

4 *E. I.*, X. p. 51f; *Ibid* p. 219f.; Jayaswal: *History of India*, pp. 101–102.

throwing off the yoke of the Vākāṭaka suzerainty and even performed a Horse-sacrifice taking advantage of the troubles of Narēndrasēna and Kumāragupta I. But it would appear that he was soon conquered and brought under control, shortly after 456 A. D., the date of his Pardi plates. This event must have taken place shortly after the overthrow of the Puṣyamitra and other Republics by Emperor Skandagupta.[1] It is probable that during these military campaigns, the Vākāṭaka king and his kinsmen Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta had the support and assistance of Mādhavavarman I.

Mādhavavarman I entitled to be called 'the Great'

From the foregoing it is evident that Mādhavavarman I was the greatest king of his time. His period was the golden age of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. The dynastic marriage with the Vākāṭakas had brought about a formidable coalition of all the great powers of ancient India, linking Andhradesa with the extreme North on the one hand and South on the other. The four great powers, the Vākāṭakas, Viṣṇukuṇḍins, Kadambas and Guptas formed a combined bulwark against the continuous inroads of the barbarian Hūṇas during the latter part of the fifth century, which shook the Gupta Empire to its very foundations. The amazing swiftness with which Mādhavavarman I rose and established paramount and universal sovereignty in Andhradesa and the manner by which the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty became celebrated in ancient India are vividly described in a passage that appears in the Rāmatīrtham plates of his grandson. Mādhavavarman I is spoken of as a mighty king, *ūrjjita s'rī Viṣṇukuṇḍi-pārthiv-ōdit - ōdit - ānvayatilaka samudbhūt-aikādas'-Ās'vamēdh-āvabhṛt-āvadhūta - jagat - kalmaṣasya sahasra-kratu-yājinaḥ*, "whose glory was mighty, who was an ornament of *the ever rising family* of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, who had washed off the impurity of the world by bathing at the end of eleven *As'vamēdha* sacrifices and who had performed a thousand other sacrifices." A long prosperous and vigorous reign, immense wealth, an extensive and powerful kingdom and a multitude of

1 K. P. Jayaswal: *History of India*. 150—350 A. D. p. 102f. For the date of Dahrasēna, see E. J. Rapson : *Catal. Coins. of the Andhra Dynasties* etc. pp. 197ff.

powerful obedient vassal kings, numerous and decisive victories everywhere against the enemies, all these made Mādhavavarman I, easily the most fortunate and mighty monarch of his time.

Growth of Viṣṇukuṇḍin Sculpture and Architecture.

A noteworthy feature of the prosperous reign of Mādhavavarman I, is the growth and development of a new style of architecture and sculpture in Andhradesa and South India. The new style has been called the *Pallava*; but it has to be called correctly the Viṣṇukuṇḍin. Since the fall of the Ikṣvākus Andhradesa struggled without peace and passed through a period of strife and turmoil till the rise of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, for well nigh two centuries. A long spell of prosperity preceded by conquest and consolidation of the kingdom and establishment of peace, spread itself over the smiling Andhra country for the first time under the strong arm of Mādhavavarman I. The reign of Mādhavavarman I, therefore, was a period of revival of the Andhra culture and glory. His remarkable career and achievements inspired the Andhra genius once more to achieve glories as much in the realm of art and sculpture as on the battlefields. The beautifiul cave temples of Uṇḍavalli, Mugalarājapuram, Vijayavāḍa (Bezwada) on the Kṛṣṇa and other monuments at Bhiravunikoṇḍa in Nellore District seem to belong to the Viṣṇukuṇḍin period. Mr. A. H. Longhurst, evidently unaware of the glorious part played by the Viṣṇukuṇḍins in Dakṣiṇāpatha during the fifth and sixth centuries, assumed that the architectural monuments at Uṇḍavalli, Bezwada, Bhairavunikoṇḍa and other places in Andhradesa, were the work of the Pallava kings of Kāñcī, and accordingly assigned them to the *Pre-Mahēndra Period* of Pallava Architecture, as he called it.[1] The Viṣṇukuṇḍins were the inheritors of the glorious ancient Andhra culture, architecture and sculpture of the Imperial Andhras and Ikṣvākus. It is, therefore, probable that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins had developed and fostered a new style of architecture and sculpture, which was all their own, and which was later on

1 *The Pallava Architecture*, Part I. p. 5f.

copied by the Pallavas. The Pallava dominion over Southern Andhradesa was never complete or continuous for any length of period. The Pallavas always struggled hard to maintain their dominion over the Southern Andhra sub-provinces. The history of the Pallava occupation of Southern Andhradesa for one hundred and fifty years, from the fall of Jayavarman, till the rise of Mādhavavarman I, is a record of interrupted occupation and of interminable wars. This unsettled and disturbed state of the Pallava rule in Southern Andhradesa was not, therefore, conducive to the peaceful growth and development of any style of architecture and sculpture to be called the Pallava style. Moreover, Karmarāṣṭra in Andhradesa was not the homeland of the Pallavas. And the Early Pallava kings did not possess or show any talent for fostering sculpture or architecture of their own. The genius of the Andhras steadily found expression in new styles of sculpture and architecture with the militant revival of Brahmanism and Vedic rituals. It is therefore plainly an Andhra style which grew up under the patronage and inspiration of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and accordingly, should be called the Viṣṇukuṇḍin architecture. It would be a misnomer to call it by any other name.[1]

1 See Appendix at the end for a fuller note on the topic.

CHAPTER V.

## *Political History of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins.* (*continued*)

### 2. Dēvavarman. *c.* 455—458 A. D.

The successor of Mādhavavarman I was Dēvavarman, his eldest son and heir-apparent. The new king is described in the Īpūru plates (II set) as *Kṣatriy-āvaskanda-pravartat-āpratima vikhyāta-parākramasya*, "who displayed matchless, well-known valour in attacking (Kṣatriya) warrior kings." This epithet seems to carry a significant meaning. It is probable that Dēvavarman fought the enemies of his house on behalf of his father in numerous wars and was responsible for the successful celebration of his father's *Rājasūya*, *Puruṣamēdha*, *Sarvamēdha*, *Vājapēya* and *As'vamēdha* sacrifices. A great soldier and an energetic prince though he was, Dēvavarman's reign seems to have ended suddenly in a disaster for his country.

Dēvavarman's accession, c. 455 A. D.

Dēvavarman ascended the throne of Andhradesa at a time when the combined arms of the Guptas, Vākāṭakas and Viṣṇukuṇḍins suffered a great military shock somewhere in the north at the hands of the Puṣyamitra and other Republican nations. It was the period of trial for Narēndrasēna on account of the revolt of the Traikūṭakas in Aparānta; it was the time when Kṛṣṇavarman I was defeated and slain and his beautiful country overrun by the Pallava armies. It was the middle of the fifth century, a dark and gloomy period for the great imperial powers of the north and south as well.

The death of Emperor Mādhavavarman I, his old inveterate foe, in *c.* 455 A. D. and the defeat of the armies of his imperial allies everywhere presented a splendid occasion to the Pallava king Siṁhavarman III surnamed Nanakkāsa, for avenging the wrongs of his house by reviving his hostility to the Viṣṇukuṇḍins with impunity. Siṁhavarman III was victorious in Kuntala; he carried fire and sword into the heart of the Kadamba country after routing the excellent army of

Kṛṣṇavarman I. Just at that juncture the debacle of the northern powers and the death of Mādhavavarman I, came to him as welcome news. He then changed his plans, left the Kadamba country to its doughty ruler to rehabilitate his kingdom and hastened to Andhradesa with his victorious army to measure his strength against Dēvavarman. The details of the campaign are however lost, but its result is recorded in the inscriptions of the Pallavas and Viṣṇukuṇḍins. Dēvavarman was totally defeated and slain. The Viṣṇukuṇḍins were driven out of their homeland; and Southern Andhradesa as far as the Kṛṣṇa was once more annexed to the Pallava Empire.[1]

Pallava invasion and Dēvavarman's sudden death.

This conjecture rests upon the interpretation of the Amarāvati marble-pillar inscription of Siṁhavarman, who has been identified with Siṁhavarman III.[2] The inscription is engraved on three sides of an octagonal pillar. The top of the pillar and some of the characters of the uppermost lines of the inscription were broken off. Curiously enough the inscription is to be read upwards from the bottom. It contains eleven complete verses and a prose passage in Sanskrit the end of which is lost through the mutilation of the pillar at the top. From the incomplete prose passage, which however seems to retain its original colour, it appears that Siṁhavarman (III) led a successful expedition into the Andhra country and that on his return march sojourned sometime in Dhānyakaṭaka. The inscription states that Siṁhavarman (III), the hero, protected the earth for a long time, and that he once led an expedition with a large and victorious army, marched to the peak of Sumēru, meaning perhaps the northernmost boundary of the Andhra country, and planted there a pillar of victory. It is said that, on his way back, in order to remove the fatigue that was caused by wandering over the whole world, meaning apparently by waging wars for a long time all over the land, he (Siṁhavarman)

Amarāvati pillar Inscription: Its importanee.

1 See *ante* Book II. p. 279ff.

2 Dr. Burgess's Notes on Amarāvati Stūpa, p. 40f. It was excavated by Robert Sewell and sent by Dr. James Burgess to the Madras Museum.

paused for a few days in the beautiful land (Andhradesa). Having then crossed the Bhāgīrathi,[1] Godavari and Kṛṣṇaverṇā, he perceived a place sacred to the Buddha, the illustrious Dhānyaghaṭaka. There he stayed for sometime, listening to a discourse on the Law (*Dharma*), worshipped the Lord and erected a statue (*pratimā*) for the Buddha and ornamented it with precious jewels, gold and silver. He also planted there in that city a 'pillar of victory' on which was engraved an inscription eulogising his exploits and conquests. The present record may be in all probability an imperfect replica of the original *praśasti* or inscription. The inscription, therefore, is of historical interest. When it states that Siṁhavarman perceived for the first time Dhanyaghaṭaka *i. e.* Dhanyakaṭaka, the place sacred to the Buddha, it is clear that for sometime prior to the accession of Siṁhavarman III, that is roughly for thirty five or forty years, the Pallavas were deprived of their dominion over Southern Andhradesa. And that was the period of Mādhavavarman I.

As stated elsewhere, Siṁhavarman III appointed his energetic son Skandavarman, surnamed Trilōcana-Pallava or Mukkaṇṭi Kāḍuveṭṭi to the rulership of the southern Andhra country. Trilōcana-Pallava occupied Amarāvati near Dhānya-kaṭaka, the erstwhile capital of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and ruled for a longtime. The event may be placed about 458 A. D. It appears Trilōcana-Pallava, made a determined effort to uproot the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and establish the Pallava dominion firmly in Andhradesa and accordingly divided the country into two or more divisions. From this date onwards, the name of Trilōcana Pallava became firmly and closely associated with Dhānyakaṭaka. In proof of his identifying himself with the prosperity of the northern provinces of the Pallava Empire, there have grown several legends round his haloed name and in memory of his glorious reign. The river Kṛṣṇa became again the boundary between the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kingdom in the north and the Pallava Empire in the south. The Pallavas henceforth held the

1 The reference to the Bhāgirathi is obviously an exaggeration. The composer of the *praśasti* doubtless indulged in poetic fancies to glorify his patron Siṁhavarman III.

Southern Andhra sub-provinces uninterruptedly for nearly three decades, till about 485 A. D. About that year their suzerainty itself in Southern India was completely overshadowed by the rise of Karikāla Cōḷa, the Great.

Dēvavarman, therefore, appears to have had brief and disasterous reign. The omission of the kingly epithet *Mahārāja* to Dēvavarman in the Īpūru charter seems to indicate that his reign ended suddenly in a great military disaster shortly after his accession. As Siṁhavarman III reigned till about 460 A. D., Dēvavarman's death must be placed a few years before that. Dēvavarman's sudden death was a severe blow to the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty. They lost their hold on their homeland in Southern Andhradesa. Mādhavavarman II, son of Dēvavarman, moved northwards, abandoning the capital Amarapura. The Amarāvati marble pillar inscription supports this view. It seems to state that Siṁhavarman III chased his enemy into the northern regions; and having inflicted a crushing defeat upon him, planted a *jayastambha* or 'pillar of victory' somewhere in the north to commemorate his triumphal march.

### 3. Mādhavavarman II, *c.* 458—488 A. D.

The successor of Dēvavarman was his son Mādhavavarman II, the donor of the Īpūru plates, second set. The new king would appear to have been a grown up young man when he was called upon to assume the burden of a great kingdom which was in the throes of calamity, and tottering. The prestige of his illustrious house was overshadowed by the sudden death of his father and the military disaster that overtook his house. He had embarked on a sea of troubles caused by the Pallava invasion and disaster. When the Southern Andhra sub-provinces were annexed to the Pallava Empire the integrity of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kingdom of Andhradesa was greatly impaired. Mādhavavarman's sway over his kingdom was reduced to its narrowest limits.

Succession of Mādhavavarman II c. 458 A. D.

Siṁhavarman III evidently overran the Andhra country in the same manner as he had done Kuntala. Fortunately the death of the Pallava king at this juncture gave Mādhavavarman II sufficient respite to avert another national catastrophe and slowly retrieve the fortunes of his house.

At that critical period several petty independent kingdoms that were reduced to submission by Emperor Mādhavavarman I threw off their yoke and once more proclaimed independence. Notable amongst them was the kingdom of the Vāsiṣṭhis of Dēvarāṣṭra in Madhya-Kalinga. The Vāsiṣṭhis were probably related to the Māṭhara dynasty of Kalinga. Śaktivarman, the donor of the Rāgōlu plates is called a *Vāsiṣṭhīputra*, and an-ornament of the *Māṭhara-kula*.[1] The matronymic appellation plainly denotes that Śaktivarman's mother was a Vāsiṣṭhi princess, *i. e.* a lady born in the Vasiṣṭha *gōtra*; probably she belonged of the royal family of Dēvaraṣṭra. The capital of Dēvarāṣṭra was Dēvapura which is mentioned in one of the charters of the family. Dēvarāṣṭra lay in the central part of Kalinga. At one time it formed part of the province known as Elamañci-Kaliṅgadēśa, which is mentioned in an Eastern Cāḷukya grant of the ninth century.[2] It must have extended from Yellamañcili in the south to the Bimlipatam or Vizianagaram taluk in the north, in the Vizagapatam district. Dēvapura, must have lain somewhere in the Bimlipatam taluk; it had gone out of existence long ago. It is probable that it was destroyed and razed to the ground by the enemies of the Vāsiṣṭhis during the fifth or sixth centuries. The Vāsiṣṭhis seem to have risen to power on the fall of the Māṭharas, and retrieved the fortunes of their fallen kinsmen. They became lords of the entire Kalinga for a short period.

The Vasisthi Dynasty.

Three generations of this hitherto unknown line of kings have come to light from two copper-plate grants of *Mahārāja* Anantavarman that have been recently discovered and published.

1 *E. I.*, XII, pp 1-3.

2 *C. P.* No 14 of 1908-09 text lines 26-27.

One of them is the Siripuram charter[1] and the other is the Śṛṅgavarapukōṭa plates.[2] These two records may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the fifth century and not later.[3] The characters belong to the early class of the southern alphabets. They resemble the alphabets of the Cikkulla and Rāmatīrtham plates as well as those of the Jirjingi copper-plate grant of the Eastern Ganga king Indravarman,[4] but undoubtedly more archaic than all of them. Dr. R. C. Majumdar has assigned them properly to the period, 450 to 550 A. D. There is also another circumstance which supports this date. The waning influence of the Imperial Guptas is clearly visible in the manner in which one of these, the Siripuram charter, is dated. The Twelve Year Cycle of Jupiter which was used in the Early Gupta records is employed in the Siripuram plates of Anantavarman. It is said to have been in vogue for a limited period only during the fifth and sixth centuries and found so far only in a few inscriptions ranging between 475 and 528 A. D.[5] In the Twelve Year Cycle of Jupiter the year commences on the day when Jupiter, after its conjunction with the Sun, rises heliacally at mean sunrise in a particular *nakṣatra*; and the year is called after that asterism. The grant was dated the full-moon day of Māgha in the Mahā-As'vayuja *saṁvatsara*. Anantavarman's grant and period may be assigned therefore to about the same period, the latter half of the fifth century. Accordingly the full-moon *tithi* of Māgha of the Mahā-As'vayuja *saṁvatsara* may be equated to the 163rd year of the Gupta era. By the mean sign system the Mahā-As'vayuja *saṁvatsara* commenced on Caitra *s'ukla* 8th *tithi* of Ś. S. 404 current, corresponding to March 24, 481 A. D. and, it was followed by Mahā Kārttīka

Date of the Siripuram plates.

1 First published in the *Bhārati* in Telugu, Vol. VIII, Part ii, No. 9., pp. 451ff. with plate. The record has since been edited in *E. I.*, XXIV, pp. 47–52.

2 *JAHRS.*, Vol. VII, p. 153f. With plate. The record was first published under the caption *Kindoppa plates of Anantavarman*: and the same has been re-edited in *E. I.* XXIII, p. 56.

3 *E. I.*, XXIII, p. 56. Prof. R. C. Majumdar discusses the date and comes to the same conclusion as myself.

4 *JAHRS*, Vol. III, pp. 49ff. with plate.

5 *C. I. I.*, Vol. III. p. 105.

*saṁvatsara*, which commenced on the 15th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Caitra, Ś. S. 405 current, corresponding to Saturday, March 20, 482 A. D.[1] Accordingly the Māgha *s'ukla* 15th *i. e.* full-moon (*pūrṇima*) *tithi* which is the date of the Siripuram charter, corresponds to Wednesday, January 10, 482 A. D. The second grant on the Śṛṅgavarapukōṭa plates is also dated, in the regnal year. But the regnal year which is the most important detail in the date is unfortunately lost for ever, as the right half of the last plate on which the date is to be found was broken off. The extant portion gives the date as the 13th *tithi* which is apparently coupled with the Uttarāyaṇa *saṁkrānti* and therefore must be Puṣya *s'ukla* 13. The nearest Puṣya *Śukla* 13th *tithi* with reference to the date of the Siripuram plates, namely, January 10, 482 A. D., on which the Uttarāyaṇa *saṁkrānti* also occured, was that of the same Śaka Saṁvat 404 current, corresponding to the December 19, 481 A. D.[2] There was no Puṣya *s'ukla* 13th *tithi* on which the Uttarāyaṇa *saṁkrānti* also occurred in the preceding years up to Ś. S. 384 current and in the succeeding years after Ś. S. 404 current, other than the one referred to above. It is therefore clear that the Puṣya *s'ukla* 13th *tithi* of Ś. S. 404 current, corresponding to the December 19, 481 A. D. was the real and proper equivalent of the date of the Sṛṅgavarapukōṭa plates. As the regnal year of the grant is lost, it is impossible to determine the initial year of Anantavarman's reign.[3] But it is certain that the king was reigning as a paramount sovereign in 481–82 A. D.

Date of the S'ṛṅgavarapukōṭa plates.

These two records state that the *lāñcchana* or the crest of the dynasty was *Śaṅkha* 'conch'. They give the following succession of kings:—

1 *Ibid*. p. 111.

2 The date is calculated with the help of the *Indian Ephemeris*.

3 After the letters *rāja*, the plate is broken off, but before '*yōdas'yām*' in line 20, the syllable *tra* may be reasonably supplied; thus the *tithi* becomes *trayōdas'yām*. As Uttarāyaṇa *saṁkrānti* never occurs in the dark fortnight of Puṣya, I take the *pakṣa* to be *s'ukla*, the bright one.

Vāsiṣṭha-*kula*

*
1. Guṇavarman
|
2. Prabhañjanavarman
|
3. Anantavarman (*donor*)

Since Anantavarman appears reigning in and about 482 A. D., it may be assumed that his ancestor Guṇavarman flourished roughly about half a century earlier, that is, sometime about 435 A. D. Then Guṇavarman becomes a contemporary of Mādhavavarman I. He becomes also a contemporary of Umavarman (*c.* 400—430 A. D.) and Vis'ākhavarman (*c.* 430—440 A. D.) the last two kings of the Māṭhara dynasty. It is probable that the Vāsiṣṭhas though related to the Māṭharas strove to become a paramount power and obtain the overlordship of all Kalinga. Probably the internecine wars in Kalinga between the Māṭharas and Vāsiṣṭhas paved the way for the destruction of the former and the subjugation of the latter dynasty by the great king Mādhavavarman I. Guṇavarman may have proclaimed his independence in Dēvarāṣṭra almost immediately after the death of Umavarman and threatened to uproot his successor Vis'ākhavarman in Kalinga. For the present Guṇavarman may be regarded as the progenitor of the Vāsiṣṭha dynasty who succeeded to the sovereignty of Kalinga, or more properly speaking, of Dēvarāṣṭra in Kalinga, after the fall of the Māṭharas.

1. Guṇavarman
*c.* 430—450 A. D.

Guṇavarman, accordingly, must have been a powerful king. The epithets attached to his name in the two records of the family, vary materially from another. Thus there are two sets of epithets. One set may be construed to supplement the other, and thereby furnish us with a certain amount of historical information about the king. The Siripuram plates describe him merely as *Vāsiṣṭha-vipul-āmala - s'ukla - Candramasō vibhrad-bhū-hiraṇya-gōsahasr-ādyanēka dāna - dharm - ābhiratasya Śakti-tray - ōpanata - rājya sampadasya atyant - āmala s'arac - candra - candrik - āvadāt - ōru yas'asaḥ*, "who was a Full-Moon in the broad and spotless firmament (family) of *Vāsiṣṭha*, who took delight in the performance of innumerable gifts like the earth, gold and *gōsahasra*,

who secured the prosperity of the kingdom with the three-fold constituents of regal power, and who possessed great fame which was as pure as the light of the exceedingly clear autumnal moon." The Śṛṅgavarapukōṭa plates describe him as *mahī-maṇḍala - vyāpi - s'arad - ēndu - kara - nirmala - guṇasya Dēva-rāṣṭrapatēr-anēka-samara-saṅghaṭṭa-vijayādhigata yas'asaḥ*, 'the Lord of Dēvarāṣṭra, who acquired fame by victories gained in tumultous battles and whose spotless virtues, like the rays of the autumn moon, pervaded the whole world." Both the epithets clearly denote that Guṇavarman was a powerful king who established himself as a paramount king in Dēvarāṣṭra having defeated his enemies by the strength of his arms. Guṇavarman's rise may be fixed during the period immediately following the fall of the Śālaṅkāyanas in Vēṅgi and the Māṭharas in Kalinga during the first part of the fifth century. Thus it appears that while the Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch Mādhavavarman I was forcing his way to establish himself as the supreme lord of Southern Andhradesa and acquire the sovereignty of Vēṅgi, Guṇavarman emerged from obscurity and seized the golden opportunity which the chaotic political condition of the kingdom of Kalinga afforded him at that period.

2. Prabhañjana-varman. c. 450—560 A. D.

It is probable that Guṇavarman's independence in Dēva-rāṣṭra did not last long, for the Viṣṇukuṇḍins were relentlessly aggressive and expanding at this period. Mādhavavarman I soon spread his conquests, extended his imperial dominion over the whole of Andhradesa and Kalinga and probably over the entire eastern half of the Deccan up to the foot of the Meikal Range. Guṇavarman's son and successor, *Mahārāja* Prabhañjanavarman, probably was not a powerful prince like his father. The Siripuram plates call him merely *anēka-guṇa-gaṇ-ālaṁkṛtasya*, 'who is adorned with several virtues', and the Śṛṅgavarapukōṭa plates give the epithet, "the moon of the Vāsiṣṭha family, who brought about the prosperity of the kingdom by the three elements of regal power." This is significant. Probably Prabhañjanavarman was conquered or reduced to vassalage by the Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch. His death may have

taken place about 460 A. D. and therefore synchronised with the fall of Dēvavarman in Andhradesa and the invasion of the Pallava king Siṁhavarman III.

3. Anantavarman c. 460—485 A. D.

His successor was Anantavarman who was a powerful king. During the great military disaster caused by the Pallava invasion, *c.* 458—460 A. D., Anantavarman, too, would have lost his throne like the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king but quickly recovered and conquered back his kingdom. He not only appears to have conquered the ancestral province of Dēvarāṣṭra but also brought the entire Kalinga under his sway. Both the records of his time speak of him as, *sva-bala - vikram - ōpārjjita - bhūḥ*, "who had acquired the kingdom by the strength of his own arms. In this attempt to reconquer his ancestral throne and extend his sway over the entire Kalinga, Anantavarman had to encounter several opponents, not even excluding the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king Mādhavavarman II. Thus while the ancestor Guṇavarman is described as 'the lord of Dēvarāṣṭra, Anantavarman is called 'the lord of Kalinga' in both the charters of his period. Kalinga was the ancient name for the territory, which extended from the Godavari in the south-west to the Ṛṣikulya river in the north-east along the eastern seaboard. On the west it was bounded by the Eastern Ghats and the region now covered by the feudatory state of Bastar, and the tributary river Tēl which flowed into the Mahānadī. The capital of Kalinga during the fourth and fifth centuries was not a fixed one: it was constantly shifted from place to place. It was sometimes Piṣṭapura in the south and sometimes Siṁhapura on the Vaṁs'adhāra in the north in the Chicacole taluk. With the establishment of the Eastern Ganga dynasty about the close of the fifth century, Piṣṭapura ceased to be the capital of Kalinga. A more strategic and more distantly situated place was found necessary. For, the Viṣṇukuṇḍins who pursued a policy of conquest and annexation, occupied the whole of Dēvarāṣṭra and extended the boundaries of their Andhra kingdom. The existence of a powerful, aggressive and hostile neighbour in the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kingdom,

apparently compelled the Eastern Gangas to remove their seat of government to Dantapura or Kalinganagara on the northern bank of the Vaṁs'adhāra.

The Śṛṅgavarapukōṭa plates state that Anantavarman, while staying in his capital Piṣṭapura issued an edict to the inhabitants of Kindeppa in Tēllavalli-*viṣaya*, informing them that he had granted the village as an *agrahāra* during the winter solistice (*Uttarāyaṇa*) for the sake of increasing his religious merit, to Mātṛs'arman, a member of the Kaus'ika *gōtra*, a student of the Taīttirīya *s'ākha*, and the free-holder (*bhōgika*) of Ācaṇṭa pura, having exempted it from all burdens of taxation. The date of the grant has been already equated to December 19, 481 A. D. The identification of the localities mentioned in the grant has not been properly made so for. The village Kindeppa, the object of the grant, was situated in the Tēllavalli *viṣaya*. About fourteen or fifteen miles to the south-west of Śṛṅgavarapukōṭa, where the plates were found, there is a village called Tella-gamudi and near it another village called Koṇḍapālem. The former is situated at the crossing of two roads and on the bank of a rivulet, thus indicating an important site. Prof. Majumdar has identified Tella-gāmudi with the Tēllavalli, the head-quarters of the *viṣaya* mentioned in the charter. He ventures to suggest that Kindeppa might be identified with Koṇḍapālem near Tella-gāmudi.[1] This identification does not seem to be quite satisfactory. Mr. M. Narasiṁham who edited the grant in the first instance states that the modern Jeypore Zamīndāri in Orissa, lying directly to the west of the Śṛṅgavarapukōṭa taluk must have been called Tēllavalli *viṣaya* in ancient times. His identification, too, is not based upon any evidence.[2] Tēllavalli-*viṣaya* may have been possibly the ancient name for the tract round Śṛṅgavarapukōṭa where the places were originally found. Ācaṇṭa or Ācaṇṭapura is a well known place in the West Godavari district which formed part of the ancient kingdom of Vēṅgi. It is situated on the right bank of the Vasiṣṭha-Godavari in the Narasapur taluk.

1 *E. I.*, XXIII, p. 59.

2 *JAHRS.*, Vol. VIII, p. 157.

There is no other locality of the name of Ācaṇṭa or Ācaṇṭapurī in the Vizagapatam district or anywhere in the Andhra country. It is therefore probable that Mātṛs'arman, the *bhōgika* of Ācaṇṭapurī,[1] migrated from the village in the lower Godavari region into the distant province of Dēvarāṣṭra in the north-east. Having entered service under Anantavarman, Mātṛs'arman probably rose in the favour of the king and eventually obtained from him as a reward for his services the *agrahāra* of Kinḍeppa.

The Siripuram charter was issued from the city of Dēvapura, apparently the capital of Dēvarāṣṭra, which was the ancient name for the southern division of the Vizagapatam district. The edict[2] was issued to all the assembled *kuṭumbins* (farmers) in Tōṇṭāpara on the full-moon day of Māgha in the year Mahā As'vayuja. It states that the village was already an *agrahāra* enjoying limited privileges that were applicable to the sub-division (*madamba*) of Kharapurī and paying certain taxes to the king. It states further that *Mahārāja* Anantavarman gave away the village in eight shares with libations of water for the increase of his own merit, fame and longevity to eight Brāhmanas of Atri *gōtra* and (?) *caraṇa*, who were engaged in performing and assisting others to perform sacrifices, in study and teaching the Veda and in granting and receiving gifts. The *agrahāra* was completely exempted from all kinds of taxes and was separated from the Kharapurī *madamba* and Pattana-

1 *Ācaṇṭapura-bhōgika* is not the name of a territorial unit as Dr. R. C. Majumdar has supposed it to be. It means, however, 'the lord of the territorial unit (*bhōga*) of Ācaṇṭa'. Dr. Majumdar has not properly interpreted the meaning of the term *bhōgika*. It seems to be a variant of the term *bhukta* (Telugu : *bugata*) 'one who enjoys'. The term represents the same sense as *agrahārika*, but with the difference that while *agrahārika* denotes the holder of an *agrahāra* the term *bhōgika* or *bhukta* denotes the exclusive lordship of, or the enjoyment of the office of the head of the *bhōga* or territorial unit. In the later day inscriptions of the Andhra country, the epithet'...*pura-s'āsana* frequently appears as a title of many a Brāhmaṇa chieftain. We have instances of such *bhōgika* officers as *Kolivāla-bhōgika* and *Mulakūra-bhōgika* etc. in the early inscriptions.

2 The inscription has since been edited carefully in *E. I.*, XXIV, p. 48ff.

3 *Madamba* is defined as unit of eleven villages (*Yuktam-ēkādas'a-grāmair-madambam-parikīrtitam*) in *Sivatattvaratnākara*, *Kallōla* 6 and *Taranga* 1, verse 14. See *E. I.* XXIV, p. 49 *n*. 6.

*bhōga*[1] (division or district.) Kharapurī and Pattana like Dēvapura cannot identified satisfactorily; but Tōṇṭāpara seems to be identical with the zamīndāri village Tōṭāḍa in the Chicacole taluk.

Anantavarman appears to be a powerful king who emulated the example of his neighbours, the Śārabhapura kings, Nalas, Sōmavaṁśis and several other dynasties of Vidarbha, Trikalinga and Dakṣiṇa-Kōsala in the north, and raised the prestige of his house from that of a feudatory or subordinate king to the rank of a paramount power. But the glory of his house was only short-lived. It did not apparently last more than three generations. Anantavarman was endowed with virtues like modesty, truthfulness, purity, knowledge of the law and custom, generosity, kindness, energy, valour, strength and firmness.[2] He was devoted to the welfare and prosperity of his subjects and kingdom. He called himself a devout worshipper of Śiva (*Parama-Māhēśvaraḥ*); he attached to his name the epithets *prajāhitarataḥ* and *mātā-pitṛ-pādānudhyātaḥ*, "whose delight was the welfare of his people" and "who was devoted to the feet, or worshipper of the feet of his mother and father" in the charters issued by him. The formal preambles of the grants reveal that Anantavarman was a powerful and just king. His reign seems to have lasted two decades, from about 460 to 485 A. D., and synchronised with that of Mādhavavarman II.

Character of Anantavarman.

Nothing is known about the closing years of Anantavarman's reign or of the period of his successors. It is, therefore, probable that Anantavarman was the last of the Vāsiṣṭhas and that he met with his end in the struggle with his opponent, probably Mādhavavarman II. The subsequent history of Kalinga, from the fall of Anantavarman, is the history of the rise of the Eastern Gangas of Kalinganagara, in the closing years of the fifth century.

Anantavarman: the last of his line.

1 *Pattana-bhōga* may perhaps refer to the district of Pattana, which may be identified with Kalingapattana, abbreviated here simply as Pattana.

2 *The Siripuram and Sṛṅgavarapukōṭa plates*: Text lines 5–7: in both.

A peep into the political condition of India in general during the last quarter of the fifth century by way of digression is necessary at this stage to understand the trend of political events in Andhradesa, and their significance with reference to the history of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty. There is a gap in the history of the Pallavas of Kāñci, from the time of the fall of Skandavarman IV, or Trilōcana-Pallava about 485 A. D. till the rise of Kumāraviṣṇu II. It will be remembered that it was the last named king that conquered back Kāñcipura from the Cōḷas, *c.* 515 A. D. and raised the sunken prestige of his house. The unremitting conflict that raged for over quarter of a century previously between the Pallavas and Kadambas had come to a close at last with the crushing of the Pallava power, simultaneously both by the Kadambas in the west and the Cōḷas in the north. The Kadambas emerged victoriously from the conflict and checked the aggressive policy of the Pallavas. The Cōḷas, too, under Karikāla Cōḷa the Great invaded and swept along the Pallava Empire and shook it to its very foundations. The Cōḷa onslaught on Kāñcī was like a tidal wave; it suddenly rose and completely eclipsed glory of the Pallavas. In the wake of the Cōḷa onslaught Mādhavavarman II, rallied his strength and conquered once more the Southern Andhra sub-provinces of the Pallava Empire and incorporated them finally into his kingdom. This event may have taken place about 485 A. D.

Political condition of the Deccan and North.

In the north, the imperial Guptas showed signs of decline about this period. That was just the time when a fresh horde of nomadic Hūṇas descended heavily in the North Western Frontier Province of India, advanced into the interior and attacked the Gupta Empire.[1] About 470 A. D. Kumāragupta II was dead and the semblance of the Imperial power passed through some obscure transition into the hands of a line of weak kings who are known to the archaeologists as the Later Guptas of Magadha. Simultaneously, a new dynasty

The decline of the Gupta Empire and the rise of the Maukharis.

1 V. A. Smith: *Early History of India*, 4th edn. p. 329.

called the Maukharis rose to power in Bundlekhand, in the region lying to the south of the river Jumna and in the districts round Prayāg, in what was known during the third century as Pūrva-Mālava.[1] The Maukharis spread their rule slowly into Magadha in the east and Uttara Kōsala or Ayōdhya in the north and thus crippled the power of the Imperial Guptas. Almost simultaneously with the establishment of the Maukhari dynasty, the Nṛpati-Parivrājakas of Cēdi or the Dabhāla-rājya with its 'Eighteen Forest kingdoms', (*aṣṭa-daś'-āṭavīrājya*) and the Kings of Ucchakalpa or Bhaghelkhand rose to sovereignty and overthrew the suzerainty of the Later Guptas. The political decadence of the Imperial Guptas also led to the rise about the same time of another independent dynasty, the Maitrakas, in Surāṣṭra or Kathiawar in the south-western extremity of the empire, with its capital at Valabhi. The dynasty lasted roughly for three centuries from 490 to 770 A. D. It was founded by a chief named Bhaṭārka who belonged to a clan called Maitraka and who was one of the foremost military officers of the Gupta Empire. The Gupta kings of this period were, therefore, weak and obscure princes who were deprived of the assistance of their powerful tributaries. They were, therefore, compelled to succumb at last to the repeated onslaughts of the Barbarians who were constantly recruited by fresh hordes, eager for plunder in India. Thus at the dawn of the sixth century the great Gupta Empire of the previous century sank into a mere shadow.[2]

The prestige of the Vākāṭaka Empire too sank low at this period. It had for a second time embarked on a sea of troubles during the closing years of Narēndrasēna. At this critical period, several feudatory dynasties made vigorous but abortive attempts to overthrow the Vākāṭaka suzerainty. Fortunately, for the imperial dynasty, Pṛthivīsēna II, (*c.* 470—485 A. D.) the

1 See the interesting and instructive paper '*Were the Maukharis Mālavas?*' by Nihar Ranjan Ray in *Indian Culture*, I, p. 3, and p. 298-99. See also Roy-Chaudhari's *Political History of Ancient India*, 2nd edn. p. 361.

2 Fleet thinks (C. *I. I.*, III, p. 1) that the Gupta sovereignty lasted till 528 A. D. This is not correct. The Gupta Empire disappeared in the dawn of the sixth century.

eldest son and successor of Narēndrasēna, proved to be a man of considerable ability and energy. Though the events of his reign are not available, a small detail, however, recorded in a contemporary document, clearly indicates that Pṛthivīsēna II succeeded in "raising the sunken prestige of his family." From the statement, *dvimagna-vaṁs'y-ōddhartuḥ*, in the Balaghat plates of his time,[1] it appears that the Vākāṭaka family sunk like the Imperial Guptas, whose empire for all purposes began to break up after the invasion of the Hunas, about 470 A. D. Among the subordinate dynasties that attempted to throw off the imperial Vākāṭaka yoke may be mentioned the Traikūṭakas of Aniruddhapura,[2] Kalacuris of Ujjaini,[3] Nalas of Nandivardhana,[4] Sōmavaṁs'is of Mahā-Kōsala or Dakṣiṇa-Kōsala,[5] and the Śūlika kings of Śarabhapura.[6] Though the attempts of these tributary kingdoms to attain to paramountcy proved abortive in the end on account of the energetic action of Pṛthivīsēna II, their struggle for independence revived with greater vigour during the first decade of the sixth century, shortly after the death of Harisēna.

The sunken condition of the Vākāṭaka Empire.

A reference to the details of the revolt of the subordinate dynasties of the Vākāṭaka Empire is necessary for the purposes of our present study. The first revolt was that of the Traikūṭakas of Aparānta. All that we know of the Traikūṭaka dynasty is

1 *E. I.*, XI, p. 207. text line 33.

2 E. J. Rapson : *Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dyn. etc.* pp. 197—203. *Opi. Cit.* See Introduction. p. lxiii ; See also *E. I.* XI, p. 219f.

3 The Kalacuris, or Kaṭacuris as they are also called, rose to sovereignty about the middle of the sixth century. (See Abhona plates of S'aṅkaragaṇa, *E. I.*, IX, pp. 296-300) Their capital was at Ujjaini. They would seem to be the successors of, or more properly to be a branch of the Traikūṭakas, who moved from their original home, north by east and established their sovereignty after the destruction of the parent dynasty. Kṛṣṇarāja was the first king of this new dynasty.

4 *E. I.*, XIX, p. 103 and *E. I.* XXI, p. 153. See Book V. below.

5 *E. I.* XI, p. 184f. and 187f. See also *Ind. Ant.* XVIII, p. 179f. Also *E. I.* VII, p. 106f. *C. I. I.*, III, p. 291f. etc.

6 *E. I.* XXII, p. 16f. ; *E. I.* XIII, p. 108f. I have identified the S'ūlikas mentioned in the Hārāhā inscription of Is'ānavarman (*E. I.* XIV. p. 110) with the Kings of S'arabhapura.

from their coins and a few copper-plate inscriptions. For the present only three kings of this line are definitely known to history; and they had their capital at Aniruddhapura which had been identified with Surparāka or Sopāra by Dr. Hultzsch.[1] They ruled over Aparānta, or the lower region of the Narmadā and the Tapati. They are:

The Trikūṭakas of Aparānta.

*Mahārāja* Indradatta
|
*Mahārāja* Dahrasēna
|
*Mahārāja* Vyāghrasēna.

No coins or inscriptions of Indradatta have been found. But as he is mentioned with the appellation *Mahārāja* on the coins of his son Dahrasēna, it is certain that reigned as an anointed king. His period may be fixed approximately between 388 and 430 A. D. Indradatta, therefore, appears to be an earlier contemporary of Narēndrasēna. He must have taken advantage of the extreme tenderness of age of Narēndrasēna and reigned as a paramount king in Aparānta. There are no dated coins of his successor Dahrasēna but his inscriptions are dated in the year 207 of the Traikūṭaka era which corresponds to 456 A. D.[2] The date of Dahrasēna's accession cannot be determined with any certainty but the year 207 or 456 A. D, which is the date of his Pardi plates,[3] may have lain towards the close of his reign. Dahrasēna proclaimed his independence during the troublous period of Narendrasēna, having been probably aided or encouraged by the revolt of the Paṭumitra and Puṣyamitra republican tribes of Mālava. He overthrew the Vākāṭaka overlordship and performed an *As'vamēdha* sacrifice.[4] But his glory seems to have been short-lived. It appears

1 *E. I.* IX, p. 219; *Ind. Ant.* XVIII, p. 270f.

2 General A. Cunningham showed that the Kaḷacuri, Cēdi or the Traikūṭaka era were one and the same and that the era commenced in 249 A. D. His view was endorsed by Dr. J. F. Fleet, (*Ind. Ant.* XIII, p. 78f) and by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji. (*Ibid*, p. 76f.)

3 *E. I.* X, pp. 51–54.

4 *Ibid.* p. 52, text line 2. '*Mātāpitṛ-pādānudhyātō Bhagavat-pādā-karmmakarōsvamēdh-āharttā s'rī-mahārāja-Dahrasēnaḥ*'

that shortly after 456 A. D. he was conquered and slain by the Vākāṭaka king. The subsequent history of the Traikūṭakas is lost in obscurity till the rise of Vyāghrasēna, a son of Dahrasēna, about the year 241 of the Kalacuri era, corresponding to 490 A. D.[1] There is thus room for doubt that Vyāghrasēna was not the immediate successor of his father. It is probable that the succession passed on to obscure princes who acknowledged the suzerainty of Narēndrasēna after the demise of Dahrasēna. Vyaghrasēna may have been possibly a younger son of Dahrasēna. The interval between the fall of Dahrasēna (*c.* 456 A. D.) and the rise of Vyaghrasēna (*c.* 490 A. D.) is long enough to cover the later part of the reign of Narēndrasēna and the period of his son Pṛthivīsēna II. During this period, the predecessors of Vyaghrasēna too may have revolted, on the death of Narēndrasēna, to assert their independence; but they seem to have been destroyed by Pṛthivīsēna II. This conjecture rests on the claim '*dvimagnavaṁs'y-ōddhartuḥ*' of Pṛthivīsēna referred to above.

Pṛthivisēna II.

About the Kaḷacuris of Tripurī or Trikūṭa, Sōmavaṁs'is of Śrīpura, Śūlika kings of Śarabhapura and lastly the Nalas of Nandivardhana, it is sufficient for the present to state that these dynasties held sway over the territories called Cēdi, Dakṣiṇa-Kōsala, Mēkala and Vidarbha mentioned in the Vākāṭaka inscriptions. The history of these dynasties will be noticed in a detailed manner elsewhere. For the present it suffices to say that the revolt of the lords of Cēdi, Mēkala and Dakṣiṇa-Kōsala was put down with a firm hand by Pṛthivīsēna II, who was "a receptacle of splendour and forbearance." From the claims of Pṛthivīsena II, of his having raised the sunken prestige of his family it would appear that, a confederacy of these vassal kings and others defeated the imperial arms (*c.* 470 A. D.) and perhaps slew the aged king Narēndrasēna on the battlefield.

The period of troubles for the Vākāṭaka Empire and the reign of Pṛthivīsēna II synchronised with the Hūṇa incursions

1 Surat Plates of Vyāghrasēna : *E. I.* XI, p. 219f.

into Northern India, though Tōramāna, the Hūṇa chief had not yet effected a lodgement in Mālava. Great credit is, therefore, due to Pṛthivīsēna II for the rehabilitation of his empire which was lately shaken to the foundations. The Vākāṭaka Empire acted as a bulwark against the Hūṇa depradations into Central India during the middle of the fifth century. And it lingered longer to witness the dissipation of the last vestiges of the Gupta Empire. Pṛthivīsēna II was succeeded by Dēvasēna. The event took place about 485 A. D. Dēvasēna was probably his younger brother.[1] He was a weak prince and was addicted to pleasures. He therefore did not remain long on the throne. The Ajanta cave inscription, presumably of the time of his son Harisēna, describes him with the epithet *bhōgēṣu yāthēṣu cēṣṭaḥ*, meaning that he preferred sensual pleasures and comforts to the duties of kingship.[2] Indeed the period of Dēvasēna was stormy and troublous for Northern India on account of the continued inroads of the Barbarians; and it had its repercussion in the Vākāṭaka Empire too. An ease loving prince like Dēvasēna, therefore, could not remain long on the throne. He must have either voluntarily abdicated in favour of his able and eneregetic son Harisēna or died shortly after his accession on account of his dissipated life.[3] It was during the reign of Dēvasēna (*c.* 485—488 A. D.) that the Hūṇas penetrated into the heart of the Gangetic provinces and completely subverted the Gupta Empire. The collapse of the Persian opposition

Period of troubles
Dēvasēna's accession

1 Dr. Jayaswal thinks that Dēvasēna was the younger brother of Pṛthivisēna II. (*Hist. of Ind*, p. 76, p. 102) I agree with him. But see M. G. Pai (in '*The Genealogy and Chronology of the Vākāṭakas*) *Jour. of Ind. Hist.* Vol. XIV, part ii. p. 373ff. He believes that Dēvasēna was a younger brother of Narēndrasēna. The mistake in this identifications seems to have arisen from the fact that while Dr. Jayaswal assumes the lost name of the king in the Ajanta inscription to be that of Narēndrasēna, Mr. Pai believes it to be the name of a brother of Narēndrasēna. It is difficult to accept the arguments advanced by Mr. Pai.

2 *ASWI.*, Vol. IV. p. 124f.

3 *History of India*, p. 76 and 102. Dēvasēna abdicated voluntarily accordingly to Dr. Jayaswal. Mr. Pai holds a different view. Mr. Pai's interpretation of the text (See note 1 above) seems to be untenable.

and the death of Firoz, king of Persia, in 484 A. D., must have greatly facilitated the eastern movement of the nomadic horde and allowed immense multitudes to cross the Indian frontier. The appearance of these nomads who carried on savage warfare and the horror they created by their wanton cruelty forced some of the weak vassal kings of the empire in the Gangetic provinces, like Mitraviṣṇu and his brother Dhānyaviṣṇu of Pūrva-Mālava and others, to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Hūṇa chieftain Tōramāṇa.[1] Fortunately for the Vākāṭaka Empire, Dēvasēna abdicated before Tōramāṇa effected a lodgement in Mālava, and doubtless it was the accession of Harisēna that saved the Empire from disruption and encounter with the Hūṇa monarch. By the date of Harisēna's accession, it would appear that the Hūṇa leader, too, abandoned his aggressive policy and contented himself with the establishment of suzerainty over North-western India and Mālava and with reducing Bhānugupta the lord of Magadha and his feudatories to the rank of vassal kings. Tōramāna, thereafter, settled down to the peaceful work of consolidating his conquests, which is evident from the testimony of his coins.[2]

Harisēna and rehabilitation of the empire.

Having surveyed the political condition of the North and Central India, we shall turn to the political history of Andhradesa. The success of the Vākāṭaka arms in Kōsala, Cēdi and Mēkala and elsewhere during the eventful period of Pṛthivīsēna II, seems to have paved the way also for the military success of Mādhavavarman II in Andhradesa. Towards the end of his reign, the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king seems to have conquered Anantavarman and destroyed the power of the Vāsiṣṭhi dynasty in Kalinga which had at this period assumed great proportions. It may not be improbable also that Anantavarman had among his allies the Nala king Bhavattavarman or Bhavadattavarman,[3] or perhaps his son Skandavarman.[4] And therefore the

Rehabilitation of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kingdom by Mādhavavarman II.

1 *CII.*, III, p. 159f.
2 *Ibid.* Introduction, pp. 11–12.
3 *E. I.*, XIX p. 100f.
4 *E. I.* XXI, p. 153f.

fall of Bhavattavarman, too, must have synchronised with the fall of Anantavarman. The event may be placed about 480 A. D. It is also probable that the king of Śarabhapura and the contemporary Sōmavaṁs'i king of Kōsala who revolted against Narēndrasēna or his successor also joined hands with Anantavarman of Kalinga. The Vākāṭaka and Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings would have formed an alliance to help themselves mutually in the period of their trial, (*c.* 470—485 A. D.). It will be remembered that Mādhavavarman II and the Vākāṭaka monarch were related to each other. Pṛthivīsēna's paternal aunt, as has been shown above, was a queen of Mādhavavarman I, the Great. Her son Vikramēndravarman I was alive and the ties of relationship were still very strong. Thus the coalition of the two great and powerful dynasties of the Deccan proved too formidable to be opposed by the petty feudatory families which raised the banner of revolt both in Andhradesa and the Vākāṭaka Empire.

About the same period, or shortly afterwards, Mādhavavarman II appears to have conquered the Pallavas and finally destroyed their hold in the Southern Andhra country. The events of the Pallava-Kadamba conflict and the great military disaster that overtook Skandavarman IV, the greatest and yet most tragic figure in the history of the Pallava dynasty during this period (*c.* 475—485 A. D.) had greatly contributed to the signal success of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin arms against the Pallavas in the south. It will be remembered that about 472—475 A. D. Skandavarman IV and his Ganga ally Viṣṇugōpa suffered great military disasters at the hands of the Kadamba king Mṛgēs'avarman. The Kadamba king being proud of his signal successes against his foes assumed the titles *Pallava pralayānalaḥ* 'the Fire of destruction to the Pallava' and *Tuṅga-Gaṅga-kul-ōtsādī*, 'the uprooter of the powerful Gaṅga'.

Far more important than the result of the Kadamba-Pallava conflict were, two great events that were connected with the Andhradesa. These events, led the way for the complete destruction of the Pallava dominion in the Southern Andhra country. They have not been properly noticed till now by the

student of ancient history of South India or Deccan. The first event was the abortive adventure of prince Vijayāditya, the progenitor of the Cālukyas of Vātāpi and Vēṅgi about 470 A. D. The second was the rise and expansion of the Cōḷas under Karikāla Cōḷa I, *c.* 480 A. D. Curiously enough these two events relate to the political upheavals in Western Andhradesa. They were attempts to overthrow the Pallava suzerainty in the Southern Andhra country during the fifth century. They were great rebellions and the the events conneted with them cannot be regarded as legends or isolated events of doubtful date. On the contrary, they have to be regarded as distinct landmarks in the history of the protracted hostilities between the Pallavas and the successive Andhra dynasties. Vijayāditya and Karikāla Cōḷa the Great, came from the Western Andhra country and were Andhras. Their hatred for the Pallavas was implacable, for the Pallavas had deprived them of their freedom and sovereignty over their own home-land in Hiraṇyarāṣṭra and Cōḷavāḍi. The Cōla king succeeded in trampling upon the Pallava Empire and crushing the pride of Trilōcana-Pallava which the Cāḷukya prince roughly a decade or more ago failed to achieve. The Cōḷas, more than the Cāḷukyas seem to have some intimate connection with the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. The lion emblem was common both to the Cōḷas and Viṣṇu-kuṇḍins. The Viṣṇukuṇḍins called themselves, "the worshippers of the holy feet of the Lord of Śrīparvata ; and curiously enough, the Cōḷas claim to have obtained the 'lion crest' through the favour of the goddess Amara-Durga, and to be worshippers of Mahēśvara.[1] Moreover, Cōlavāḍi or the 'land of the Cōḷas' lay in Andhradesa. It lay stretching along the northern bank of the Kṛṣṇa in the region now covered by the Mahaboobnagar (Pānugallu) and Nalgoṇḍa (Nallagoṇḍa) districts of Telingāna in the Nizam's Dominions. Naturally therefore, the Cōḷas, like the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, inherited natural hostility for the Pallavas who destroyed the Imperial Ikṣvākus and annexed the southern provinces of the Andhra country to their empire.

Two important events connected with the Early History of Andhradesa and their significance.

1 *E. I.*, XXI, pp. 29-34 ; *JAHRS*, X, p. 22, 23, 25, text line 2.

It appears that throughout his long reign, Mādhavavarman II made continued efforts to destroy the Pallava dominion in Southern Andhradesa. It is probable that the rebellion of Vijayāditya at first and the Cōḷa invasion of the Pallava kingdom later on and all the subsequent events that followed the occupation of Kāñci, were either encouraged or inspired by the Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch. The fall of Trilōcana-Pallava, was probably the triumph of the policy and plans of Mādhavavarman II. Beset with hostilities on every frontier, throughout this period, Trilōcana-Pallava sank in the end. It was only then that the conquest of the Southern Andhra country became an easy task for the Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch. With patriotic joy and pride, Mādhavavarman II recorded the glorious achievement of his career, namely the reconquest of the home provinces of his kingdom. He assumed the epithet *Trikūṭa-Malay-ādhipatiḥ*, "the lord of Trikūṭa and Malaya", the celebrated mountains of his homeland. Dr. Hultzsch assumed the title to be mere a boast and attached no importance to it. On the contrary it seems to have been assumed by Mādhavavarman II, to celebrate the reconquest of his homeland after a lapse of two decades. The event may be placed about 485 A. D.

The period of Mādhavavarman II was one of trial for the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. The sunken prestige of family was ably rescued by him. Mādhavavarman II, reigned apparently for about thirty years. This assumption rests on the interpretation of the numerical symbols in his Īpūru charter. Dr. Hultzsch interpreted the symbols as 40 and 7 *i. e.* 47,[1] Dr. Sircar assumed the numerals to represent 10 and 7 *i. e.* 17.[2] But neither of these readings confirm to the course of political events during the third quarter of the fifth century or to the chronology of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and other contemporary dynasties of Ancient India. The symbols have to be read as 20 and 7 *i. e.* 27. This regnal year alone suits

The Ipūru plates I set.

1 *E. I.* XVII, p. 337f. text line 13. (p. 339)

2 Journal of the Department of Letters. :(*Cal. Uni.*) Vol. XXVI, p. 89 (*Successors of the Sātavāhanas.*)

admirably the chronology of the period. Thus the Īpūru charter, of the 27th year of his reign, indicates clearly that by its date which may be fixed about 488 A. D., peace and prosperity were restored in the kingdom and that Mādhavavarman II had reconquered the Southern Andhra country. The inscription states that on the 7th day of the seventh fortnight of rainy season in the 27th year of the victorious reign, Mādhavavarman II granted the village of Mrontukalika,(?)[1] to two brāhmanas, Agnis'arman and Indras'arman, "who were intent upon performing and observing strictly the religious rituals, reciting and preaching the Veda of their *Śākha*." The record is highly damaged and much that would have been useful was lost to the historian. The extant portion of the record speaks of Mādhavavarman as having been endowed with virtues like policy, modesty, firmness and honesty (*naya-vinaya-sattva-sampannaḥ*), qualities that were requisite for a great king. The localities, Murontaka-*grāma*, Murontika-*grāma* or Mrontukalika-*grama*, mentioned in the charter may all be identical. It is impossible in the present condition of the record to know in what part of the country these localities were situated.

## 4. Vikramēndravarman I, *c.* 488—493 A. D.

On the death of Mādhavavarman II, the succession seems to have passed on to his father's younger step-brother, Vikramēndravarman I. The new king was a descendant of the Vākāṭakas on his mother's side. It is probable that he was well advanced in years at the time of his accession; and for that reason among others, a short reign of about five years has been allotted to him. The marriage of Mādhavavarman I with the Vākāṭaka princess has been fixed elsewhere about 430 A.D. And the birth of Vikramēndravarman I, may be reasonably

1 Dr. Hultzsch did not read the first part of the name of the village in l. 10 but Dr. Sircar read it as Mrōtukaliki. (*Journal of the Dept. of Letters*, Vol. XXVI, p. 155) In line 7 of the text of the inscription there appears the name of another village which according to Dr. E. Hultzsch is *Muro-ka-ki-grāma*. This reading in my opinion is not correct. It seems to read like Muruntuka-*grāma*. There are many villages of that name in Karmarāṣṭra; but it is impossible to identify this village.

placed about 435 A. D. Vikramēndravarman I would, therefore, be roughly fifty five years of age when the succession opened to him about 488. A. D. He was perhaps a bare youth at the time of his brother Dēvavarman's death in 458 A. D. The succession, probably for that reason, passed on at that time to Mādhavavarman II who was probably a grown up young man and an energetic prince. The death of Mādhavavarman II opened the succession for a second time to Vikramēndravarman I. The events of this period are lost in obscurity; all that can be gleaned is only from a significant passage that occurs in the Rāmatīrtham plates of his son. Vikramēndravarman is spoken of therein as *sat-putraḥ*, the real import of which, however, is not quite clear. His only virtue appears to be that he was an ornament of both the families, the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and Vākāṭakas. From this it may be believed that Vikramēndravarman did not at all reign, or at any rate that his reign did not last long and that it was interrupted. This conjecture rests on the fact that his son Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman soon after had to fight his rival kinsmen to seize the crown.[1] Moreover, Vikramēndravarman is called merely *Rājan* in the record of his son, and the Cikkulla plates of his grandson omits altogether even the kingly title *Rāja* before his name. He is simply called 'the glorious Vikramēndravarman, whose birth was embellished by the two families, the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and the Vākāṭakas.' These things suggest that Vikramēndravarman I was a weak king and that his reign was uneventful. It is probable that he died at this juncture and that his death complicated the tangled question of succession still further as will be presently seen. The usurper, whoever he might be, seems to have enjoyed the sovereignty of Andhradesa at least for sometime, to the exclusion of all the other claimants.

Vikramēndravarman I. c. 488–493 A. D.

Death of Vikramēndravarman I and dynastic wars.

Though events in the vicissitudes of fortune of Vikramēndravarman's children are not available, a small detail of the

1 *E. I.*, IV, p. 193f. text line 12.

dynastic strife is found in the contemporary charters of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and Vākāṭakas. About the period Vikramēndravarman I ascended the throne of Andhradesa, Harisēna succeeded his father Dēvasena in the Vākāṭaka Empire. But there was this difference: that while the succession passed on to Harisēna peacefully it seems to have been attended with rivalry and bloodshed in Andhradesa. Vikramēndravarman I was an aged and weak prince, while Harisēna was quite young and energetic. Being a man of great courage, ability and energy, the Vākāṭaka monarch soon increased his military strength, conquered the disloyal vassal kings and feudatories and quickly rehabilitated the empire, which, it will be remembered showed signs of disruption during the reign of his predecessor. As stated elsewhere Harisēna was encouraged in his great task by circumstances. He had weak and friendly neighbours in the north as well as in the south. The Later Guptas of Magadha, namely Bhānugupta and his successors, were conquered and reduced to subordinate position by the Hūṇa king Toramāṇa. The Maukharis of Kanauj had not yet emerged into the political arena as a paramount power, though their king Harivarman was able to set up a semi-independent kingdom for himself. Toramāṇa abandoned the career of aggression and plunder and settled down to consolidate his vast empire by establishing peaceful administration. He also assumed the imperial title *Mahārājādhirāja*, "the supreme sovereign of great kings", after the manner of the Hindu kings and levied tribute from the Guptas and others. Though the Vākāṭaka Empire lay next door to him on the east, Toramāṇa did not encounter Harisēna, who consequently had opportunities to consolidate the empire and increase his military strength. Harisēna was unimpeded in his purpose. He therefore set out on a career of conquest. Within a short time he could bring under his imperial sway the entire northern part of the Deccan, including a portion of Central India, Lāṭa, Kuntala, Kalinga and even Andhradesa.

Troubles in Andhradesa. Rehabilitation of the Vākāṭaka Empire.

The Ajanta inscription of his minister states that Harisēna subjugated, or more properly speaking, made obedient to himself (*sva-nirdēs'a*) the kings of Kuntala, Avantī, Kalinga, Kōsala, Trikūṭa, Lāṭa, and Andhra.[1] Though it is claimed that Kuntala and Andhradesa were actually conquered or subjugated, it is probable that their lords became obedient to him as subordinate allies or proteges. About this period in the Kadamba kingdom of Kuntala, Māndhātṛvarman died (*c.* 495 A. D.); and a dispute arose between Viṣṇuvarman, the eldest son of Kṛṣṇavarman I and Ravivarman, the eldest son of Mṛgēs'avarman, for the crown.[2] In the end Viṣṇuvarman was victorious and for a second time ascended the throne of Vaijayanti. (*c.* 495–502 A. D.) It is reasonable to believe that on this occasion Viṣṇuvarman sought the help of the Vākāṭaka emperor and seized the crown of Kuntala. In order to extend the sphere of his imperial prestige Harisēna might have readily espoused his cause. In Andhradesa, too, a similar war of succession seems to have broken out between the descendants of Mādhavavarman II on the one hand and the children of Vikramēndravarman I on the other. A scion of the elder or senior branch, possibly a son of Mādhavavarman II, may have appealed to Harisēna and with the latter's assistance conquered and slain Vikramēndravarman I and expelled his children from the realm. The Vākāṭaka emperor, being ambitious of extending his sway and power, would have thus seized the opportunity and successfully interfered in the dynastic disputes of Andhradesa.

Affairs in Kuntala and Andhradesa.

In the same manner, Harisēna seems to have intervened in the affairs of Kalinga too, placed his own protege on its throne and levied tribute from him. Anantavarman was the last Vāsiṣṭha king of Kalinga who is known to history. It is not known whether any descendant of his house survived to claim the crown of Kalinga. But at this juncture, the Nala kings of

1 *ASWI.*, Vol. IV. p. 125, vv. 17–18 :—
*Hari-Rāma-Hara-Smar-Endra-Kāntir Harisēnō-Harivikrama pratāpaḥ*
*sa-Kuntal-Āvanti-Kalinga-Kōsala Trikūṭo-Lāt-Āndhra...pi...svanirdesa*

2 See Book II, *ante* pages 269 and 276.

Nandivardhana, probably under Skandavarman, began to extend their rule into Kalinga from the west. This is evident from the testimony of the contemporary rock-cut inscription at Poḍāgaḍh in Jeypore Agency on the western borders of Ancient Kalinga.[1] The Nalas in all probability; were among those vassal kings who revolted against the Vākāṭaka Empire and set up an independent state during the closing years of Narēndrasēna and in the early period of Pṛthivīsēna II. Harisēna, therefore, had to destory the Nala king, Skandavarman or his successor, before he could bring Kalinga under his overlordship. It was at this critical period that a new dynasty called the Eastern Gangas sprang into power and established a paramount kingdom in Kalinga. There is ample justification to believe that the first Eastern Ganga king rose to the rulership of Trikalinga under the aegis of the Vākāṭaka emperor Harisēna, and acted as a buffer state between the Vākāṭaka Empire and Andhradesa.

Affairs in Kalinga.

Thus the course of events in Kuntala, Andhra and Kalinga enabled Harisēna to claim suzerainty even in a boastful fashion over the lords of those kingdoms. But it is evident that Harisēna's suzerainty over Kuntala and Andhra was neither effective nor permanent. Dr. Jayaswal's interpretation of the Ajanta Cave inscription,[2] as meaning that Harisēna conquered Kuntala, Andhra and Kalinga and "brought the Vākāṭaka Empire from Trikūṭa and the western sea to the eastern seaboard", cannot be regarded as correct. It is true, no doubt, that Harisēna exerted vigorous influence over the great kingdoms of Dakṣiṇāpatha for a short period. His intervention in the affairs of Andhradesa, may be assigned to about 492—502 A. D. This period is synchronous with the interval between the fall of Vikramēndravarman I and the accession of Indravarman or Indrabhaṭṭāraka. And this period possibly may have been the reign of the unknown usurper.

The period of the Usurper *c.* 493—500 A. D.

1 *E. I.* XXI, p. 153f.

2 Jayaswal: History of India, 150 A. D. to 350 A. D. p. 104.

CHAPTER VI.

## *Political History of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins.* (*Continued.*)

### *The struggle for ascendancy.*

### 5. Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman. *c.* 500—530 A. D.

Already in the dawn of the sixth century, signs of the breaking up the Vākāṭaka Empire were clearly manifest. Harisēna's power and prestige declined rapidly, for there were attempts by the distant and powerful vassal kingdoms to overthrew the empire. Tōramāṇa died about 502 A. D. His son Mihirakula pursued a policy of aggression, conquest and tyranny.

Decline and fall of the Vākāṭaka Empire.

The whole of Āryāvarta or Northern India experienced to the full the miseries of savage warfare and suffered an added horror by reason of the cruel and repulsive habits of the Barbarians under the rule of Mihirakula. A general feeling of disgust and revolt swayed the whole of Āryāvarta. The helplessness of the kingdoms of Northern India was also felt in the Vākāṭaka Empire. In the south Ravivarman rose in Kuntala, overpowered and slew his rival Viṣṇuvarman the protege of the Vākāṭaka emperor, and many other kings who opposed him at this juncture. He then quickly conquered all the quarters of his kingdom and firmly established himself as the undisputed lord of Kuntala at Pālāsikā having abandoned the old capital Vaijayanti.[1] (*c.* 502 A. D.) On occount of his old age and utter inability, Harisēna must have watched the unforeseen turn of events in Kuntala with impassive apathy.

About this period, too, the sovereignty of Andhradesa seems to have changed hands in a similar manner. Indravarmaṇ, a son of Vikramēndravarman I, and a man of irresistable prowess conquered and slew the usurper, the protege of the Vākāṭaka emperor and became the supreme lord of Andhradesa. Thus he retrieved the prestige and glory of his house.

1 *Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 30f. (Hālsi grant of Ravivarman.)

This is clear from the statement (*bhrū-bhaṅgakara-vinirddhūta samagra-dāyādasya,*) "who by the act of contracting his eyebrows, had scattered all claimants", found in the Cikkula plates.[1] This is further supported by another passage found in the same record. The passage reads that "he presided over the whole of orb of earth", meaning apparently the entire Andhradesa, (*spuran - nisita - nistriṁs'a - prabh-āvābhāsit-as'ēṣa-jaganmaṇḍal - ādhiṣtitasya*) "which was illuminated by the radiance of his flashing sharp - sword;" and (*anēka - caturddanta - samara - saṁghaṭṭa-dvirada-gaṇa-vipula-vijayasya,*) "who gained extensive victories when his troupes of elephants encountered in hundred thousands of battles numerous four-tusked elephants." The last mentioned detail is also mentioned in the record of his own reign. Therein, Indravarman is described as *anēka-caturddanta-samara-s'ata-saṁghaṭṭa-vijayī,* "who is victorious by encountering in hundred thousands of battles numerous four-tusked elephants," and *catur-udadhi-nṛpati-makuṭa-maṇi-mayūkha-vicchurita pādām-buruhaḥ,* "whose feet were covered by the rays of the jewels in the diadems of the kings of the four oceans".[2] These statements clearly indicate that Indrabhaṭṭāraka was a powerful king who conquered back his ancestral kingdom, apparently after a period of fierce and protracted hostilities, and that in the end even destroyed the power of his formidable foe, Harisēna.

Events in Andhradesa Rise of Indrabhaṭṭāraka

Considering the long reign of about thirty years that has been allotted to him, Indrabhaṭṭāraka seems to have been a man of about thirty or thirty five years when he was anointed to the throne of Andhradesa. Evidently he was not the eldest son of Vikramēndravarman I, for the epithet "eldest son" is scrupulously omitted in both the contemporary documents. On the other hand he is merely described as *priya-sūnuḥ* 'the dear son' in his own charter. This fact indicates that either the succession passed on to him on the death of his elder brother or that he superseded him being more powerful, during the period of usurpation of the rival claimant.

1 Text line 12f.

2 *E. I.*, XII, p. 133, text line 5-6.

Extinction of the Vākāṭaka Empire c. 520 A. D.

Dr. Jayaswal is of opinion that Vākāṭaka Empire was extinguished by the Cāḷukya king Pulikēs'in I, the *As'vamēdhayājin*, about 550 A. D.[1] But there is no proof of this hypothesis. Dr. Jayaswal's conjecture is untenable because 550 A. D. is too late a date to mark the close of the Vākāṭaka Empire. In the north, Yas'ōdharman, a king of Central India, had a meteoric rise to supreme sovereignty. He became leader of a confederacy of kings who rebelled against the tyranny and oppression of Mihirakula. Yas'ōdharman's reign is fixed about 510—535 A. D; and, therefore he must have risen to power immediately after the fall of the last of the Vākāṭakas. Yas'ōdharman claims to have conquered and humbled Mihirakula and to have enjoyed a vast empire which included the whole of Northern India, from the river Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) to the Western ocean and from the Himalayas to the Mahēndragiri in Kalinga. This achievement seems to be doubtless true, for it was one "which was not claimed even by the lords of the Imperial Guptas."[2] Yas'ōdharman's conquest of the Hūṇa king has been placed about 520 A. D. by Vincent Smith; and it seems to be a good date for the event.[3] In Andhradesa, Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman appears to have successfully tided over the troubles that beset him in the beginning, having expelled the rivals from the kingdom and destroyed the enemies abroad. He seems to have then commenced a career of conquest and expansion and increased the boundaries of his empire. He soon became the most powerful ruler in the Deccan. In the language of the Cikkula plates, "he presided over the whole orb of earth, which was illuminated by the radiance of his flashing

1 *History of India*, 150—350 A. D., p. 106.

2 Mandasor stone pillar ins., *C. I. I.*, III, p. 142f. text line 5–6.

आलौहित्योपकण्ठात्तल वनगहनोपत्यका दामहेन्द्रा
दागङ्गाश्लिष्टसानोस्तुहिनशिखरिणः पश्चिमा दापयोधेः ।
सामन्तैर्यस्यबाहुद्रविणहृतमदैः पादयोरानमद्भि-
श्चूडारत्नांशुराजिव्यतिकरशबला भूमिभागाः क्रियन्ते ॥

Dr. Fleet and V. A. Smith wrongly assume that Mahēndragiri refers to the Western Ghats and Malabar.

3 *E. H. I.* 4th edn. p. 337.

sharpsword; his lotus feet were covered by the rays of Jewels in the diadems of the kings of the four oceans." Indrabhaṭṭāraka must have risen to this imperial dignity, only after he had destroyed his rival claimants, reduced all the neighbouring kings to subjection and overthrown their powerful ally Harisēna. Harisēna's fall may be placed about 510 A. D. and not beyond. He could not have survived till the rise of Yas'ōdharman, much less till the rise of Pulikēs'in I. There is no proof also of the Vākāṭaka Empire having lingered long after his death, under his unknown successors. Moreover, the extinguishment of the Vākāṭaka Empire must have been also due to the burning desire of the several powerful subordinate dynasties, like the Sōmavaṁs'is of Śrīpura, Kaḷacuris of Cēdi, Nalas of Nandivardhana, Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinga and several others who set up themselves as paramount rulers in their own dominions.

Character of Indrabhaṭṭāraka-varman's reign.

Indrabhaṭṭāraka enjoyed a long and victorious reign, though it was one of continued wars on all sides. His long reign however seems to have ended in his defeat and sudden death on the battlefield. The details given in his own charter and in the Cikkulla plates of his son fully bear out this conjecture. He was a great, able and energetic monarch, who destroyed his enemies and levied tribute from a host of powerful vassal kings. During his long reign, Andhradesa rose to great political eminence once more as in the days of his renowned grandfather Mādhavavarman the Great. His own record describes him as a *Paramamahēs'vara*, 'devout worshipper of Śiva,' as "a glorious king whose lotus feet are covered by the rays of jewels in the diadems of the circle of the kings of the four oceans."[1] The contemporary Godavari grant of *Rāja* Pṛthivīmūla also speaks of Indrabhaṭṭāraka as a mighty king who was possessed of formidable military strength, whose imperial domination was a menace to the sovereignty of innumerable kings, who consequently cherished for a long time

1 *E. I.* IV, p. 133-36. text line, 6. *Catur-uddhi nṛpati makuṭa maṇi-mayūkha vicchurita-pādamburuhaḥ.*

the desire to overthrow and obtain deliverence from his imperial sway.[1] The glory and prosperity which Andhradesa enjoyed during his reign is best illustrated to by a passage in the Cikkulla plates already referred to. The record states that Indrabhaṭṭāraka "presided over the whole orb of the earth which was illumined by the radiance of his flashing sword", and acquired a store of religious merit by emptying water jars at donations made according to precept and "found meritorious enjoyment of life in constantly bestowing lands, cows, gold and giving girls in marriage."[2] This passage clearly indicates that Indrabhaṭṭāraka's reign was marked by uninterrupted glory, power and prosperity for a long time.

The Rāma-tirtham plates.

There is a single record of his reign which comes from Rāmatīrtham, a village of great Jaina and Buddhist antiquity, situated near Vizianagaram in Vizagapatam district. It records the grant of the village of Peruvāṭika in the Paḷaki-rāṣṭra as an *agrahāra* with all the customary rights of enjoyment and immunities from all burdens and taxes to the Brāhmaṇa householder, Nagnas'arman, who belonged to the Taittirīya *s'ākhā* and who was a member of the Māṇḍirasa *gōtra*, for the increase of merit of his own good deeds. The edict was communicated to the inhabitants (*kuṭumbins*) that assembled at the village of Peruvāṭika by king Indravarman himself in person from his camp pitched at the provincial capital Puranisaṁgama. The grant was made on the 7th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Jyēṣṭha, in the twenty-seventh of his victorious reign. One of the localities refered to may be properly identified. Paḷaki-rāṣṭra or the district of Paḷaki seems to be identical with the modern taluks of Bobbili and Cīpurupalli situated on the right bank of the Vaṁs'adhāra in the north of the Vizagapatam district.[3] There is a village called Pakki in the Bobbili taluk which seems to represent

1 *JBBrRAS*., Vol. XVI, p. 114f.

2 *E. I.* Vol. IV, p. 193f. II. 11, 13–15: Here is the passage:—...........*Yathā-vidhi-viniryāpita-ghaṭik-āvāpta-puṇya·sañcayasya*.........*satata-bhūmi-gō-kanyā-hiraṇya-pradāna-pratilabdha-puṇya-jīvīt-ōpabhōgasya*...........etc.

3 Fleet is also of this opinion. See *Ind. Ant.* XX, p 15f.

the ancient Paḷakki which lent its name to the *rāṣṭra* or district. Pakki is an ancient site and if explored may possibly yield very valuable information about its ancient glory.[1] Peruvāṭika cannot be identified now, but it might have stood in the neighbourhood of Pakki. Puranisamgama is a Sanskrit appellation and it is difficult to ascertain to what locality it referred.

A great military disaster in the closing year of Indrabhaṭṭāraka's reign.

The victorious reign of Indrabhaṭṭāraka ended in a military disaster. The events of his closing years are described in graphic detail in the Godavari grant of Pṛthivīmūla, referred to above. The inscription records the events in a figurative passage. Pṛthivīmūla made a grant of a village at the behest of his overlord *Adhirāja* Indra or Indrādhirāja whose exploits and greatness are described in the following veiled expression:

"Be it known to you! By me, to whom the request has been preferred, in order that his parents may acquire religious merit, by the glorious *Adhirāja* Indra, who acquired great and pure fame, spread abroad over the surface of the earth, by overthrowing the infuriated elephant *Kumuda* that came against the elephant *Supratīka* which was mounted by him in the tumultous combat waged by all the kings *who were gladdened by having assembled together in the desire to uproot by force Indra-bhaṭṭāraka*; (and) who is the dear son of Mitavarman, who was the moon that arose from the ocean of the twice-born family that inhabited the famous (the town of) Maṇalkuḍi, the cause of the protection of a multitude of noble jewels of men resplendent with famous ancestors and (good) conduct and prosperity and splendour, (and) who more than once acquired victory (*caturddanta-saṁgrāma-vijayasya*) in the contests of elephants that have four tusks"; *etc. etc.*

1 Pakki seems to bear a close affinity to Paḷakki apart from the fact that the locality in which the Rāmatīrtham plates are discovered is situated in the neighbourhood of Paḷakki or Pakki. It is possible that Paḷakki became Pakki in the course of several centuries. Dr. Fleet incorrectly read the name Paḷakki as Pūki (*Ind. Ant.* XX, p. 15). There are some Brāhmaṇa families which bear the surname *Prakki*, which denotes that they migrated from that place, their original abode at some unknown period.

This shows that *Adhirāja* Indra who mounted *Supratīka*, the elephant of the North-east quarter, was the lord of Kalinga which lay to the north-east of Andhra. The expression means that Indra, lord of Kalinga attacked Indrabhaṭṭāraka who mounted *Kumuda* the elephant of the south-western quarter, namely Andhradesa, in a furious battle and overthrew him in the end. A glance at the map of Ancient India will show that Andhradesa lies to the south-west of Kalinga and that the latter kingdom is situated to the north-east of Andhra. The figurative expression shows further that Indrādhirāja, lord of Kalinga became the head of a confederacy of kings who assembled gladly with the desire to uproot by force the mighty prince Indrabhaṭṭāraka, whose formidable military strength and ambition for imperial dominion became a menace to the independence of several kingdoms.

Indrabhaṭṭāraka opposed by a confederacy of kings led by Indravarman of Kalinga.

The identity of Indrādhirāja of Kalinga or Trikalinga has been placed beyond doubt by the discovery of the Jirjingi copper-plate grant *Mahārāja* Indravarman, dated the thirty-ninth year of the Gaṅga era.[1] The identity is conclusively established by its reference to the tumultuous combats with *Caturddanta* 'four-tusked elephants.' Indravarman, the donor of the Jirjingi grant is described as the lord of Trikalinga, whose capital was Dantapura. He bears the epithet *anēka-caturddanta-samara-vijayī*, and therefore he seems to be identical with *Adhirāja* Indra who is described as *avāpta-caturddanta-saṁgrāma-vijayasya* in the Godavari grant. As the initial year of the Gaṅga era is placed in 497 A. D. in the scheme of chronology proposed by me for the Eastern Gaṅgas,[2] the 39th year of the Jirjingi grant falls in 536 A. D. And thus Indravarman or Indradhirāja becomes a contempoary of Indrabhaṭṭāraka for whom the period, 500—530 A. D. has been allotted. The Viṣṇukuṇḍin charters of this period speak of Indrabhaṭṭāraka as *anēka-caturddanta-samara-s'ata-sahasra-*

*Adhirāja* Indra and his confederates.

1 *JAHRS.*, Vol. III, p. 49f.

2 See Book V. below.

*saṁghaṭṭa - vijayī* and *anēka - caturddanta - samara - saṁghaṭṭa - dviradagaṇa-vipula-vijayī*. This peculiar reference to victories in tumultuous combats with *caturddanta* elephants between a confederacy of kings led by *Adhirāja* Indravarman of Kalinga and Indrabhaṭṭāraka of Andhradesa is very interesting. The reference to the *caturddanta* conflicts also occurs in the Khamkhēḍ plates of Pratāpas'īla who is described as *anēka-caturddanta - gaja - ghaṭā - saṁghaṭṭa-vijayaḥ*.[1] Pratāpas'īla is quite an unknown and obscure prince. He seems to belong to the Kaḷacuri family. As the record is found in Khamkhēḍ in Berar, the territory over which he ruled has to be looked for in that region. Whatever may be the implication of the figurative expression *caturddanta* elephants' combats in the records above referred to, all the kings mentioned in them, namely Indrādhirāja, Pṛthivīmūla, Pratāpas'īla appear to be doubtless contemporaries that formed a great confederacy with the desire to uproot Indrabhaṭṭāraka by force. Foremost among the confederates that combined their strength against the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king was Pṛthivīmūla; he was probably a vassal king who rebelled and treacherously betrayed his overlord Indrabhaṭṭāraka, and made common cause with Indravarman, the *Adhirāja* of Kalinga or Trikalinga. The decisive battle between the confederate powers and the Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch was probably fought in Kalinga itself. According the Rāmatīrtham plates, it appears Indrabhaṭṭāraka had gone to Kalinga to meet the allied armies that assembled under the leadership of Indradhirāja or Indravarman. The grant was made by the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king probably during the progress of the military campaign. The words "for the increase of rewards of my own good deeds" and the dating of the charter from camp in a provincial city in the north-east fully supports the view. Indrabhaṭṭāraka hoped to obtain a decisive victory over his enemies. But fate was against him. He was defeated at last and probably slain in one of the tumultuous combats. His death may be placed about 530 A. D.

1 *E. I.* XXII, p. 93f. text line 3. Prof. Mirashi who edits the grant suspects its genuineness, but in my opinion there is nothing either in the language or in the palaeography of the record to doubt its genuineness.

It is probable that the fallen Vākāṭakas had exerted their influence in overthrowing Indrabhaṭṭāraka with the help of the Lord of Trikalinga. The internal evidence of the Godavari and Jirjingi copper-plate grants supports this conjecture. We have suggested before this that the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinga rose to sovereignty in Trikalinga under the aegis of the Vākāṭaka emperor, Harisēna. The Eastern Gaṅgas, therefore, would have gratefuly remembered the asistance they received during the closing years of the fifth century from the Vākāṭakas for the establishment of their kingdom in Trikalinga. It was the turn of the Eastern Gaṅgas to wreak vengeance against the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, who were the common enemy of both the Imperial Vākāṭaka and Gaṅga dynasties. Certain epithets attached to Indravarman in the Jirjingi grant seem to indicate that the Vākāṭakas and others who were enemies of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, sought the protection and help of the Eastern Gaṅga prince. *Mahārāja* Indravarman is described with the epithets *atula-bala-samuday-āvāpta vipula-vibhava-sampal-latā-maṇḍapa-chāyā-vis'rānta suhṛt-sādhu bāndhav-ārthi-janaḥ,* "who on account of his ever increasing power and strength which became unrivalled, had become the resting place, a *mandapa*, covered by a creeper that was his unbounded prosperity, offering protection to suppliants, wisemen and relations."[1] It will be remembered that the Vākāṭaka Empire disintegrated and disappeared shortly after the death of Harisēna. Thereafter it would appear that Indrabhaṭṭāraka assumed imperial dignity in the Deccan. It was chiefly owing to the unimpeded policy and energy of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch that the Vākāṭaka Empire quickly disintegrated. The Vākāṭaka royal family then probably sought the help of the rising Eastern Gaṅga king in the hour of distress. The Eastern Gaṅga king was a rival the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king who claimed imperial dignity in the Deccan. He aimed at destroying the growing menace of his opponent and, therefore, quickly made a common cause with the sunken Vākāṭakas and other dynasties that were either uprooted or completely humbled.

Identification of *Adhirāja* Indravarman.

1 *JAHRS.*, Vol. III, p. 49f. text line 8–9.

The Vākāṭakas were originally Brāhmaṇas like the Eastern Gaṅgas, and belonged to the Viṣṇuvṛddha *gōtra*. After the disruption of the Vākāṭaka Empire, the Vākāṭaka-Viṣṇuvṛddha Brāhmaṇa families might have migrated to Trikalinga, and there under the protection of Indrādhirāja would have nurtured plans for revenge against the Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch. They would have assisted the Gaṅga prince in bringing about a coalition of numerous kings of the Eastern Deccan, which is described in the Godavari grant, to uproot Indrabhaṭṭāraka by force. The Jirjingi grant supports this conjecture. The village of Jijjika, which lay in the Vōṅkārabhōga was granted as an *agrahāra* with the exemption of all taxes and burdens by Indravarman, to the Brāhmaṇa house-holders, Agnis'arman and his son Rudras'arman of the Taittirīya *s'ākha*, who belonged to the Viṣṇuvṛddha *gōtra*, for the increase of his own merit, long life, fame and strength and for the merit of his parents. The grant was made on the 21st day of Vais'ākha in the 39th year of his victorious reign. This date would be sometime after the death of Indrabhaṭṭāraka, and may be equated to (497+39=) 536 A. D.

It is possible to believe that the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Empire reached the zenith for a second time in the reign of the great king Indrabhaṭṭāraka. His extensive conquests and subjugation of several hostile kings of the Deccan to vassalage made him the most powerful monarch of the day in Dakṣiṇāpatha. His career of conquest and expansion in the Deccan was perhaps also responsible for his sudden death at the height of his power. It was an age when several ambitious princes set themselves to the establishment of independent principalities in the Eastern Dakṣiṇāpatha. In Southern Andhradesa, there rose the Cāḷukyas under Vijayāditya and the Cōḷas under Karikāla, who attempted to carve small kingdoms out of the great Pallava Empire. In the north, the Sōmavaṁs'is, Eastern Gaṅgas, Nalas and several others rose on the ruins of the Vākāṭaka Empire. In the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Empire, too, there arose several dynasties like the Vāsiṣṭhas of Kalinga, kings of Vijaya-Kāndālipura, and

Causes for the fall of Indrabhaṭṭāraka.

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kings of Rama-Kās'yapa *gōtra* of Piṣṭapura.[1] Indrabhaṭṭāraka, like his adversary Harisēna possessed remarkable qualities. He revived ably the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Empire, having successfully rescued it from a sunken state, early in his youth. Though he died at an unhappy moment, he left an empire which survived in tact almost till the first decade of the seventh century.

The Godavari grant refers to *Mahārāja* Prabhākara who is not known to history from any other source. Prabhākara is spoken of as one "who attained unsurpassed accumulation of religious merit by propitiating the feet of gods and Brāhmaṇas and spiritual preceptors, and whose fame became the ornament of all the regions". He is mentioned also with the epithet *vikhyāta* "famous," but curiously enough his dynastic name is omitted. His son Pṛthivīmūla is given the ordinary kingly title *Rāja* unlike his father. He is described as "the most devout worshipper of Mahēs'vara, who meditates on the feet of his parents, who, in a way quite free from reproach, protects the laws of all classes and orders (*ās'rama*) of life by his wisdom and discrimination which have been produced by his perception of the objects enjoined by revelation and tradition; who has undertaken the heavy burden of lordship only for the purpose of conferring benefits upon others." Pṛthivīmūla issued the edict from his residence at the victorious Kāndālipura. The edict is dated the 13th day of Vais'ākha in the twenty-fifth year of his victorious reign. The date of the grant shows that for twenty five years Pṛthivīmūla was ruling as a king. Kāndālipura cannot be identified satisfactorily, but from the situation of the other localities mentioned in the record, it may be assumed that Pṛthivīmūla's kingdom lay in the lower region of the Godavari near the sea in the East Godavari district. Pṛthivīmūla was not a paramount king. He was probably a vassal in the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Empire. The claim of his having undertaken the heavy burden of lordship only for he purpose

The Godavari Grant of Pṛthivīmūla.

Pṛthivīmūla: A treacherous vassal of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Empire.

1 *Bhārati*, Vol. XII, No. 9, (Yuva *Saṁvatsara*: Bhādrapada) pp. 495--501. This has been noticed in the *ARSIE.*, 1917, p. 132. It is *C. P.* No. 6 of 1916-17. It was brought to light by Mr. M. R. Kavi, M. A. Since edited in *E. I.*, XXIII, pp. 88—99.

of conferring benefits upon others, coupled with the manner in which he has chosen to confer a charity upon some Brāhmaṇas to please his overlord *Adhirāja* Indra, indicates that he had lost his kingdom after the death of his father Prabhākara and regained it through the favour of Indravarman and that therefore he was a vassal. The praise which he has for his overlord Indravarman and the statement that several kings "were gladdened by having assembled together in the desire to uproot Indrabhaṭṭāraka by force", plainly shows that Pṛthivīmūla was a suppliant of the lord of Kalinga and that he was a bitter enemy of Indrabhaṭṭāraka.

*Mahārāja* Prabhākara and *Rāja* Pṛthivimūla: Probable rivals of Indrabhaṭṭāraka.

As the Godavari grant alludes to the overthrow of Indrabhaṭṭāraka as an accomplished fact, Pṛthivīmūla must have issued the edict obviously after the death of Indrabhaṭṭāraka, which has been placed about 530 A. D. The 25th year of Pṛthivīmūla's reign therefore, which was the date of his charter, must be sometime after 530 A. D.; and his rule must have commenced after 505 A. D. It will be remembered that Harisēna claimed overlordship over the ruler of Andhradesa as well as over other princes. It has been shown on the testimony of a passage in the Cikkulla plates that Harisēna's protege in Andhradesa could not have been Indrabhaṭṭāraka, but one who was vanquished or expelled from the kingdom by Indrabhaṭṭāraka. Till now the rival kinsmen of Indrabhaṭṭāraka have not been identified. The statements about Prabhākara and Pṛthivīmūla in the Godavari grant, the boast of Harisēna on the one hand and the claim of Indrabhaṭṭāraka on the other, all clearly show that Prabhākara and his son Pṛthivīmūla were probable rivals who opposed the accession of Indrabhaṭṭāraka and that Prabhākara also held the crown for sometime after the death of Vikramēndravarman I as the protege of Harisēna. Pṛthivīmūla succeeded in defeating and destroying Indrabhaṭṭāraka with the help of Indravarman, the Eastern Gaṅga king. But he failed to seize the sovereignty of the Andhra country. For, it will be seen in the following reign, that he had to encounter an equally formidable opponent in Vikramēndravarman II or Vikramahēndravarman, the eldest son of

Indrabhaṭṭāraka. It is reasonable to believe that both Pṛthivīmūla and his overlord *Adhirāja* Indravarman were defeated and slain by Vikramēndravarman II. The victory which Vikramahēndravarman gained against Indravarman and his confederates appears to have been so decisive and signal that the prestige of the newly established dynasty of the Eastern Gaṅgas in Kalinga suffered a serious setback for nearly three decades.

## 6. Vikramahēndravarman, or Vikramēndravarman II. *c.* 530—540 A. D.

The long, glorious and eventful reign of Indrabhaṭṭāraka ended in a military shock to the Imperial Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty. But it was not a serious blow to the Viṣṇukuṇḍin suzerainty for, it would appear to have been only a passing cloud. The hostile confederacy of kings could only defeat and slay Indrabhaṭṭāraka but could not undermine the solidarity of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Empire. It is even probable that the defeat inflicted on Indrabhaṭṭāraka was not a decisive one. This was due apparently to the remarkable ability of Vikramahēndravarman, the son and successor of Indrabhaṭṭāraka. The new king who inherited all the daring, courage, energy and statesmanship of his father not only saved the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Empire from disruption but quickly strengthened it. This is vividly illustrated by the passage in the Cikkulla plates which describes him. He is called, *gariṣṭaḥ s'ais'av-ēva sakala-nṛpa-guṇ-ālaṁkṛtaḥ samyag-adhyārōpita-sakala-rājyabhāraḥ*, "the most noble, who in childhood already embellished with all the virtues of a king, had duly taken upon himself, the whole burden of government." And this is amply corroborated by the description of the king's greatness in the Polamūru grant of his grandson. Here he is referred to with the epithets; *appratihata-s'āsanasya svapratāp-ōpanata-sāmanta-manuja-pati - maṇḍalasya virahita - ripu-ṣaḍ - vargasya*

Vikramahēndra-varman c. 530—540 A. D.

His glorious reign.

*vidhivad-upacita-trivargasya vibudha-pati-sādhya-s'ara-vīra-vibhava-bala parākramasya*, "whose edicts were unimpeded; who by his own prowess subdued a circle of kings and lords of territories; who had overcome his six internal enemies; who was ever intent upon achieving the three objects of life, namely *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* according to precept; who was equal to Indra, the lord of the gods, in possessing strength, army, weapons of war and prowess." These passages clearly illustrate that Vikramahēndravarman was a great and powerful king, who on account of his association with the government of his father's vast empire even from his childhood, was able to protect it on the death of his father despite the great military shock, and save it from disruption. The above epithets indicate further that Vikramahēndravarman successfully thwarted the furious attempts of the hostile confederacy of kings and even destroyed their leader, *Adhirāja* Indravarman in the end. The events of this period and the relations with Kalinga will be dealt with in dealing with the rise of the Eastern Gangas in the following BOOK. It is sufficient to state here that the Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch, before he died about the tenth year of his glorious reign, seems to have inflicted a crushing defeat on the Lord of Trikalinga and reduced his successors to submission.

Vikramahēndravarman was a *Parama-māhēs'vara*, "a devout worshipper of Mahesvara (Śiva)" like his illustrious ancestors. He was the eldest son of his father. In the records of his grandson he is called Vikramahēndra, apparently to avoid confusion between the two princes of that name. It is evident from this that while he called himself in his own charter Vikramēndravarman II, his descendants referred to him by the appellation Vikramahēndra with a slight variation. It is probable that his reign lasted about ten years, for the only record of his time was dated the tenth year of his reign, on the fifth day of the 8th fortnight of the summer season.[1] It is likely that he was

1 The date portion is very curiously worded. It has traces of the influence of the Telugu language which was apparently formed as well as of Prakrit which was probably still lingering in the land. It reads: (*Vijayarājya-samvassarambul 10 māsapakkam 8 gihmā 5*) While the terms *gihmā* and *pakkam* are both Prakrit, *samvassarambul* the nominative plural is plainly Telugu.

already well advanced in life at the date of his accession as the expression *s'ais'av-ēva* etc., would denote. If Indravarman was about thirty five years of age when he ascended the throne in 500 A. D., he would be about sixty-five years at the time of his death about 530 A. D. Vikramahēndra, his eldest son, who must have been born at least a decade before his father's accession would be about forty years old when he succeeded to throne, about 530 A. D.

The Cikkulla plates.

The Cikkulla copper-plate grant was issued from his capital Ḻendulūra which is the same as the Dendulūru, a village near Ellore in the West Godavari district.[1] There are extensive ruins of an ancient citadel and town, in the village covering roughly an area of about two square miles. Ḻendulūra, in its hey-day was the suburb of the Imperial city Vēṅgipura, and the seat of royalty. Dendulūru is a railway station; and the extensive ruins and mounds can be seen from a distance by the passengers from the railway train. The Cikkulla plates contain an edict of the king issued from his royal residence announcing the grant of the village of Rēgonṟam, in the Natṟipaṭi *viṣaya*, that lay on the left bank of the Kṛṣaṇabeṇṇa in a south-easternly direction of the village of Rāvirēva, as a *dēvabhōga* to the temple of Sōmagirīs'varanātha, belonging to the holy Lord Tryambaka-Śiva. It is indeed curious how the copper-plate charter relating to the grant of a village to a temple in the northern corner of the Kistna district could have found its way into the Aṭikavani tank in the Cikkulla *agrahāra* of the Tuni division in the extreme north of the East Godavari district.[2] But here is an instance of the fact of the copper-plates travelling long distances with their owners, owing to vicissitudes of their fortune. The shrine of Sōmagirīs'varanātha or Tryambaka-Śiva as well as the village of Rēgonṟam on the Kṛṣṇa, do not exist today. They must have disappeared long ago on account of the corroding floods of the river. But the village of Rāvirēva exists and it seems to be the same as Rāvirēla in the Nandigāma taluk of the Kistna district

1 The letter ḻa in Telugu has yielded place to *ja* in some places and *da* in some places. It occurs in the inscription of Yuddhamalla at Bezwada. (*E. I.*, XV. p. 150ff.)

2 *E. I.*, XVII, p. 334f. text line 2–4.

and answer admirably to the description given in the inscription.[1] Natṛpāṭi-*viṣaya* or the district of Naṭṛpāḍu may be the same as Nathavāḍi-*viṣaya*, mentioned frequently in the records of the Eastern Cāḷukya dynasty.[2] It seems to have comprised the Nandigama taluk of the Kistna district and the Madira taluk and its neighbourhood in the Warangal division of Telingana in the Nizam's Dominions. It seems to have lain on either side of the Kṛṣṇa river.

## 4. Gōvindavarman surnamed Vikramāśraya: *c* 540—546 A. D.

On the death of Vikramēndravarman II, his son Gōvindavarman ascended peacefully the throne of Andhradesa. According to the chronology proposed by me, it appears that the new king's reign was short. There are good reasons for this assumption. Gōvindavarman seems to have been in the prime of youth at the time of his accession. The kingdom of Andhradesa enjoyed peace at that time. Its prestige and glory travelled apparently far into the northern regions. The Viṣṇukuṇḍin Empire must have been vast and powerful and embraced, as it did in the days of Mādhavavarman I, the entire eastern half of the Deccan and bordered on the kingdom of South Kōsala. Gōvindavarman showed great promise of a long and glorious reign like his illustrious ancestors. But his eventful career would seem to have been suddenly cut short, shortly after a disastrous military expedition to the North. Despite the defeat which was followed by his untimely death, the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Empire remained undiminished and undisturbed, except perhaps for a short while during the early period of his son and successor Mādhavavarman III. Gōvindavarman was the most powerful monarch of the day. Like his illustrious grandfather Indrabhaṭṭāraka, he attempted courageously to attain imperial dignity in Dakṣiṇāpatha.

Gōvindavarman
*c.* 540—546 A. D.

1 *Opi. Cit.* Prof Kielhorn (p. 195) was unable to identify any of these localities mentioned in the inscription.

2 *C. P.* No. 1 of 1916-17, text lines 31-32; I. A., Vol. VII, p. 15.

There are no records of Gōvindavarman's reign but all that may be gathered for the reconstruction of the history of his period comes from the two records of his son and from the charters of the contemporary dynasties of the North. Both the records of his son speak of him in glorious terms. The earlier inscription, Īpūru plates (I set), describes him as *Bhagavat-Śrīparvatasvāmi-pādānudhyātasya Viṣṇukuṇḍinām aparimita-bala-parākramasya parama-dhārmikasya praṇata sakala-sāmantasya anēka-gō-hiraṇya-bhūmi-pradānasya mahārājasya Śrī Gōvinda-varmaṇaḥ*, "the glorious *Mahārāja* Gōvinda-varman, who meditated on the feet of the holy Lord of Śrīparvata, who belonged to the family of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, whose power and valour were immeasurable, who was most just, to whom all vassals were bowing, and who performed many gifts, of cows, gold and lands."[1] The Polamūru grant speaks of Gōvinda-varman in very eloquent terms and gives more details. The king is described, as: *anēka-samara-saṁghaṭṭa-vijayinaḥ para-narapti-makuṭa-maṇi-mayūkka-āvadāta-caraṇa-yugalasya Vikra-māśrayasya Śrī Gōvindavarmaṇaḥ*, "the glorious Gōvinda-varman, whose surname was *Vikramāśraya* 'the asylum of prowess', who was the victor in innumerable tumultuous battles, whose pair of feet were made resplendent by the spotless white rays of the jewels in the diadems of bowing hostile kings who were subdued."[2] The title *Vikramāśraya* shows that Gōvinda-varman was a man of great powess, a great soldier who conquered many hostile kings and levied tribute from them. We shall investigate into this claim.

Sources for the history of his reign.

The historical value of these epithets is fully revealed to us when we look into the background of contemporary political history of the Northern and Central India. It will be remembered that the latter half of the fifth century was a period of great

1 *E. I.* Vol. IV., p. 193.

2 *Journal of Department of Letters*, Cal. Uni. Vol. XI (1924) where it is edited by the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao. See *JAHRS* Vol. VI, pp. 17ff. where Mr. R. Subba Rao published the same. See also *Bhārati*, Vol VII, No. 8, pp. and Part 9 pp. 302–315 where Mr. Somasekhara Sarma gives a Telugu version of Mr. Lakshmana Rao's article Dr. D. C. Sircar gives his own reading of the inscription in *Jour. Dep. Lett.* Vol. XXVI pp. 119 – 126.

ferment and turmoil in Northern and Central India. It witnessed the beginnings of disruption of the Gupta Empire which had been already shaken with the earlier deflections of the Maitrakas in Surāṣṭra and Puṣyamitra and Paṭumitra Republics in Western Mālava, Nṛpati-Parivrājakas in Bundlekhand and the establishment of the Hūṇa kingdom by Toramāna in the heart of Northern India. The Gupta monarch was subdued and compelled to pay tribute. (*c.* 510 A. D.) Then followed the Hūṇa rule under Mihirakula, the son and successor of Toramāna. Thereafter arose in a short time, Yas'ōdharman, a powerful prince who won for himself a paramount position in Northern India by inflicting a crushing defeat on the tyrannical Hūṇa king and delivering the land from foreign thraldom, (*c.* 528 A. D.) Yas'ōdharman's success was however, shortlived. The loose hegemony which he exercised over the numerous dynasties of the North soon passed away with the destruction of the Hūṇa power. But at this juncture, the Later Guptas once more tried to emerge into power in Magadha, but on account of the political convulsions of the period, they failed to revive their lost glory. The process of disintegration had proceeded too far, and already fresh complications had arisen owing to the rise of new powers, to enable them to achieve any measure of success in their attempt. One such power was that of the Maukharis, who had grown rich and prosperous by their possession of the fertile *doab* of the Ganges and the Jumna and who bade fair for supremacy in the North. They had become a formidable power; and then commenced a contest for the overlordship of the North between the Maukharis and the Later Guptas of Magadha. The history of this struggle which occupied the major part of the sixth century is an interesting episode. The struggle ended in transferring the political supremacy from Magadha to Kanyakubja. The Later Guptas slowly perished and the Maukharis reaped a rich harvest out of the prevailing confusion and emerged from obscurity into supreme importance.[1]

The political history of Āryāvarta in sixth century.

The Maukharis

1 For the history of the Maukharis, see *The Maukharis* by Edward A. Pires.

The history of the Maukhari dynasty is not necessary for the purpose of our present study. But the inscriptions of the Maukhari kings, who were contemporaries of Indrabhaṭṭāraka and his successors, refer to their hostilities with the powerful kings of the Andhra country. The hostile relations between the Maukharis of the distant north and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins of Dakṣiṇāpatha seem to have arisen on account of the political convulsions through which the dynasties of Northern and Central India passed at this period. The Vākāṭaka Empire disappeared about the first decade of the sixth century. Then the several kingdoms that were lately its feudataries suddenly became paramount powers and struggled for expansion. One of such was the kingdom of Śarabhapura.[1] It lay apparently in the heart of the dismembered Vākāṭaka Empire. And then the other dynasties too, like the Eastern Gangas of Trikalinga, the Rāṣaṭrakūṭas of Mānapura, the Sōmavaṁs'is or the Pāṇḍuvaṁs'is of Mahā-Kōsala and the Kaḷacuris of Tripuri, simultaneously emerged from obscurity to power. During that confusion and turmoil, when two mighty empires crumbled down to pieces, when the whole of Northern India was under the thraldom of the savage Hūṇas, when the loosely knit hegemony of Yas'ōdharman had failed to step into the breach permanently and come out as a mighty empire, the Maukharis in the North and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins in Dakṣiṇāpatha, forced their way to establish their overlordship in Northern and Central India respectively, like the Imperial Guptas and the Vākāṭakas of the earlier epoch.

Part played by the Maukharis and Viṣṇukuṇḍins in the sixth century.

The attempts of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins to establish their imperial dominion in Dakṣiṇāpatha, brought them into conflict with several dynasties that had shaken off the yoke of the Vākāṭakas only recently and risen to power on the one hand, and the aggressive and prosperous Maukharis on the other.

"The Maukharis, Were they Mālavas?" in *Ind. Culture*, Vol. I. pp. 3,298–99. 'The Maukharis of Kanauj' in *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 49—79.

1 See BOOK V. below.

It was at this period that Īs'varavarman (*c.* 525—544 A. D.), the first paramount king of the Maukhari dynasty forced his way to establish his overlordship in the north, to destroy the hegemony of Yas'ōdharman and to throw into confusion the domination of the Later Guptas of Magadha. Simultaneously in Dakṣiṇāpatha, a hostile confederacy of kings under the leadership of *Adhirāja* Indravarman of Trikalinga successfully checked the aggressive policy of Indrabhaṭṭāraka. But the resistance to the expansion of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin power was only short-lived. The Maukharis in the north and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins in the south appeared as great imperial powers in India at that time. They were opposed to each other. Though the causes for the break-out of hostilities between the Maukharis and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins are not forthcoming precisely for the present, it may well be that Īs'varavarman, the third king of the Maukharis, was probably a member of, or at any rate despatched an army to assist the hostile confederacy of kings that assembled together and destroyed Indrabhaṭṭāraka in a tumultuous battle. This conjecture is rendered likely by the chaotic political condition of Central India and northern Deccan. The dynasties that lately contributed to the downfall of the Vākāṭaka Empire would have made a Herculean attempt to destroy the imperial designs of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. And for that end they would have sought the help of every power in the land to uproot by force the mighty Indrabhaṭṭāraka.

The Maukharis hostile to the expansion of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Empire.

It is probable that Vikramahēndravarman, and his son Gōvindavarman, harboured a deep feeling of hatred for the Maukharis as they did for the Eastern Gangas, and lost no time or opportunity to avenge themselves. The reign of Vikramahēndravarman, was evidently spent in destroying the power of *Adhirāja* Indravarman and his confederates. The sovereignty of the newly established kingdom of the Eastern Gaṅgas was eclipsed for over a quarter of a century. The kingdom of Śarabhapura came to an end about 540 A. D.

Govindavarman's expedition into the Maukhari kingdom.

or probably shortly after, with the death of Mahā-Pravararāja. And the dynasty of the Sōmavaṁsis founded by Udayana in Mahā-Kōsala had not spruing into prominence. At any rate the Sōmavaṁs'is do not seem to have grown strong enough to oppose the Viṣṇukuṇḍin expansion as they were still engaged in consolidating their new conquests. The Maukharis who were constantly at war with the Later Guptas of Magadha, would seem to have sought the alliance of the Later Guptas of Mahā-Kōsala or Sōmavaṁsis as they are also called. Īs'varavarman, one of the most powerful kings of the Maukhari dynasty, consolidated his kingdom and left to his son and successor Īs'ānavarman, a large, powerful and prosperous kingdom. Īs'varavarman's death, *c.* 544 A. D. was an excellent opportunity for the powerful Gōvindavarman to wreak vengeance upon the Maukharis. The Jaunpur fragmentary stone inscription doubtfully assigned to Īs'varavarman, refers to the war with the king of Andhradesa.[1] "The inscription mentions, in line 4, the *Mahārāja* Īs'varavarman of the Maukhari family but the lacunae in the following lines are so extensive that" as Dr. Fleet observes, "it is impossible to say whether the historical information given in them refers to Īs'varavarman or one of his descendants."[2] But there is no doubt that the historical information recorded in the inscription refers to the *Mahārāja* Īs'ānavarman, the son and successor of Īs'varavarman. This view is based upon the statements in the Harāhā stone inscription of Sūryavarman.[3] Dr. Ramā Śankar Tripāṭhi, however, believes that the exploits mentioned in the Jaunpur record refer to Īs'varavarman himself.[4] But this view is untenable, for it would imply that the Maukharis came into conflict with the king of the Andhra country on *two* occasions: once during the reign of Īs'varavarman and a second time early in

1 *C. I. I.*, III, No. 51, p. 288f.

2 The Jaunpur Stone inscription is a fragment of a very much larger inscription and 38 to 72 *akṣaras*, probably the larger number, are lost at the beginning of each line and also an indefinite number of lines below the last line that is extant.

3 *E. I.*, XIV, pp. 110—120.

4 'The Maukharis of Kanauj' the *JBORS*, Vol. XX, p. 63f.

the period of his successor Īs'ānavarman and that on both the occasions, the Lord of the Andhra country was the invader. There is no historical basis for this conjecture. Very little is known about the events of the reign of Īs'varavarman from any other contemporary record, though it might be that he considerably extended the boundaries of his kingdom and enhanced the power and prestige of his family. The Harāhā inscription does not describe, moreover, the exploits of this monarch. It is therefore likely that the Jaunpur fragment records only the achievements of Īs'ānavarman. The events connected with his reign are thus narrated: "By him (Īs'āna-varman), a very lion to hostile kings, the throne was occupied". Just at that period, apparently, "a spark of fire, that had come by the road from the city of Dhārā ............the Lord of Andhra (*Andhrapati*) wholly given to fear, took up his abode in the crevices of the Vindhya Mountains, went to the Raivataka Mountain······among the warriors of the Andhra army, who were spread out among the troops of elephants, and whose arms were studded with the lustre of their swords drawn out from their scabbards." It is much to be wished that the first half of the Jaunpur fragment could be recovered, since in addition to clearing up the point about the prince whose exploits are described, it would probably give the names of the lord of Dhārā and the king of Andhradesa. It would also probably mention the name of the king of Surāṣṭra or Kathiawad in connection with the Raivataka or the Girnar mountain. This lacuna in the inscription has given rise to numerous interpretations. Dr. Tripāṭhi, for instance, thinks that the expression, "a spark of fire had come by the road from the city of Dhāra" indicates that the king of Dhāra in Southern Mālava, "undertook an aggressive campaign against Īs'varavarman, and that the latter probably emerged triumphant in this trial of arms."[1] The learned writer has not shown any reasons for drawing this conclusion. The details concerning the lord of Andhradesa, his military strength, consisting of numerous elephants and powerful infantry and other things, strongly suggest that it was the *Andhrapati*, apparently at the head of the confederacy of the powers

1 *JBORS*., Vol. XX, p. 64.

of Dakṣiṇāpatha, who opposed the rising dynasty of Kanauj. The kings of Dhāra and Surāṣṭra were among the confederates of the king of Andhra, who invaded the Maukhari dominions like "a spark of fire, by the road from the city of Dhārā." This conjecture rests on the information supplied by the Harāhā stone inscription of Sūryavarman, dated the year 611, during the reign of his father, Īs'ānavarman. Dr. Hirananda Sastri, who edited the inscription, thinks that the year 611 belongs to the Vikrama era and therefore equates it with 554 A. D. The object of this inscription primarily, is to record that in that year 611, Sūryavarman rebuilt a temple of Śiva and gave it the name Kṣēmēs'vara. The inscription describes incidentally the history of the Maukhari dynasty and particularly the exploits of the renowned king Īs'ānavarman. It states that Īs'ānavarman, who being victorious and having princes bending at his feet, occupied the throne after conquering the lord of Andhradesa (*Andhrapati*) who had thousands of three-fold rutting elephants, after vanquishing in battle the Śūlikas who had an army of countless jumping horses and after causing the Gauḍas living on the sea shore, in future to remain within their realm." The historical information recorded in this verse clearly shows that the king of Andhradesa and his allies, the lord of the Śūlikas and the king of the Gauḍas among others, formed a confederacy to oppose the accession of Īs'ānavarman and that the latter could not crown himself on his ancestral throne until he had conquered his enemies.

A good deal of controversy rages over the identification of the Śūlikas and Gauḍas. Mr. B. C. Majumdar thinks that the Śūlikas lived on the sea-coast near the modern district of Midnapore in Bengal.[1] Prof. H. C. Ray-Chaudhuri, however, identifies them with the Cāḷukyas; for Śūlika may be according to him another dialectical variant of Cāḷukya.[2] But this supposition is untenable; their is no epigraphic or literary evidence in support of this. Mr. Edward A. Pires throws a

1 *Orissa in the making*, p. 105.

2 *Pol. Hist. of India*, 3rd edn. pp. 405-6.

doubtful suggestion that the Śūlikas might be the Cōḷas.[1] There is no epigraphical evidence to show that Śūlika was a variant of Cōḷa. Consequently all theories regarding the identification of the Śūlikas must be regarded as fanciful. Possibly, as Dr. Hirananda Sastri suggests, they might be identical with the Śaulikas of the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* (XV–8) and *Markaṇḍēya Purāṇa* (LV). Their kingdom might then be located in the south of the Vindhya Mountains, along with Cēdi, Vidarbha and Kalinga.[2] The Śūlikas might be identical then with the family of kings known as the Śarabhapura dynasty. The Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings, Vikramahēndravarman and his son Govindavarman, would have conquered or brought into the zone of their imperial dominion the kingdoms of Śarabhapura, Cēdi, Vidarbha and Kalinga at this period.

Regarding the Gauḍas, it is supposed that they occupied the sea-board of Western Bengal, though it cannot be said with any certainty what local dynasties held sway there about the middle of the sixth century. That the Gauḍas had entered upon a career of expansion and aggrandisement is suggested by the claim that "Īs'ānavarman caused them to remain within their proper realm", on the sea-coast. The ambitious and haughty Gauḍas would seem to have joined the kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha and assisted the lords of Andhra and Surāṣṭra to check the growth of the Maukhari power.

Unfortunately, the materials for the history of the period are very scanty and this circumstance renders difficult our task of identifying the Śūlikas, the lords of Dhārā and Raivataka mountain, over whom Īs'varavarman is said to have won victories before he could crown himself king at Kanauj. As regards the *Andhrapati*, the identification stands fortunately on a firm basis. Gōvindavarman, the *Vikramās'raya* or 'the abode of prowess' apparently assumed the

Identification of '*Andhrapati*' with Gōvindavarman.

1 *The Maukharis* (B. G. Paul & Co. 1934) p. 79f.

2 *E. I.*, IV, p. 112. See also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII, p. 189. Fleet's view that they might be Mulikas or Mulakas is equally untenable. Mulaka is a district of Andhradesa and was another name for Rēnāḍu or Hiraṇyarāṣṭra, comprising the Kurnool and Cuddapah districts.

imperial role in Dakṣiṇāpatha like his illustrious ancestors and even dreamt of conquests in Northern India by opposing the accession of Īs'ānavarman. The date that we have adopted for him makes him a contemporary of the Maukhari king Īs'ānavarman. The Harāhā inscription is dated in the Vikrama Saṁvat 611 or 554 A. D. during the reign of Īs'ānavarman himself. It is therefore reasonable to believe that the events which immediately preceded Īs'ānavarman's accession or coronation occurred roughly a decade before the date of the Harāhā inscription. The Year 544 A. D., therefore, appears to be the date of Īs'ānavarman's coming to the throne. This date falls during the reign of Gōvindavarman according to the chronology that has been adopted by us. Prof. Ray-Chaudhuri and others adopt the order of succession and chronology of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins as proposed by Dr. D. C. Sircar, and believe that the *Andhrapati*, the formidable opponent of Īs'ānavarman, was *Mādhavavarman I*, the *donor of the Polamūru grant.*[1] Dr. Sircar has handled the materials for reconstructing the history, chronology and order of succession of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins in a confused manner, isolating the history of the dynasty from the chronology of the contemporary dynasties and without any regard to the topographical situation of the Andhra country in Dakṣiṇāpatha.[2] It is clear that according to the chronology and order of succession, that has been adopted above by us, neither Mādhavavarman II of the Īpūru plates (II set) nor Mādhavavarman III of the Polamūru grant could be the contemporary Andhra king of Īs'ānavarman. It is improper to call Mādhavavarman, the donor of Polamūru grant, as Mādhavavarman I. And Mādhavavarman II was dead even long before the dawn of the sixth century. His Īpūru charter (II set) cannot be assigned to the sixth century on palaeographical grounds. Mādhavavarman III, of the Polamūrū grant to whom a long reign of about sixty-five years is allotted, appears to have been anointed king of the

1 *Political History of India*, 3rd Edn. p. 405. *J. A. S. B.* p. 319, n. 5.

2 Successors of the Satavahanas (*Journal of Dept of Letters*) Cal. Uni. Vol. XXVI, pp. 90–97. Prof. V. A. Mirashi (*E. I.*, XXII, pp. 19–21) follows the incorrect or untenable chronology and the order of succession of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings, proposed by Dr. Sircar without examining the materials for himself.

Andhra country in or about 546 A. D. according to the details furnished in his Polamūru copper-plate grant itself. Thus it would be impossible for either of these two kings, Mādhavavarman II or Mādhavavarman III to have waged war against Īs'ānavarman. It is Gōvindavarman who was the *Andhrapati* mentioned in the Harāhā inscription and the Jaunpur fragment as the adversary of Īs'ānavarman. The epithets that "he was victor in numerous battles," that "his two feet were made lustrous by the jewels in the diadems of bowing vassal kings", and that "his power and valour were immeasurable and therefore he bore the surname *Vikramās'raya*", fully justify the above identification. Gōvindavarman's military strength was formidable. So great was the power and prestige of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kingdom at this juncture that Īs'ānavarman was not able to crown himself king until he had conquered his formidable adversary, the *Andhrapati*, and driven him beyond the Vindhya Mountains. As the Harāhā inscription does not claim for Īs'ānavarman the slaying of the *Andhrapati*, it is extremely likely that Gōvindavarman died suddenly sometime after his disastrous northern campaign in his own kingdom.

It is difficult to probe into the events that resulted in the sudden death of Gōvindavarman. Two alternatives, however, are possible. About this period, the foundations for the Cāḷukya dynasty at Vātāpi (Bādāmi) were being laid. Pulikēs'in I made himself master of the town of Vātāpi and the surrounding country which he wrested from the Kadambas. He bore the title *Śrivallabha*, 'the favourite of fortune'. He is said to have performed also *Agniṣṭōma*, *Agnicayana*, *Vājapēya*, *Pauṇḍarīka* and *As'vamēdha* sacrifices.[1] Dr. Fleet fixes Pulikēs'in's initial date about 550 A. D. reckoning back from the known commencement of his successor's reign.[2] But it will not be improbable to assume that Pulikēs'in I rose to power by about 540 A. D. and performed the *As'vamēdha* rite by *c.* 546 A. D. Then Pulikēs'in I may have encountered the opposition of Gōvindavarman in the celebration of the *As'vamēdha* rite, and

1 *Ind. Ant.*, XIX p. 7ff. The Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription.

2 *Dyn. Kan. Districts.* p. 343.

finally defeated and killed him. (*c.* 545 A. D.) The other but less probable alternative is that some hostile feudatories may have taken advantage of the military shock which the imperial arms of Gōvindavarman suffered in the north, and revolted with the object of overthrowing the yoke of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. In the conflict that ensued Gōvindavarman would have lost his life. It is not difficult to know who these feudatory princes were that revolted against Gōvindavarman. At this period, there seems to have flourished a prince named *Mahārāja* Raṇa-Durjaya who belonged to the Rama-Kās'yapa *gōtra* and ruled a small principality in Eastern Andhradesa with his capital at Piṣṭapura. His name is known from a single copper-plate of his grandson Pṛthivī-mahārāja.[1] The record does not mention any particulars about the family; but doubtless it was the feudatory family that rose to power for a short time about the closing years of Gōvindavarman. The record gives three generations of the family. In the illustrious Rama-Kās'yapa *gōtra* was born *Mahārāja* Raṇa-Durjaya; his son was Vikramēndra; and his son was Pṛthivī-mahārāja. On palaeographical grounds the grant has been rightly assigned by the editors to the first quarter of the seventh century. The record is dated the 46th year of Pṛthivī-mahārāja's reign. It is, therefore, probable that his ancestor *Mahārāja* Raṇa Durjaya flourished at least three quarters of a century before the date of the grant. This enables us to fix with reasonable certainty Raṇa-Durjaya's date about the middle of the sixth century. Raṇa-Durjaya thus becomes a contemporary of Gōvindavarman and his infant son Mādhavavarman III.

1 Tāṇḍivāḍa grant of Pṛthivīmahārāja. *C. P.* No. 6 of 1916–17. It is published in *Bharati* by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya (Vol. XII, Part 9, pp. 495–500., It has been also published in English. See *E. I.*, XXIII, pp. 88ff.

CHAPTER VII.

## *Political History of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins.* (*Continued.*)

### 8. Mādhavavarman III, surnamed Janās'raya: *c.* 546—611 A. D.

As pointed out already Mādhavavarman III succeeded his father on the throne at a very early age, possibly as a child in *c.* 546 A. D. On the basis of the details mentioned in the Polamūru charter, it has been assumed that his reign was unusually long and lasted till the conquest of the Andhra country by the Western Cāḷukya king Satyās'raya-Vallabha Pulikēs'in II, about 611 A. D. This view is fully justified by the contemporary political history of Dakṣiṇāpatha. This assumption implies that Mādhavavarman III, practically all through his life, *i. e.* almost from the moment of his birth till his death, for about sixty five years, was on the throne as the paramount sovereign of his country. Mādhavavarman's reign was the longest in the history of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty. And it was equally glorious and eventful as will be seen presently.

Aceession of Mādhavavarman and his probable long reign.

There are two records of his reign which describe him in very eloquent terms as a mighty king. The Īpūru plates (I set), which is the earlier record, refer to him in the following terms: "He was endowed with the knowledge of the law, and with intelligence, power, honesty, truth, firmness, valour and modesty. His edicts were worshipped by all rulers of men on the circle of the earth. He delighted the hearts of the noble young ladies standing on the tops of the palaces of Trivaranagara. He had subdued all vassals by the power of his own arms. He was endowed with unequalled power, modesty, polity, majesty and self-restraint. He had performed thousands of *Agniṣṭhōma* sacrifices, offered the *Hiraṇyagarbha-mahādāna*, and, thereby attained *divya-dēha* or celestial body, being born out of the (*Hiraṇya-*

Description of his greatness.

*garbha*) 'golden womb'. He had removed the stains of the world by bathing at the end of eleven *As'vamēdha* sacrifices and his religious rites were continuous and everlasting." In more or less the same terms, the Polamūru grant speaks of him thus: "He was endowed with unsurpassed strength, valour, fame, liberality and modesty. He was the ruler of the entire earth; he had established or perfected the system of administration of justice by various kinds of *divyas* or ordeals. He delighted the hearts of the young, noble ladies standing on the palaces of Trivaranagara. His fame and glory speedily rose and spread widely all over the world, on account of his having been endowed with unequalled kingly qualities like liberality, pride, compassion, firmness, intellect, knowledge of the law, generosity and majesty. He was the offeror of a thousand *kratus*; he was born of the *Hiraṇya-garbha*. He washed off the stains of the world by bathing at the close of eleven *As'va-mēdha* sacrifices. He was unceasingly desirous of protecting all the living beings of the world. He was the asylum of the twice-born, the preceptors, the old and saintly persons. He outshone Us'anas in the knowledge of polity, Kēs'ava in strength and valour and Indra in glory and splendour. He had acquired the vast earth (kingdom) by his own prowess; he shone like the sun among the rulers of men on the earth. He was the *Parama-brahmaṇya*, "the most holy one". He was surnamed *Janās'raya* 'the asylum of the people'.

The historical importance of these epithets becomes clear when we peep into the history of the contemporary dynasties of the Deccan. The extreme tenderness of age of Mādhava-varman III seems to have weakened the empire, despite the heroic effort of the trusted ministers and able generals. The loose hegemony which Gōvindavarman had established over the kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha, also quickly disappeared in his death. Moreover, the period of Mādhavavarman's childhood and early youth from 546 to about 565 A. D. synchronised with the period of political convulsion and turmoil through which the kingdoms of the Deccan and the

A peep into the contemporary history of Kāñci and Kuntala.

south passed. The early part of Mādhavavarman's reign, therefore, was a period of obscurity for the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty. About his period, Kumāra-Viṣṅu III, (545—550 A. D.), seems to have cast once more greedy eyes upon Southern Andhradesa. Taking advantage of the state of affairs in the Viṣṇukuṇḍin capital, he seems to have annexed Southern Andhradesa to his dominions. The Cendalūru plates of Kumāra-Viṣṇu III clearly support this conjecture. The inscription records the grant of the village of Cendalūru in Karmarāṣṭra as an *agrahāra* to a Brāhman, by the Pallava king. The grant must have been made shortly after the province was re-occupied. But this re-occupation of Karmarāṣṭra by the Pallavas, as stated elsewhere, was not permanent. For, thereafter it would appear that the Pallavas were expelled from the southern Andhra country by the Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch. This event may have taken place about 570 A. D. This conclusion is borne out by the unexplained interval of about three or four decades from the date of the Cendalūru grant till the rise of Simhavishṇu, about 580 A. D. During this period *c.* 550—590 A. D. the Pallavas were pre-occupied with their troubles at home, constantly caused by the turbulent Cōḷas, in the heart of their dominions. It was not until they had completely subdued the Cōḷas, that the Pallavas again thought of annexing the southern provinces of Andhradesa. But the seventh century changed the political condition of Dakṣiṇāpatha and the South. Though still vigorous, the Pallavas no longer looked forward for conquests in Andhra-desa or dominion in the north. Their expansion was checked. They encountered a more formidable enemy, the Cāḷukyas of Bādami in the north west.

In Kuntala the Kadambas were confronted with the rise of the Cāḷukyas in the north. Even during the reign of Kṛiṣṇa-varman II (*c.* 550—570 A. D.), the Kadamba kingdom began to show signs of decline. That was partly on account of the increasing power of the Jāhnavīyas and partly on account of the emergence of the Cāḷukyas into the political arena of Southern India. Siṁhavarman, father of Kṛṣṇavarman II, seems to have fallen in the struggle with the Cāḷukyas under

Pulikēs'in I; and his short reign accounts for this view. Pulikēs'in I, had by this date (circa 550), established for himself a powerful independent principality with its capital at Vātāpi (Bādāmi) in the Bijāpūr district in the north. Pulikēs'in's period has been fixed between circa 540—566-7 A. D.[1] The Western Gaṅga king, Avinīta (535—580 A. D.), the son and successor of Mādhava II, soon extended his conquests. He conquered the neighbouring kingdoms, proclaimed his paramount and universal kingship in Kuntala by celebrating the *As'vamēdha* sacrifice. He even claimed to have surpassed the glory of his kinsman, Kṛṣṇavarman II, the Kadamba king.[2] During this period, *c.* 550—580 A. D. the Pallavas, Kadambas, Cōḷas, Cāḷukyas and the Western Gaṅgas were engaged in un-ending wars with each other, for power and expansion in the south. Thus Southern India passed through a period of political turmoil and convulsion. The Kadambas during the reigns of Ajavarman and his son Bhōgivarman, declined on account of their disastrous wars with Pulikēs'in I and his son Kīrtivarman I. Except for a brief spell, Southern Andhradesa, too, witnessed the struggle between the Pallavas and Viṣṇukuṇḍins, which appears to have ended finally in a lasting victory for the latter.

Contemporary events in the North.

On the north-east, affairs were also taking a similar turn about this period. A few years before the death of Gōvindavarman, a new dynasty called the Kings of S'arabhapura somewhere in Dakṣiṇa-Kōsala or Cēdi rose to power. The Kings of S'arabhapura, who seem to identical with the S'ūlikas mentioned in the Harāhā inscription of Sūryavarman, were a shortlived dynasty. Their duration appears to be about three or four decades. They were destroyed by their hostile

1 Fleet: *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 343-44. I have placed the initial date of the king a decade earlier.

2 G. Jouveau-Dubreuil: *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 106. Mon. Jouveau-Dubreuil gives him a period of 40, while I propose to allot to him five years more, *i. e.*, 45 years. He assigns to him the period in the latter half of the sixth century, 565—605 A. D. I consider this date to be untenable. I believe Avinita's period has to be placed between 535—580 A. D., in the middle of the sixth century A. D.

neighbours, the Sōmavaṁs'is, who were also called the Pāṇḍuvaṁs'is or the Later Guptas of Mahā-Kōsala.[1] Mahās'iva gupta Tīvaradēva was the first paramount sovereign of the new dynasty. He conquered the whole of Kōsala, annexed the kingdom of Śarabhapura which probably extended as far as the river Varadā (Wardha) and then assumed the paramount title *Kōsalādhipatiḥ*, 'the lord of Kōsala'.[2] He came into hostile contact with Dharmarājadēva, king of Konyōḍha, having taken up the cause of the usurper Mādhava. But the war seems to have ended in defeat and disaster to his arms.[3] Mahās'iva gupta Tīvaradēva's reign was apparently short, for the inscriptions of his reign do not go beyond the ninth year. It is probable that he did not reign for more than ten years. The period, from 545 to 555 A. D., may be reasonably assigned to him.[4] Mahās'iva-gupta Tīvaradēva seems to have died childless, for he was succeeded by his younger brother Candragupta on the throne. Candragupta was a great soldier who for a long time assisted his elder brother in his wars, in the conquest and consolidation of the kingdom of Kōsala. Candragupta's conquests seem to have extended as far as Konoyōḍha in the east, Kalinga in the south-east and Andhradesa in the south. Thus it is evident that the early period of Mādhavavarman's reign witnessed the vicissitudes of fortune of numerous dynasties and kingdoms in Dakṣiṇāpatha.

Early period (546—570 A.D.) of Mādhavavarman's reign.

Though the history of the early period of Mādhava-varman III is not avilable to us from any source it seems to have been however one of preparation for the future. This period, 546—570 A. D. roughly was one of trial and troubles for the infant Viṣṇukuṇḍin king. It is probable that the Pallavas in the south, the ambitious Sōmavaṁs'is of Mahā-Kōsala in the north and the hostile Eastern Gaṇgas in

1 Just opposite is the view of Rai Bahadur Hīrā Lal (*E. I*, XI, p. 186f) which I must reject. See also BOOK V.

2 *E. I.*, VII, p. 106f. and *C. I. I.*, III, page 291ff. (*Prāpta-sakala Kōsalādhipatyaḥ.*)

3 *E. I.* XIX, p. 265f.; *E. I.*, XXII, p. 34.

4 See below BOOK V for a discussion of the Chronology of the Later Guptas or Sōmavamsis. Prof. V. V. Mirashi assigns to Tivaradeva the period between 535—550 A.D. but without assigning any reasons. See *E. I.*, XXII, p 21.

the north-east in Kalinga, hemmed in the Andhra kingdom on all sides. But the fortunate king Mādhavavarman III suffered little or nothing at the hands of his opponents.

The year 570 A. D. may be believed to be a landmark in the victorious career of Mādhavavarman III. About that year, he appears to have embarked upon a career of aggression, of conquest and subjugation of the neighbouring territories and kingdoms in the manner of his illustrious ancestors. For about two decades from this date, Mādhavavarman III pursued a policy of war and annexation which proved to be successful always. By the date of the Īpūru charter, which was issued in the 37th year of his reign, Mādhavavarman III had already attained to the unsurpassed dignity of emperor in Dakṣiṇāpatha. The date of the Īpūru charter corresponds approximately to (546+37=) 583 A. D. The details are not adequate for calculation of the equivalent in the years of the Christian era. But the date *c*. 583 A. D. is quite probable and reasonable. By that date, Mādhavavarman III was already a mighty king, who had reduced a host of hostile kings and levied tribute from them. He conquered them by the strength of his arms. His edicts were obeyed by rulers of men all over the earth, meaning Dakṣiṇāpatha. One of these hostile kings may have been the Rama-Kāsyapa *gōtra* king of Piṣṭapura. It is likely that Raṇa Durjaya was conquered and slain and his son Vikramēndra was reduced to vassalage by Mādhavavarman III. It is also probable that the Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch had by this date, 583 A. D., performed eleven *As'vamēdha* sacrifices His kingdom became so rich and propserous that he was also able to perform the *Hiraṇyagarbha-mahādāna* and a thousand *Agniṣṭōma* sacrifices. And above all, he assumed the epithet *Trivaranagara - bhavana - gata - (parama) - yuvatī - hṛdayānandakaraḥ*, which if interpreted properly indicates that Mādhavavarman III subdued the lord of Trivaranagara and married the daughter or daughters of the vanquished king. Dr. Hultzsch was not able to identify Trivaranagara; he expressed a doubt if the city could be identical with Tripurī or

Mādhavavarman attained to imperial dignity before 583 A. D.

modern Tewar, the capital of the Kaḷacuri kings of Cēdi. But Prof. Mirashi identifies Trivaranagara with the city of Trivaradēva or Tīvaradēva, king of Mahā-Kōsala, and believes that the euphemism signifies that Mādhavavarman III obtained a decisive victory over the powerful king Tīvaradēva.[1] Prof. Mirashi seems to be correct in his identification of Trivaranagara, the capital of Mahās'ivagupta Tīvaradēva, the supreme lord of Kōsala. It is probable that Śrīpura, the capital of the Sōmavaṁs'is, was named Trivaranagara after it was occupied by them, and in commemoration of the event. The city must have acquired that appellation, not during the reign of Tīvaradēva but probably during the period of his successor. When Mahās'ivagupta Tīvaradēva destroyed the Śūlika dynasty of Śrīpura, he probably occupied their city and made it his own capital. It is unlikely that the king of Kōsala whom Mādhavavarman III conquered or subdued was Tīvaradēva according to the chronology that has been adopted by us. Tīvaradēva was an earlier contemporary of Mādhavavarman III, and he seems to have been defeated and slain by the Śailōdbhava king Dharmarāja. Prof. Mirashi adopts the improbable genealogy of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins put forward by Dr. D. C. Sircar and assumes that Mādhavavarman III destroyed Mahās'ivagupta Tīvaradēva. On the contrary, it is extremely probable that the adversary of Madhavavarman III was Tīvaradēva's successor, Candragupta. Mādhavavarman III came to the throne as an infant in 546 A.D. The period of Tīvaradēva, *c.* 545—555 A. D., is coeval with the early years of Mādhavavarman III. It is therefore impossible for the Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch to be Tīvaradēva's opponent. Mādhavavarman III could not have led an expedition against Mahā Kōsala during Tīvaradēva's reign. On the contrary, it is probable that he led the expedition against Mahā Kōsala during the period of Candragupta, the younger brother of Tīvaradēva, to whom we have assigned the period, *c.* 555—590 A. D., conquered and levied tribute from him.

Mādhavavarman's marriage with the princess of Mahākōsala.

1 *E. I.*, XXII, p. 19—22.

Candragupta seems to have courted the alliance of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch by giving his daughter in marriage to him. This surmise is in consonance with the policy of Candragupta. The Sōmavaṁs'i king strengthened his power and enhanced the prestige of his house by entering into marital alliances with the great dynasties of that period. His son Harṣagupta, married Vāsaṭādēvi, daughter of Sūryavarman, the Maukhari king of Kānyakubja.[1] And Candragupta's daughter married Mādhavavarman III, the youthful king of Andhradesa. By these marriages Candragupta brought the three great powers of India at that period, the Maukharis, Sōmavaṁs'is and Viṣṇukuṇḍins into a friendly zone. Sūryavarman, Candragupta and Mādhavavarman III were thus contemporaries; and apparently the last mentioned of them, was the most powerful prince of the day. To return to the expedition against Kōsala, the event may be fixed about the middle of Candragupta's reign, to sometime about 570 A. D. And to the same epoch the marriage of the princess of Kōsala with the young king Mādhavavarman III may be assigned.

Tradition in the *Sthalamahātmya* of S'ris'aila.

In this connection, an interesting legend about the celebrated hill Śrīs'ailam, may be referred to. It is found in the *Sthalamahātmyam* and seems to shed light on the political relations between the kingdoms of Kōsala and Andhradesa. It is stated therein that princess Candrāvatī, daughter of king Chandragupta of the Gupta dynasty, conceived a passion for the Lord of Śrīs'aila, and, therefore offered him every day a garland of jasmine (*mallika*) flowers and eventually married Him.[2] It is not difficult to see that this legend has some historical importance. It mentions king Candragupta of the Gupta dynasty. As Candragupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty is not known to have had anything to do with Andhradesa, it is not unreasonable to identify Candragupta of the legend with Candragupta of the Later Gupta or Sōmavaṁs'i dynasty of Kōsala or Mahā Kōsala. There is nothing in the legend which

1 *E. I.* XI., p. 184f. 190 verses 8–9.

2 *ARSIE.*, 1915, p. 91f.

goes against this identification. There is no king of the name of Candragupta among the Later Guptas of Magadha. Moreover, the chronology of the Later Gupta kings of Kosala renders the identification probable. It makes Candragupta a contemporary of Mādhavavarman III. Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri, however, identifies Candragupta of the legend with the Maurya king of Magadha.[1] But this identification is not tenable. There is no justification to call Candragupta a Maurya prince, when the legend clearly states that he was a Gupta monarch. It is therefore proper to identify Candragupta with the Later Gupta or Sōmavaṁs'i king of that name. Accordingly it appears that Candrāvati, was the name of the princess of Mahā Kōsala who became a queen of Mādhavavarman III.

The story in the *Sthalamahātmyam* is partly repeated in the Telugu poem *Paṇḍitārādhyacaritra* of Pālkurki Sōmanātha who lived in the latter part of the twelfth and early half of the thirteenth century.[2] It is also mentioned in a stone record of the early sixteenth century, engraved on one of the pillars of the *maṇṭapa* in the temple at Śrīs'aila.[3] The reference to the legend in Telugu literature makes it more trustworthy. The *Paṇḍitārādhyacaritra* states that princess Candrāvatī, daughter of king Candragupta of *the race of the moon i. e., Sōmavaṁs'a*, went to the shrine of Śrīparvatasvāmin, apparently the Lord of Śrīs'aila, and worshipped the god by offering daily a garland of jasmine (*mallika*) flowers. One day, in the ecstasy of devotion, the princess danced and sang exquisite music before the Lord, who being pleased with her devotion appeared before her and asked her what she wanted. The pious queen Candrāvatī prayed that her flower offering *mallikā-dāma*, should perpetually adorn the matted tresses of the Lord. The Lord granted the boon and vanished. Since then, it is said, Lord Śiva on Śrīs'aila, became known as Mallikārjuna-Śiva, on account of the white rays of the *mallika-dama* placed by queen Candrāvatī.

1 *Opi. Cit.*

2 Sōmanātha appears to be a contemporary of Kākati Rudra and Kalacuri Bijjala of Kalyāṇa. His period seems to be *c.* 1150—1220.

3 *Ep. Colln.* No. 16 of 1915.

Both the *Kṣetramahātmyam* and *Paṇḍitārādhyacaritra* seem to record evidently a genuine historical fact and not a myth. Queen Candrāvatī's devotion to the Lord of Śrīparvata must have been a well known fact in ancient times. She was probably one of the great *bhaktas* of Śiva. Her story lingered till the sixteenth century in the memory of the Andhras. It indicates that the temple of Mallikārjuna-Śiva at Śrīs'aila acquired greater celebrity during the Viṣṇukuṇḍin epoch.

The Īpūru plates are dated the 15th day of the 7th fortnight of the hot season (*grīṣma*) in the 37th year of the victorious reign. They record a grant made by Mādhavavarman III, which was issued from his camp of victory pitched at Kūḍavāḍa. Mādhavavarman gave away for the sake of the prosperity of his race (*asmat-vaṁs'a vibhūty-artham*) the village of Vilembali as an *agrahāra* with all the immunities, to the

Ipuru plates I set. Identification of the localities.

Brāhmaṇa Agnis'arman of the Vatsa *gōtra*, who was then in the royal presence. The royal officers who were in charge of the district were warned to know of the charity, exempt it from all obligations and taxes, and preserve it. The royal edict was executed by the king's dear son, Mañcyaṇṇa Bhaṭṭāraka who was appointed *ājñapati* 'executor'.

The identification of the localities mentioned in the Īpūru grant is not an easy task. Dr. Hultzsch who edited the record abandoned the idea.[1] It was by a curious accident that the two Īpūru sets, came to be found together at Īpūru, Tenāli tāluk, Guṇṭūr district. It may not be unreasonable to believe that they belonged to one and the same family at some distant time and were preserved in the family as heirlooms. This supposition is accounted for by their existence together. The donees must have belonged to the same *gōtra* and family and migrated from somewhere when they lost their *agrahāra* and finally settled down in Īpūru where the plates were

1 *E. I.*, XVI. p. 335.

discovered. In the record of Mādhavavarman II the donees are Agnis'arman and Indras'arman, and their *gōtra* name is lost. In the second record the donee is Agnis'arman who belongs to Vatsa *gōtra.* It is probable that Agnis'arman, the donee of the second charter, was a descendant of Agnis'arman of the first record. That the donees of the second charter were immigrants from somewhere rests upon the fact that there are no localities of the name of Guddāḍi and Viembali in Tenāli taluk or Gunṭur district which was the ancient Karmarāṣṭra. Till now only two districts of the name Guddāḍi or Guddavāḍi are known to the epigraphists. One is mentioned in the inscriptions of Dākṣārāma, and it lies in the East Godavari district.[1] The other is referred to in the Buguḍa plates of the Śailōdbhava king Mādhavavarman II, surnamed *Sainyabhīta*, as lying in the north of Ganjam district.[2] It is therefore obvious that these two Guddāḍi *viṣayas* do not relate to the locality mentioned in the grant of Mādhavavarman III. It must be looked for somewhere. The district Guddāḍi, which is plainly a variant of the correct name Guddavāḍi, seems to belong to Dēvarāṣṭra in Kalinga. There is a place called Guddāḍi in the Golugoṇḍa (Agency) taluk in the Vizagapatam district which formed part of the ancient province of Dēvarāṣṭra. In its vicinity there stand to this day two villages named Kuruvāḍa and Velimbayalu, which may possibly represent Kūḍavāḍa and Velimbali respectively, the localities mentioned in the charter. It is probable, therefore, that the grant refers to a village in Dēvarāṣṭra.[3]

The Īpūru charter shows that by its date *c.* 583 A. D. the Viṣṇukuṇḍin suzerainty extended over Kalinga also as in the

1 *E. I.*, IV, p. 83; *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 53 text line 53 and *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 424. See also *S. I. I.* Vol. IV. Nos. 1015 and 1018 *etc.*

2 *E. I.*, III, p. 41–46; *Ibid.* Vol. VII, pp. 100–02.

3 It is not an impossible thing for copper-plate charters to travel long distances from their original places, for very often the donees or their descendants would migrate from those places on account of wars, disturbances, calamities, famines and other causes to other provinces for safety; and then they would also carry with them their grants and preserve them so that they or their descendants might claim later on the charities recorded on them from the reigning kings of the realm. There are numerous instances of this kind. The Cikkulla plates of Vikramēndravarman II travelled from the Kistna to the East Godavari district.

previous reigns. On the date of the record, Mādhavavarman III was apparently in Dēvarāṣṭra. The edict was issued from "the camp of victory" pitched at a place called Kūḍavāḍa. This shows that Mādhavavarman made the grant immediately after returning from a successful military expedition. Who the enemy was, that was subdued by the king, it is difficult to state. But it is likely that the enemy was Pṛthivīmahārāja of the Rama-Kās'yapa *gōtra*, the lord of Piṣṭapura. This king, was originally a vassal of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch. His record, which is dated the forty-sixth year of his reign, has been assigned on palaeographical evidence to about the same period as the Timmāpuram plates of Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana, or roughly to about the first quarter of the seventh century.[1] Accordingly Pṛthivīmahārāja's accession to the throne and the death of his father Vikramēndra might be placed with certainty about 575 A. D. The name Vikramēndra indicates the existence of some sort of relationship between the Rama-Kās'yapa kings of Piṣṭapura and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. It is probable Raṇa-Durjaya, as a vassal of Vikramēndravarman II, named his son after his overlord. Such a thing was not an uncommon feature.[2] Raṇa-Durjaya would appear to have been a contemporary and a vassal of Indrabhaṭṭāraka. And it is probable that he was one of those who joined the confederacy of hostile kings led by *Adhirāja* Indravarman to uproot the Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch by force. The confederates having defeated and probably slain Indrabhaṭṭāraka, Raṇa-Durjaya like many vassal kings of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Empire threw off the imperial yoke. Shortly after this, Vikramēndravarman II rose, and once more conquered and subdued the treacherous vassals and sub-kings and levied tribute from them. Raṇa-Durjaya and his son Vikramēndra, thereafter remained as tributaries of Vikramēndravarman II and his son Gōvindavarman. During the last days of Gōvindavarman, Raṇa-Durjaya or Vikramēndra, would seem to have

First Expedition into Kalinga referred to in the Ipūru plates.

1 *Bharati*, Vol. XII, part 9 pp. 496–97. Dr. N. Venkata Ramanayya who edits this grant in Telugu is of the same opinion as myself.

2 *Opi. Cit.* pp. 497–98.

overthrown the suzerainty of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and assumed paramountcy. But Mādhavavarman III must have crushed the power of this subordinate dynasty and subdued Vikramēndra at the time of his *digvijaya* and the celebration of the eleven *As'vamēdha* sacrifices. Probably Vikramēndra or some other feudatory felt himself strong enough once more to declare his independence sometime before the date of the Īpūru charter. And taking advantage of the general chaotic condition in Kalinga and the hostility between the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty and Mādhavavarman III, to which we shall presently refer, the refractory vassals would seem to have rebelled to throw off the yoke of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and thus emulate the example of Indravarman II, lord of Kalinga.[1]

From the date of the Īpūru plates, *c.* 583 A. D., till that of the Polamūru grant, *c.* 594 A. D., for ten years the reign of Mādhavavarman III seems to have been disturbed on account of frequent wars and expeditions against Kalinga. While Harṣagupta, lord of Kōsala (*circa* 590—615 A. D.), remained a faithful ally on account of the nearness of his kinship, the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinga seem to have been hostile to the Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch. The causes for this hostility seem to be many. Firstly, the newly established Eastern Gaṅga kingdom of Kalinga regarded the aggressive Viṣṇukuṇḍin power as a natural enemy. This hostility had its beginnings from the time of *Adhirāja* Indravarman and Indrabhaṭṭāraka. A second cause seems to be the desire of Mādhavavarman III to conquer and subdue the Eastern Gaṅga king and annex as much as possible of Kalinga to the Andhra country. For, a paramount and powerful kingdom of Kalinga would always be a menace to his suzerainty in Andhradesa and Dakṣiṇāpatha. Mādhavavarman III, therefore, appears to have looked eagerly for a suitable opportunity to fall upon Kalinga and crush the power of the new dynasty. The opportunity came when the Śailōdbhava dynasty of Konyōḍha

Hostility between Andhra and Kalinga. Second expedition against Kalinga.

1 The donor of the Santabommāḷi plates (87th year) : *JAHRS.*, IV, p. 21f., and the donor of the Parlākimedi plates (91st year : *Ind. Ant.*, XVI, p. 131f.)

in the north launched a policy of aggression for expansion into Kalinga and to assume suzerainty over that kingdom. The Śailōdbhavas from the north and the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king from the south, and probably the lord of Mahā-Kōsala from the north-west hemmed in Kalinga and reduced its dynasty to great straits. But the Eastern Gaṅga kings of this epoch were powerful and courageous: they strove hard to retrieve the fair name of their dynasty during that period of trial.

Affairs in Kalinga.

According to the scheme of the Eastern Gaṅga chronology proposed by me, the earliest known contemporary of Mādhavavarman III in Kalinga was Hastivarman, surnamed *Rājasiṁha* and *Raṇabhīta*. Of his period there are two records known to epigraphists till now:—the Narasingapalli plates dated in the 79th year,[1] and the Urlām charter dated in the 80th year of the victorious Gaṅga era.[2] As the initial year of the Gaṅga era is fixed by me to be 497 A. D., the dates of these two records fall in 576 and 577 A. D. respectively. In both these charters Hastivarman claims to have obtained victories in several battles, reduced numerous rulers to submission, acquired the sovereignty of the entire kingdom and lastly to have "established the spotless family of the Gāṅgas" (*Gāṅg-āmala-kula-pratiṣṭhaḥ*) on the throne of Kalinga. These claims clearly indicate that Hastivarman completely destroyed the power of his insubordinate vassals, defeated his enemies on all frontiers, brought the whole of Kalinga under his sceptre and rescued the sunken glory of his family. There are no materials before us to determine exactly the extent of the kingdom of Kalinga under the Eastern Gaṅgas at this period. Nevertheless it may be assumed that it included the northern portion of the Vizagapatam district as well as the district of Ganjam as far as the river Ṛṣikulya and did not probably comprise the provinces of Dēvarāṣṭra and Elamañci-Kalinga which lay in the south of the Vizagapatam district. If we assume that the Eastern

1 *Bhārati*, 1934 September, Vol. XI Pt 9, pp. 461—467. First edited by Mr. M. Somasekhara s'arma in Telugu ; See also *E. I.*, XXII, p. 62f.

2 *E. I.*, XVIII, pp. 330 ff. with plate.

Gaṅga kingdom of Kalinga extended southwards as far as the river Bhīmasingha in the Vizagapatam district at this period, then it will be apparent that Mādhavavarman III was one of the enemies of Hastivarman, who attempted to uproot the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty. As the date of Hastivarman falls about 576–77, it seems likely that Mādhavavarman III destroyed him shortly after that date. The Śailōdbhavas were at this period very powerful; and in their family was the ancestor named *Raṇabhīta*. Titles like *Raṇabhīta*, *Yaśōbhīta*, *Mānabhīta* and *Sainyabhīta* were peculiar to the Śailōdbhava kings.[1] But as the title *Raṇabhīta* was also adopted by Hastivarman and his successor Indravarman (II)[2], it is probable that the two Eastern Gaṅga kings acquired that epithet after destroying their contemporary Śailōdbhava king who was a descendant of *Raṇabhīta*. It will be seen from the history of the Śailōdbhavas that a king named Madhyamarājadēva flourished in the first half of the sixth century A. D., bore the surname *Yaśōbhīta*, celebrated the *Mahāmēkha*, *Vājapēya* and *Aśvamēdha* sacrifices and claimed imperial dignity.[3] His son and successor was the powerful king Dharmarājadēva surnamed *Mānabhīta*. He inflicted a crushing defeat on and probably slew Tīvaradēva (*Skt*. Trivaradēva), the lord of Kōsala at Phāsikā.[4] Dharmarājadēva appears to have conquered and levied tribute from his contemporary Eastern Gaṅga king or kings and thereby interrupted the sovereignty of Kalinga for a long time. Elsewhere, Tīvaradēva's period has been fixed about 545—555 A. D., and therefore his fall at Phāsikā would have occurred about the year 555 A. D. Now this event is mentioned in the Niviṇa copper-plate grant of Dharmarājadēva, dated the 9th year of his victorious reign. This is the earliest record of Dharmarājadēva which mentions the overthrow of Tīvaradēva.

Wars between Konyōdha and Kōsala.

1 *E. I.*, XII, p. 43; *E. I.*, XI, p. 284; and *E. I.*, XII p. 34f. etc.

2 Hastivarman's grants: (Narsingapalli) see *ante* p. 528 footnote 1 and Urlam (*ante* footnote 2; Indravarman's records: Santabommāḷi (*JAHRS* Vol. IV, p. 21); Achyutāpura (*E. I.*, III. p. 127f) and Parlakimedi plates (*Ind. Ant*. Vol. XVI p. 131f.)

3 *E. I.*, XI pp. 281ff., text lines 38–39.

4 *E. I.*, XXI, p. 34f.

As such the 9th year of Dharmarājadēva must fall in or about 555 A. D. It is reasonable, therefore, to assume that Dharmarājadēva's accession took place about the same time as that of Tīvaradēva. His reign appears to have been long and lasted thirty years or a little more, according to the Koṇḍeḍḍa grant dated the 8th *tithi* of Vais'ākha of the 30th year of his victorious reign.[1] Thus it will not be unreasonable to allot to him a reign of thirty years from 546 to 575 A. D. Accordingly the last year of Dharmarājadēva seems to synchronise with the date of the Narsingapalli grant of the Eastern Gaṅga king Hastivarman dated the 79th year of the Gaṅga Era, which has been equated to *circa* 576 A. D. This date is very important: it clearly indicates that Hastivarman destroyed his inveterate foe Dharmarājadēva by this date and thus assumed the epithets *svāsi-dhārā-parispandādhigata-sakala-Kaling-ādhirājyaḥ*, *anēka-samara-saṁkṣōbha-janita-jaya-s'abdaḥ* and lastly *Gaṅgāmala-kula-pratiṣṭhaḥ*," who has acquired the sovereignty of the whole of Kalinga by the quivering edge of his own sword; who has caused the cry of 'victory' to resound in the turmoil of many battles;" and lastly, "who has established or caused the establishment of the spotless family of the Gaṅgas." The Narsingapalli grant of Hastivarman is the earliest document that is known so far, which contains the above significant passages. It is thus apparent that both Dharmarājadēva and his father Madhyamarāja endeavoured to uproot the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty and annex Kalinga to their kingdom. The hostilities between the two dynasties therefore lasted long. At last, the indomitable Hastivarman rose, conquered the Śailōdbhavas and their allies and retrieved the fortunes of his illustrious house by crushing the pride of his enemies in numerous battles. But Hastivarman's reign was short. He appears to have died shortly after his victories, and his reign which promised to be glorious came to

Wars between Konyōḍha and Kalinga.

1 *E. I.*, XIX p. 265f. Mr. Y. R. Gupte the editor of the Koṇḍeḍḍa grant is very doubtful about the reading of the numeral denoting the regnal year of the charter. He reads it as '30' but states that he would rather side with the late V. Venkayya in taking the numerical symbol to be 10 instead of 30. I however take the symbol to mean 30.

a close suddenly about 580 A. D. The events that led to his death and the accession of his able successor Indravarman II are shrouded in darkness. That was the period when Mādhavavarman III was probably active in Kalinga once more. Between the date of the Urlām plates of Hastivarman dated the 80th year and the Santabommāli and Acyutāpuram plates of his successor Indravarman II dated the 87th year of the Gaṅga era, for seven years roughly, from about 577 to 584 A. D., there are no records of the Gaṅga dynasty. This circumstance, it is reasonable to assume, indicates that during this interval the sovereignty of the Eastern Gaṅga kingdom of Kalinga was once more interrupted; and on this occasion it was not the Śailōdbhava king but the Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch Mādhavavarman III that overwhelmed the Gaṅga dynasty. There are only three records of this period, of Indravarman II, the last being dated in the 91st year. Thereafter there are no records of the Eastern Gaṅga family till the 128th year of the Ganga era. Between the 91st and 128th years of the Gaṅga era, that is to say between 588 and 627 A. D., roughly for over three decades, the Eastern Gaṅga sovereignty seems to have been again interrupted. During this period, too, the enemies of the Gaṅgas appear to be not the Śailōdbhavas or their allies the Bhañjas, but the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. The Śailōdbhava kings of this period were completely subdued and forced to pay tribute to Śaśāṅkarāja, king of Karṇasuvarṇa.[1] There was no paramount power in the north that could measure swords with the Eastern Gaṅgas at this period. The only powers that were the formidable enemies of the Eastern Gaṅgas were the imperial Viṣṇukuṇḍins and their allies, the lords of Kōsala and other neighbouring kingdoms. Mādhavavarman III, therefore, seems to have destroyed the Eastern Gaṅga kings, Indravarman II and his successors, and levied tribute from the feeble lords of Kalinga almost down to his death in or about 611 A. D.

Mādhavavarman III subdues Kalinga.

1 *E. I.*, VI, pp. 143—146. It records a grant by *Maharāja-Mahāsāmanta* Mādhavarāja II son of Yaśōbhita and grandson of Sainyabhīta, of the Śailōdbhava family in the Gupta year 300. i. e. 619 A. D.

The history of the hostilities of this period between the Eastern Gaṅgas and Mādhavavarman III can be gleaned from a small detail mentioned in the Polamūru grant. The cause of the hostilities was doubtless the aggressive policy of Mādhavavarman III. The disturbed state of Kalinga apparently offered an easy prey to the aggressor. The Polamūru grant states that Mādhavavarman III set out on an expedition against Kalinga, *prāg-dik-jīgīṣayā*, "with a desire to conquer the eastern regions". It was in the 48th year of his reign. The details of this date have been equated to February, 10, 594 elsewhere. It was the date of the expedition against Kalinga, and would correspond to the 97th year of the Gaṅga era. It is probable that during this expedition, Mādhavavarman III conquered and slew Indravarman II, and levied tribute from his successor. Thus the sovereignty of the Eastern Gangas was interrupted.

A certain Mādhavavarman appears in literature, and his probable identity.

Mādhavavarman's expeditions against Kalinga were remembered by his descendants for several centuries afterwards, and also recorded in literature during the fifteenth century. There lived a prince named Basavabhūpati son of Pūsapāṭi Timmarāja of the Vasiṣṭha-*gōtra*, and the solar race, who governed the eastern sea-board of the Andhra country as a vassal of the Gajapati king of Orissa during the latter part of the fifteenth century. The inscriptions of his period as well as of his descendants trace his lineage from the great king Mādhavavarman who obtained a favour from the goddess Durgā at Vijayavāda, the modern Bezwada.[1] Dūbaguṇṭa Nārāyaṇa-kavi describes his patron Basavarāja as an illustrious descendant of the great king Mādhavavarman. It is said that Mādhavavarman pleased the goddess Durgā and obtained through her favour a large army of foot-soldiers, elephants, chariots and horses, led an expedition against Kalinga, defeated and slew its king and restored the Vēdas and *dharma* on the earth.[2] In another contemporary poem

1 *S. I. I.*, IV No. 789, 1071.

2 Dūbaguṇṭa Nārayaṇa-kavi: *Pañcatantram* Introductory (*avatārika*) Munu-*Bezavāda-Durgamanu* mugdha-tanambuna mecca-jēsi beṁ-

*Nāsikētōpakhyānam* written by Daggupalli Duggana and dedicated to Candalūri Gangana, an officer of General Basavarāja, the same story is narrated.[1] It is also stated in the poem that Mādhavavarman established the rule of *dharma* in his kingdom, and that at one time he sacrificed even his love for his dear and only son for the vindication of the *dharma*. It is said that God Mallēs'vara-Śiva was so pleased with his sense of justice that He showered gold on his city. A certain king Mādhavavarman is also mentioned in the same terms in the Anmakoṇḍa inscription of Kākati Prōla.[2] *Mahāmaṇḍalēs'vara* Mēḷarasa, lord of Ugravāḍi, a tributary of king Prola claimed descent from the great king Mādhavavarman, "whose vast army consisted of 8,000 elephants, 8 crores of horses and endless crowds of foot-soldiers." Though it may seem rather difficult to determine the identity of this great king Mādhavavarman, it may not be unreasonable to connect him with the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty and identify him with Mādhavavarman III. Mādhavavarman's celebrity for the rule of *dharma* apparently spread far and wide in the land, and the epithet *avasita-vividha-divyaḥ* attached to his name in the Polamūru plates amply bears this out. There was no dynasty that reigned in Andhradesa which had kings of the name of Mādhavavarman other than the Viṣṇukuṇḍins.

The Polamūru plates record the grant of the village of Pulimbūru in the Guddavāḍi-*viṣaya*. The village lay on the bank of the stream Daḷiyavāvi and to the south of the village of Mayindavāṭika (*Skt.* Mahēndravāṭika). The village was

puna ratha-danti-vāji-bhaṭa-bhūri-balambula-cē *Ga(Ka)linga*-bhū
janapati-drumci Vēdasati-samtatikai mahi(m)bāḍi-nilpi gra-
mmana jira-kīrtulam-ganina *Mādhavavarma*-nij-ānvayambunan.

1 Daggupalli Duggana : *Nāsikētōpākhyānam:* Introductory: (*avatārika*)
Caturamga-balamulu *Vijayavāḍa-Durgāmba* varamuna-baḍasi durvāra-lila
Jagati-sthalamb.ella sādhiñci *jaya-s'āsanamulu* dig-danti-dantamula-salipi
Pēda-bālunaku-gā briya-suta-mōhambu-paṭṭaka Bezavada-bāḍi nilipi
Kalayanga-buramuna gāñcana-varṣambu guriyiñci dēvatā-kōṭi-pogaḍa
Vasudha-negaḍina *Mādhavavarma*-vams'a-vardhanuḍagucu *Tammabhūvaruni-Basava*
pārthivunik-āptuḍai kṛpa-pātruḍagucu ghanata-merasen-Ananta-Gangaya-vibhuḍu.

2 *E. I.*, XI, p. 256f., text lines 91—94.

granted as an *agrahāra* to the Brāhmaṇa *brahmacārin* and reciter of the four Vedas, Śivas'arman of the Gautama-*gōtra*, who was an inhabitant of Kuṇḍūru in Karma-rāṣṭra. The donee was a follower of the Taittirīya-*s'ākhā* (Black Yajus); he was the son of Dāmas'arman and grandson of Rudras'arman. The grant was made on the full-moon day of Phālguna in the 48th year of the victorious reign and on the occasion of his crossing the river Godavari with the desire "to conquer the eastern regions." All the localities mentioned in the charter may easily be identified. Pulimbūru is the same as the village of Polamūru, the find-spot of the plates. Daḷiyavāvi seems to be identical with the Tulyabhāgā, a small arm of the Godavari that flows by the side of Polamūru. Probably Daliyavāvi was the ancient name of the Tulyabhāga. Mayindavāṭika is doubtless identical with the village Mahēndravāḍa which lies close by Polamūru. All these localities are situated in the Rāmacandra-pūr taluk, East Godavari district, on the northern bank of the Godavari. From the inscriptions at Dākṣārāma it appears that Guddavāḍi-*viṣaya* was the ancient name of the district which corresponds roughly to the Rāmacandrapūr taluk. It will be remembered that the Polamūru plates were discovered along with the Eastern Cālukya grant of the same village by Jayasiṁhavallabha. The Cālukya grant states that the village of Puliṁbūru was bestowed by king Jayasiṁhavallabha, son of Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana, on Śivas'arman's son Rudras'arman, who was designated as the *Purv-āgrahārika* 'the former holder of the *agrahāra*'. The date of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin charter, February 10, 594 A. D. is in suitable agreement with the astronomical details on the one hand and the political events of the period, namely the rise of Pulikēs'in II and the conquest of the Andhra country by the Western Cālukyas, on the other.

The Polamūru grant and its date.

From the date of his Īpūru charter till the time of his death, *circa* 583—611 A. D. Mādhavavarman's paramount sway over Kalinga appears to have been undisputed. The sovereignty of the Eastern Gaṅgas was completely eclipsed by the glory of

the Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch. There was no power in Dakṣiṇāpatha which could oppose or measure its strength against the great kingdom of Andhradesa during this period. The Pallavas under Siṁhaviṣṇu were occupied with struggles with the hostile Cōḷas in Toṇḍamaṇḍalam and other kingdoms of the south. The Kadambas began to decline, and into their place stepped the Western Gaṅgas. But this new power too was involved in internecine wars the one hand, and hostilities with the Kadambas and Cālukyas on the other. Thus in the dawn of the seventh century and even for sometime before that, South India and Kuntala were embroiled with wars. While the Lords of Kañci, Kuntala and Talkkāḍ carried the war into each other's kingdoms, the rising Cālukyas quickly overpowered their rivals and opponents and emerged as a paramount power in North Kuntala. In the north, in Vidarbha, Kōsala and Cēdi also, there was no strong power which could challenge the imperial sway of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. The Viṣṇukuṇḍin Empire reached its zenith once more under the great king Mādhavavarman III.

The Viṣṇukuṇḍin Empire at its zenith 583—611 A. D.

The glorious reign of Mādhavavarman III ended suddenly in the destruction of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Empire. The empire vanished in a terrible disaster in the beginning of the seventh century. Mādhavavarman III apparently died fighting on the battlefield, resisting the conquest of his kingdom by an invader, in the same manner as his opponent Indravarman II perished roughly two or three decades ago in Kalinga. And that was the beginning of the end of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Empire. The events that led to the fall of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Empire can be gathered from the contemporary records of the Cālukyas of Vatāpi (Bādāmi).

The destruction of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Empire: and the causes.

It will be remembered that the Cālukyas, soon after they established themselves as an independent dynasty at Vātāpi in North Kuntala, set out on a career of aggression and conquest in all directions, for expansion. They strove to bring the whole of Dakṣiṇāpatha under their banner as in the days of the Imperial Andhras. Pulikēśin I, (*c*. 540—566 A. D.)

was the first paramount sovereign of the dynasty. There are no genuine records of his reign but his descendants claim for him the celebration of *As'vamēdha* and the attainment of the dignity of emperor.[1] Like his great contemporary Mādhavavarman III, he is said to have performed *Agniṣṭōma*, *Agnicayana*, *Vājapēya*, *Bahusuvarṇa*, *Pauṇḍarīka* and *As'vamēdha* sacrifices.[2] His son and successor was king Kīrtivarman I (566—598 A. D.) who acquired a much larger territory than his father by conquering the neighbouring Nalas and the Mauryas and breaking up the confederacy of the Kadambas.[3] Kīrtivarman's two sons being young at the time of his death, the throne was occupied by his younger brother Maṅgalēs'a, who reigned till about 604 A. D.[4] Towards the end of his reign, Maṅgalēs'a aimed at securing the succession for his own son. Pulikēs'in II, the eldest son of Kīrtivarman I, opposed and rose in rebellion as soon as Maṅgalēs'a's intentions became known. There ensued then discord and civil war between the uncle and the nephew, in the course of which the former lost his life. Pulikēs'in II at once seized the kingdom, destroyed the turbulent and treacherous vassals and defeated the Kadamba king. Thereafter he turned north and conquered as far as Lāṭa and Ghūrjara countries. At this point, Harṣavardhana, the great king of Kanauj, invaded the south and encountered the Cāḷukya prince. But Pulikēs'in II met the invader inflicted upon him a crushing defeat and repulsed him. He then conquered the three provinces known by the name Mahārāṣṭrikas and annexed them to his kingdom. Thereafter, he crowned himself publicly as king. The event took place about 609 A. D.[5] Soon after, Pulikēs'in II was filled with the ambition to conquer the whole of Dakṣiṇāpatha; he set out on a *dig-vijaya* towards north-east. At that point he

History of the Cālukyas of Vātāpi.

1 Nerūr grant of Mangalēs'a: *Ind. Ant.*, VII p. 161.

2 Mahākūṭa Pillar Insc. of Mangalēs'a: *Ind. Ant.* XIX, p. 7.

3 Aihole Inscription of Pulikēs'in II, *Ind. Ant.* VI, p. 1.

4 The Revised Chronology of the Eastern Chronology. *JAHRS.*; Vol. IX, part iv. p. 11

5 It is probable that Pulikēs'in II crowned himself king somewhere in the north and not in the herditary capital in the first instance.

anointed his younger brother Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana as his heir apparent (*Yuvarāja*) and placed him in charge of the kingdom and the capital during his absence.[1] Thereafter he proceeded towards north-east, humbled the lord of Kōsala and apparently drove him out of his kingdom. The king of Kōsala of this period seems to be Harṣagupta *c.* 590—615 A. D.[2] Pulikēs'in II then turned to Kalinga which was divided against itself between rival claimants and crushed the weak Gaṅga king who was already a vassal of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch. He then invaded the Andhra country. Here Pulikēs'in II was checked by the vassals of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Empire but the opposition would appear to have collapsed before the advance of his victorious army. Quickly Bhōgāpura and Dēvapura, the capital of Devarāṣṭra, and Piṣṭapura in South Kalinga fell into the hands of the invader. Pulikēs'in II crossed the Godavari and attacked Mādhavavarman III. The aged king Mādhavavarman III was now faced with the strategy and strength of a young and powerful king, a warrior of great repute at the head of a victorious and formidable army. Mādhavavarman fell and the result was a signal victory for the invader. The infatuation of unimpeded progress and victory in that hurricane campaign made Pulikēs'in II even more desperate and daring and his victorious army more formidable than ever. Pulikēs'in II was determined to conquer and annex the rich and beautiful Andhradesa at any cost and thus become 'the lord of the entire Dakṣiṇāpatha' after the manner of the Imperial Śātavāhanas. The conquest and annexation of the Andhra country was necessary and even more imperative for the attainment of his cherished object. For a paramount and powerful Andhra kingdom would remain for ever a source of danger to the integrity of his own suzerainty. The annexation of the Andhra country, therefore, meant the holding of the key position in the Deccan. Moreover, the Cāḷukyas were Andhras originally, and as has been pointed out elsewhere, their original home lay in Hiraṇyarāṣṭra or Renāḍu 7000 province in Southern

1 The Revised Chronology of the Eastern Cāḷukyas : *JAHRS*. vol. IX, part IV, p. 12.

2 See Appendix : Genealogical Tables. And also Book V.

Andhradesa. From there the first Cāḷukya prince emerged and attempted to establish for himself a small kingdom out of the dominions of the Pallavas of Kāñcī though he was soon destroyed by the mighty king, Trilōcana-Pallava. When the first attempt to found an independent principality in the Andhra country itself failed, the Cāḷukyas moved westwards into the Kadamba kingdom of Kuntala in quest of conquest and for founding an independent principality. Soon they wrested the fertile region of the doab of the Bhīma and the Kṛṣṇa in North Kuntala and established themselves at Vātāpi. And thereafter, slowly the power and prestige of the Cāḷukyas increased. During the reign of Pulikēs'in II, the desire to annex their homeland Andhradesa was completely accomplished. Thus while Pulikēs'in II was content with crushing merely the pride of the lord of Kōsala and humbling the ruler of Kalinga, he did not rest contented till he conquered the Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch, and annexed the Andhra country to his own territories.

The story of the Cāḷukya conquest of Andhradesa is preserved in the contemporary Aihole inscription of Pulikēs'in II.[1] The conqueror descended into Kalinga from Kōsala. From thence he marched upon the Andhra country, subdued the vassal kings, laid seige to the impregnable fortress of Piṣṭapura and reduced it. The fall of Piṣṭapura paved the way for the final destruction of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin suzerainty. The inscription then describes the fierce battle that took place on the Lake Kūnāla or *Kolanu*, which was another name for Kollēru. The lake was not far from Vēṅgīpura, the capital of the kingdom. Thus it appears from the inscription that during this campaign which ended with the fall of the impregnable citadel of Piṣṭapura, Mādhavavarman III suffered heavy reverses in a series of combats. Unable then to oppose the invader any longer in the open field, Mādhavavarman III seems to have taken refuge in the

Details of the Battle of Kolanu or the Lake Kollēru 610 A. D.

[1] *E. I.* VI, p. 1—12 verses 27-28.

पिष्टं पिष्टपुरं येन जातं दुर्ग्गमदुर्ग्गमं । चित्रं यस्य कलेर्वृत्तं जातं दुर्ग्गमदुर्ग्गमम् ॥
सन्नद्धवारणघटास्थगितान्तराळं नानायुधक्षतनरक्षतजाङ्गरागम् ।
आसीज्जलं यदवमर्द्दितमभ्रगर्भं कौनाळमम्बरविवोदित सन्ध्यारागम् ॥

fortress of Kolanupura in the Lake Kollēru and offered resistance.[1] But undaunted, the indomitable Pulikēs'in II beseiged the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king in the lake citadel in the heart of the latter's own dominions. The seige seems to have lasted several weeks or probably months. At last the fortress was stormed, and as the significant verse in the Aihole inscription tells, a dreadful and sanguinary battle was fought. Pulikēs'in's army seems to have captured the citadel and after a severe hand to hand fight mercilessly put the defending army to sword. Madhavavarman III was defeated and slain. It was a triumph for the invader. Mādhavavarman's death was the beginning of the end of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Empire in Andhradesa. Pulikēs'in II won the victory not only by the strength of his army but by his superior military skill and strategy. But there were other causes too, for the fall of the great Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch. The death of the powerful king Mādhavavarman III made the task of conquest of the Andhra country easy for the invader. To complete the conquest and subjugation of Andhradesa Pulikēs'in II seems to have appointed Pṛthivī-Duvarāja Indravarman, one of his ablest and trusted generals, who had grown old in the service of his father. He placed him in charge of the newly acquired territory in Andhradesa and then proceeded to the South to crush the pride of the lord of Kāñçi and thus complete his *digvijaya*.

Though the conquest of Andhradesa commenced with the death of Mādhavavarman III, it was not completed till another decade or more had passed. The date of the Cāḷukya invasion can be fixed with certainty with the help of the astronomical details furnished by the Koppāram plates of Satyās'raya Pulikēs'in II.[2] The record registers the grant of a field of 800 *nivartanas* of land in the village of Irbuli in Karmarāṣṭra to a Brāhman of the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra*, named Vēdas'arman or Ailasarman. The grant was made at an auspicious moment on

1 The fortress in the Lake Kolleru or Kolanu is famous in history. See *JAHRS*. Vol. VI, p. 181f. *ARSIE*. 1909, p. 120; *Ep. Col*. No. 49 of 1909; See also the Cellūru plates of Kulottunga Cōḷa II, in *Ind. Ant*. XIV, p. 55f.

2 *Annals of B. O. R. Inst*. Vol. IV, pp. 43—54. Later it was re-edited by Dr. Hultzsch in *E. I*., XVIII, pp. 257ff.

Thursday, the *Mahānavami* in the month of Kārttika, "in the augmenting twenty-first year of the prosperous reign." The grant was made, and in the immediate presence of Pulikēs'in II by the General Pṛthivī-Duvarāja who was also the *ajñapti* 'executor' of the edict. There has been a considerable amount of controversy over the identification of Prince Pṛthivī-Duvarāja and the computation of the English equivalent of the date of the charter. It seems beyond doubt that Pṛthivī-Duvarāja was the same as prince Satyās'raya Pṛthivī-Dhruvarāja-Indravarman, the donor of the Goa grant, and one of the trusted and faithful commanders of Kīrttivarman I.[1] The details of the date of the Koppāram grant have been discussed in the light of the chronology of the events of the beginning of the seventh century by the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao and rightly commputed by him as being equivalent to Thursday, October 21, 611 A. D.[2] This date has been computed to be the twenty-first year of Pṛthivī-Dhruvarāja Indravarman's rule in his own principality, which he founded in Kuntala.[3] Dr. Hultzsch takes a different, rather a contrary view. He holds Pṛthivī-Duvarāja to be identical with *Yuvarāja* Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana, by a course of curious reasoning and assumes that 'the twenty-first year' meant the twenty-first year of *Mahārāja* Pulikēs'in II and therefore the proper equivalent of the date of the record to be Thursday, October 10, 631 A. D.[4] Dr. Hultzsch's view is untenable as will be shown in the following section. The proper and correct equivalent of the details of the date of Koppāram plates is Thursday, October 21, 611 A. D. By that date the Viṣṇukuṇḍin suzerainty was destroyed, at any rate in Southern Andhradesa.

Date of Pulikēs'in's invasion 610–11 A. D. The end of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty.

There is an interesting reference in the Polamūru copper-plate grant to the adminstration of justice or *dharma* during

1 *J. Bom. Br. R. A. S.* X, p. 348 ; *Ind. Ant.* I, IX, pp. 11–12.

2 *Annals of B. O. R. Inst.* Vol. IV, pp. 45—47.

3 *Ibid.* See also for a full discussion of the date of the grant etc. *JAHRS.* vol. IX, part iv, pp. 6—12.

4 *E. I.*, XVIII, p. 261. Robert Sewell calculated the equivalent to Dr. Hultszch. The date is arrived at according to the *Ārya* and *Brahma* siddhāntas.

the Viṣṇukuṇḍin epoch or particularly during the reign of Mādhavavarman III. Among the various epithets that are given to the king in that record is the phrase *avasita vividha-divyaḥ* to which reference has already been made. The epithet means 'one who has established various kinds of ordeals' in trials or disputes. The phrase apparently refers to the method of administration of justice.

Administration of justice by *divyas*.

This system of adminstration of justice is indeed peculiar and as the epithet indicates, it appears to have reached a stage of rigidity in the Andhra country during the sixth century. The Viṣṇukuṇḍins were orthodox followers of the revived Vedic traditions and rituals and Brahmanism. They celebrated with great zeal the Vedic *kratus* on an elaborate scale and surpassed every other contemporary dynasty. They were well versed in the customary or Ancient Law, (*Smṛti*) and Śāstras; they were highly intelligent, powerful and conscious of their ability. They rose to imperial dignity, levied tribute from a host of Vassals. Their glory and prestige reached far and wide in India. Mādhavavarman III, the most learned and accomplished prince of his day, seems to have perfected the system of judicial trials and others to a high degree unsurpassed by his predecessors or contemporaries. Thus while the Īpūru charter (II set), the earlier record, describes the king as having been merely endowed with the knowledge of Law and intelligence, the Polamūru plates describe him with the epithet, *avasita vividha-divyaḥ*. Various kinds of *divyas* were employed to ascertain the truth or otherwise of an allegation in the judicial trials in Ancient India. They have been enumerated as nine by the ancient *Smṛti* writers. According to Bṛhaspati they were, the ordeal by balance, by fire, water, poison, image washed water or water collected after washing the images of gods, by rice, hot *masaka*, spear-head and lastly the images or gods of deities.[1]

1 For a full discussion on the adminstration of justice by ordeals see the paper on the subject by D. C. Sircar in *JAHRS*, vol. VII, part IV, p. 195.

In this connection an interesting legend about a certain king Mādhavavarman of Andhradesa who reigned at Vijayavāḍa may be mentioned. The legend seems to have a reference to trial by ordeal (*divya*) and according to the strict injunctions of the *Dharma*. It is recorded on a stone-pillar placed in the temple of Mallēs'vara-Śiva at Bezwada, the reputed capital of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. The inscription is the record of a petty Pallava chief named Pallakēta, who flourished during the thirteenth century.[1] In the Kali Age, as early as Śaka 117, there was a king famous by name Mādhavavarman, who reigned over the country with his capital at Vijayavāḍa. The son of the king killed by accident the child of a woman who eked out her livelihood by selling the tender shoots of the tamarind tree (*tintriṇī-jīvi*). The bereaved woman lodged a complaint before the king who after trial, sentenced his dear son to death to meet the ends of justice. On seeing this, God Mallēs'vara Śiva, established on the Indrakīla hill, was so pleased with Mādhavavarman that He showered a rain of gold on the city and brought back to life the deceased prince and the child of the unhaphy woman. Thus Mallēs'vara established in the world the fame of Mādhavavarman who was endowed with a high and noble sense of *dharma* or justice." The same legend is also briefly noted in the poem *Nāsikētōpākhyānam* of Daggupalli Duggana-kavi. It is also described in the introductory verses of another poem *Prabōdhacandrōdayam*, the joint composition of Nandi Mallana and Ghaṇṭa Siṅgaya, dedicated to *Mahāmaṇḍalēs'vara* Basvarāja.[2] The Śaka date and the supernatural element of the legend are the only improbabilities in the story. The Śaka date might be a clerical mistake if the date is construed to be 517 instead of 117; it would then yield 595 A. D. which was the 49th year of the victorious reign of Mādhavavarman III. The supernatural

Legends about a certain King Mādhavavarman.

1 No. 536 of 1909. *ARSIE*. 910, p. 71-72. The Inscription records several legends about Mallēs'vara and other things connected with the *Sthalamāhātmyam*.

2 See footnote 1 on page 533 *ante* for the reference to the *Nāsikētōpākyānam*. Basavarāja flourished about 1460—1480. A. D. as viceroy of the Udayagiri-rājya under the Gajapatis of Orissa. He was stationed at Udayagiri in Nellore district.

element in the legend is undoubtedly the result of sentiment, love of poetic justice and popular imagination. If the legend has to be given any historical value, then it may be assumed that Mādhavavarman III ordered his son to be put to death as a reprisal for causing the death of the beggar woman's child as an act of justice. Then the claim of the king as having been endowed with the knowledge of Law and as having established the rule of justice by ordeals will be justified. Though the name of the dynasty to which the legendary king Mādhavavarman belonged is not stated in the inscription or in the Telugu poems referred to above, it is not unreasonable to believe that he belonged to the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty, since it is well known that there were no kings of the name of Mādhavavarman in any other dynasty that reigned over Andhradesa save that of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. Incidentally, the legends state that the great Mādhavavarman belonged to the Vasiṣṭha *gōtra*.[1]

The exceutors of the Polamūru Grant: *Hastikōs'a* and *Vīrakōs'a*.

The executors of the Polamūru grant were *Hastikōs'a* and *Vīrakōsa* who were the *Mahāmātras* and Military officers.[2] The terms *Hastikōs'a* and *Vīrakōs'a* also occur in the Godavari plates of Pṛthivīmūla, as well as in the Polamūru grant of Jayasiṁha-vallabha I.[3] Dr. Fleet who first noticed these terms in the Godavari grant remarked thus:—"I do not know of any other mention of these two officials who evidently kept the purses and made disbursement on account of respectively, the establishment of heroes and elephants who were to be rewarded for deeds of valour."[4] Dr. Fleet's interpretation may be correct, for the Polamūru Viṣṇukuṇḍin grant contains the epithet *Mahāmātra-yōdhayōḥ* which clearly indicates that

1 Among the great royal families of Andhradesa who trace their descent from the great Mādhavavarman of the legends, the illustrious house of Vijayanagaram in Vizagapatam district is one. The family name of the house of Vijayanagaram is *Pūsapāṭi* which is a genitive form of the village name Pūsapāḍu in Ongole taluk. The founder of the Pūsapāṭ family at Vijayanagarm in the XVII century traced his descent from Basavarāja son of Tammarāja of Vasiṣta *gōtra*. The Pūsapāṭi family claim to be full-blooded Kṣatriyas of Andhradesa.

2 *Ājñaptir-atra Hastikōs'a-Vīrakōs'au Mahāmātra-yōdhayōḥ* (lines 29–30).

3 *E. I.*, XIX, p. 354f.

4 *J. B. Br. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 114.

the two officers belonged to the military department. But it is doubtful if they were in charge of the state purse as Dr. Fleet supposes. It is proper, therefore, to explain these two terms *Hastikōs'a* and *Vīrakōs'a* as 'officers in command of the elephants and foot soldiers'.[1] This interpretation is also supported by the facts that all the three grants which mention these officers were issued from the victorious camp, either after the battle or on the eve of the combat and that all the three records refer to the grant of villages in the region of the Lower Godavari. In all the three grants the king is the donor who for convenience deputes his own military officers to execute forthwith the command bestowing the charity.

There is another interesting fact that deserves mention in connection with Mādhavavarman III. It is a work on poetics called *Janās'rayī-Chandōvichiti*.[2] It is incomplete, and the *avatārikā* or introductory verses are lost. It is, therefore, doubtful whether king Janās'raya mentioned in it was the author of the work called after his name or whether a certain Gaṇasvāmin wrote the work. The book is a commentary on a work on poetics written under the patronage of king Janās'raya and called, therefore, by the name *Janās'rayī Chandōvichiti*. The interesting features about it are the name of the king and the chapter on the peculiar metres that were in vogue in the time of the author. As there was no king of the name *Janās'raya* in the whole of ancient India other than Mādhavavarman III of Andhradesa, it is not improper to assume that the Janās'raya mentioned in the work was the same prince as Mādhavavarman III of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty. In the *V Adhyāya* of the *Janās'rayī*, Gaṇasvāmin mentions a variety of metres that were current in his time. He refers to previous works on *Chandas* like *Paiṅgula* (work of Piṅgala) and others and quotes verses to illustrate them from the writings of

*Janās'rayī*, a work composed by or dedicated to king Janās'raya by Gaṇasvāmin.

1 *ARSIE.*, 1914, p. 85.

2 This work was brought to my notice first by Mr. Mānavalli Rāmakrishna Kavi, M. A. Later I read the work with the assistance of Pandit Vēṭūri Prabhākara S'āstri of the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras. See Catalogue of Mss. vol. VI, No. 1543.

Kalidasa, Vararuci, Sundara-Pāṇḍya, Śūdraka and others. All these poets doubtless lived before the sixth century A. D. Among the variety of metres mentioned in the *V Adhyāya* are various *jāti* metres. One of them is *Śīrṣaka*; it is of seven varieties. Every one of the seven *Śīrṣaka* metres ends with a *gīta* verse. This peculiarity of the *Śīrṣaka* metre is found in Andhra prosody. The *Śīrṣaka* metre resembles the *Sīsa[ka]* metre of the Telugu language, which also ends usually with a verse in *gīta* metre or a verse in *Āṭa-veladi* metre. The term *Sīsa* or *Sīsaka* seems to be Andhra Prakrit form of the Sanskrit word *Śirṣaka*. The *Janās'rayī* also refers to other *jāti* metres which are only peculiar and indigenous to the Andhra country. Thus for instance it mentions *Dvipada* and *Tripada* varieties. The former *Dvipada* is still in vogue in the modern Andhra language. It is reasonable, therefore, to infer that there was poetry in the Andhra dialect of the fifth and six centuries of the Christian era. It is likely that it was unfortunately lost, in course of time on account of the ancient dialect having become thoroughly unintelligible owing to its rapid and complete change and to the influx of new vocabulary and pronunciation of new tribes and races during the early centuries of the Cāḷukya occupation.

Character of Mādhavavarman III

Mādhavavarman III was undoubtedly the greatest king of the sixth century, in the Deccan. He was the most powerful, learned, intelligent, able and gifted monarch of all his contemporaries. The glory of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Empire reached the zenith during his long reign of six and half decades. "Mādhavavarman was equal to Us'anas in the knowledge of Polity", describes the Polamūru Copper-plate charter, "he was equal to Kēs'ava in energy, valour and strength, to Indra in splendour, and the Sun god in glory and magificence. He was the Sun among the kings of the earth; he was a mighty emperor." He was most enlightened, he was devoted to the worship of the feet of his father and mother. He was Janās'raya Mahārāja. He was the sylum of the learned, Brāhmans, preceptors, old, wise and saintly men on earth. He was the most pious and, he was

devoted to the welfare of his people." He was the 'Lord of the entire vast kingdom of the earth that had descended to him from his ancestors.'[1] The great empire which he built up and held by the force of his prowess and strength disappeared quickly at the onslaught of the ambitious and daring Cāḷukyan invader. The glory of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty and all that it had contributed to the prosperity and fame of Andhradesa and Andhras was quickly forgotten in the splendour of the Cāḷukya sovereignty that followed and lasted for six long centuries.

1 The passage in question according to the amended reading of the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao (*Jour. Dept. Letters., Cal. Uni. 1924*, pp. 31ff.) is as follows:—*Vaṁs'a-gata-sakala-dharaṇītala-narapatiḥ*. Mr. M. S. S'arma, on the contrary, does not propose to amend the reading but reads the passage as follows: *Das'a-s'ata-sakala-dharaṇītala-narapatiḥ*, He interprets the passage as meaning the district or province of 'Vēṅgi, 1000.' (*J. O. R.*, XI, Part 3, pp. 233ff.; *Bhārati*, Vol. VII, Part 2 No. 9. p. 475f. n. 6) I am unable to accept Mr. S'arma's reading; and I believe like Mr. Lakshmana Rao that the engraver committed an error in transcribing the grant on the copper-plates, as he committed several similar errors in the record. I think the adjective *sakala* in the above epithet becomes absolutely meaningless if we believe like Mr. S'arma that the scribe or composer of the record wanted us to understand by a dubious, rather devious expression, that Mādhavavarman III was only the lord of Vēṅgi, 1000 district and no more than that. It will be ridiculous to say then that the mighty king Mādhavavarman III, an intelligent prince, proudly called himself, 'the king of the *entire* kingdom of Vēṅgi, 1000 district. and that too in an erratic fashion. In this connection it is necessary to point out that there is sufficient justification in the writing on the plate for believing the contention of the late Mr. Lakshmana Rao. There is a dot above the letter which is presumably *va* but which Mr. S'arma and others propose to read as *da*.

## CHAPTER VII.

### *The Last of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins:*

### 9. Mañcyaṇṇa Bhaṭṭāraka. *c.* 610—612 A. D.

Mādhavavarman's death. Death-blow to the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Empire.

The defeat and death of the great king Mādhavavarman III was a serious blow to the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Empire. It was not the only cause that led to the disappearance of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. There were many: The empire that was knit together by the strong arm of the aged king quickly vanished on his death. There were innumerable dynasties eagerly waiting to overthrow the yoke of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and assume independance in their own principalities. Notable among them were the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinga and the vassal king of Piṣṭapura. The disruptive forces that prevailed at this period weakened the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Empire considerably. It is probable that the vassals of the empire did not join hands with the Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch in resisting the Cāḷukya invader. It was, therefore, an easy task to defeat and humble one after another the lords of Kōsala, Kalinga, Dēvaraṣṭra and others for Pulikēs'in II. The empire cracked and disappeared like a broken pot in an ocean. Mādhavavarman's death thus paved the way for the Cāḷukya conquest and annexation of the Andhra country.

Mañcyaṇṇa-Bhaṭṭāraka, the last of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins.

Mañcyaṇṇa Bhaṭṭāraka, the son and presumably the successor of Mādhavavarman III was like a ship that was wrecked on a stormy sea. He was alone single-handed fighting against the foes everywhere in his own land. It was too heavy a task for the unfortunate prince to retrieve the sunken glory of his house. It seems that soon after the storm of invasion of Pulikēs'in II had passed away Kalinga was plunged in internecine wars between rival claimants and dynasties. Pṛthivīmahārāja of Piṣṭapura appears to have set out on a career of conquest with the desire to establish a large and powerful kingdom. The Eastern

Gaṅgas too seem to have encountered the aggression and hostility of the rising lord of Piṣṭapura. The kingdom of Andhradesa also was divided between the conqueror and the conquered. Mañcyaṇṇa Bhaṭṭāraka's authority would seem to have been destroyed at this juncture. According to the Tāṇḍivāḍa grant[1] which has been referred to above, it appears that Pṛthivīmahārāja took full advantage of the disturbed state of the land and occupied the whole, or at any rate the eastern portion of Vēṅgi which lay on the southern bank of the Godavari. It is probable that Mañcyaṇṇa held out for a short period in the region round his capital. He was as it were between two devastating fires. From the north or north-east Pṛthivīmahārāja was pursuing a policy of conquest of Vēṅgi and further south. In the south or south-west, on the southern bank of the Kṛṣṇa was the Cāḷukya invader who had occupied a large territory and stationed his own general Pṛthivī-Duvarāja as viceroy. What happened to Mañcyaṇṇa-Bhaṭṭāraka at this critical juncture cannot be known. It is however possible to believe that he was defeated and destroyed by his enemies. The event may be placed about 612 A. D. With his death the glory of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins vanished for ever. There were left only two powers in the land struggling for supremacy and expansion: the Cāḷukya invader in the south and Pṛthivīmahārāja in the north.

But no sooner Pulikesin II turned his back upon Andhradesa and Kāñci and reached Vātāpi, than had broken out trouble in the Andhra country. The authority of the Cāḷukya viceroy was threatened almost simultaneously by the Pallava king from the south and Pṛthivīmahārāja of Piṣṭapura from the north; they were waiting to take advantage of the chaotic condition of the kingdom and put an end to the Cāḷukya occupation of the Southern Andhra country. In the tri-partite struggle that ensued Mahēndravarman came out victorious and annexed the Southern Andhra country once more to his dominions, ousting the Cāḷukya viceroy and terrifying the other

1 *Bhārati*, Vol. XII, part II No. 9, pp. 495-501; edited also in *E. I.*, XXIII, pp. 88ff.

combatants. The Cēzerla fragmentary stone inscription refers to a pitched battle that was fought at Dhānyakaṭaka between the elephant forces of Pṛthivī-Yuvarāja and the chieftain Kandararāja of the Ānanda family, a vassal of the Pallava king Mahēndravikramavarman I.[1] The inscription seems to record that Kandararāja defeated Pṛthivī-Yuvarāja in that battle and destroyed him. Prince Pṛthivī-Yuvarāja appears to be the same as Pṛthivī-Duvarāja, the *ājñapti* of the Koppāram copper-plate grant.[2] The probable date of the Cēzerla inscription lends support to this identification. The Cēzerla inscription belongs to the same period as the Koppāram plates of Pulikēs'in II, that is the first quarter of the seventh century. The identification is further rendered probable by the fact that there was no prince of that name other than the Cāḷukya general stationed in the Southern Andhra country.

The date of the battle of Dhānyakaṭaka and the death of Pṛthivī-Yuvarāja may be fixed sometime about 617 A. D. By this date *Yuvarāja* Viṣṇuvardhana had not come over to Andhradesa. The Satāra plates show conclusively that on the date of the charter *Yuvarāja* Viṣṇuvardhana was still in Kuntala assisting his elder brother Pulikēs'in II, in the goverment of the kingdom in a subordinate capacity. The Satāra plates register the grant of a village as an *agrahāra* on the southern bank of the Bhīmarathī in Kuntala, on the fullmoon day of Kārttika in the 8th year of *Mahārāja* Satyās'raya Pulikēs'in II. As the date of Pulikēs'in's accession lay about Ś. S. 532 expired or 610 A. D., the 8th year of Pulikēs'in II would be 617 A. D. and the fullmoon day of Kārttika corresponds to October, 19 617 A. D.[3] It seems that the death of Pṛthivī-Duvarāja was the turning point in the history of the Cālukya conquest of Andhradesa. It is probable that at this juncture Pulikēs'in II, desirous of extending his dominion over Andhradesa, the home

1 S. *I. I.*, VI, Nos. 594 and 595.

2 The above interpretation is based upon the following passage (L 1. 2–3): "*sva-s'akti-s'ātita s'ātrava-kari-vara-ghaṭā-saṅkaṭa Dhānyakaṭaka raṇa sapta kōtēḥ prathitān Pṛthivī-Yuvarājaḥ*,"

3 *Ind. Ant.* XIX, p. 303 and *Ibid*, XX, p. 94–5. See also *JAHRS.*, Vol. IX, part iv, pp. 4–6 and 14–15. (*Revised Chronology of the Eastern Cālukya Kings.*)

of his ancestors, despatched his younger brother *Yuvarāja* Viṣṇuvardhana surnamed Viṣamasiddhi to the east, to stem the tide of disastrous course of events that followed the battle of Dhānyakaṭaka. Viṣṇuvardhana's arrival in Andhradesa must be sometime after the date of his Satārā grant, probabaly about 620 A. D. He seems to have been sent to Andhradesa with the express command to quell the revolt of the turbulent vassals, put an end to the Pallava occupation of Southern Andhradesa and destroy the power of Pṛthivīmahārāja, which had in the meantime assumed great proportions in the country lying to the north of the Godavari, and establish firmly the sovereignty of the Cālukyas in the east as well.

By the year *c.* 618 A. D., it appears that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins were completely wiped out, and Pṛthivīmahārāja had established himself at Piṣṭapura as the paramount lord in Andhradesa. He was the son of Vikramēndra and son's son of *Mahārāja* Raṇa-Durjaya and belonged to the Rama-Kās'yapa *gōtra*.[1] The Tāṇḍivāḍa grant of his reign describes him with the epithets *pravardhamāna pratāp-ōpanata-samasta-sāmanta-maṇḍalaḥ nija-bhuja vijay-ōday-ādhigata yas'ō-vis'eṣa-bhuṣaṇaḥ*, "who on account of his ever increasing valour, subdued the entire circle of *sāmantas* and whose ornament was his distinguishing fame acquired by the rise of victory of his arms." These epithets obviously indicate that Pṛthivīmahārāja rose to be the most powerful prince in Andhradesa conquered and levied tribute from a host of neighbouring kings. The Tāṇḍivāḍa grant is important for the reason that it shows the authority of Pṛthivīmahārāja was firmly established in the heart of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dominions. The record gives to the ancestor Raṇa-Durjaya the regal title *Mahārāja* and omits the same to his son Vikramēndra, the donor's father. This omission may be due to the fact that while Raṇa-Durjaya was able to assert himself as a paramount

1 Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi breaks the single *gōtra* name Rama-Kās'yapa into two terms, *Rama* and *Kās'ypa*, absolutely without any justification. This he does apparently to find support for his theory that Raṇa-Durjaya was a Cōḷa prince of Rēnāḍu. Even that theory is based on the flimsy ground of the identity of the *gōtra* name Kās'yapa (instead of Rama-Kās'yapa) and the casual occurance of the name Durjaya. See *E. I.*, XXIII, pp 96-7.

king, Vikramēndra could not and his rule was uneventful. The donor Pṛthivīmahārāja, however, is extolled as a powerful king who meditated on the feet of his parents, as a *parama-brahmaṇya* and as having subdued the whole circle of the *sāmantas i. e.* neighbouring kings or feudatory princes. His reign may have lasted roughly half a century (*c.* 575—623 A.D.) since the only grant of his reign dated the 46th year seems to indicate. The inscription registers the grant of the village of Tāṇḍivāḍa in the Paguṇāra-*viṣaya* as an *agrahāra* with all the immunities, on the fullmoon day of Kārttika by Pṛthivī-mahārāja, for the increase of his health, life and fame, to the *brahmacārin* Bhavas'arman of the Kāmakāyana-*gōtra*, who was a student of the Chāndōga-*s'ākha* and resident of Koṇḍamañci. The donee was the son of Pṛthivis'arman and son's son of Viṣṇus'arman. It is said that the donee and his ancestors were very learned Brāhmaṇs. Viṣṇus'arman is described as "whose mind was purified by the performance of Agniṣṭōma and other *kratus* according to precept and as having mastered the *Śruti* and *Smṛti*." His son Pṛthivīs'arman is extolled as 'whose habit it was to study, comment and explain the *Tri-sahasra vidya* (Śukla-Yajurvēda) and whose prosperity was revealed among the priests (*ṛtvij*) and assistants (*sadasya*) by the riches given away in *kratus* frequently performed by him. The donee Bhavas'arman is described as a master of the *Tri-sahasra-vidya*, who had written 'twenty commentarries,' who spent his days and nights in worshipping the gods, the *pitṛs* and mankind, whose intellect was clarified by the knowledge of the Vedas, Vēdāngas, Nyāya, Upaniṣads and Yōga, who was skilled in expounding and commenting the *Tri-sahasra-vidya* and whose body was purified by water of sacred ablutions in various sacrifices. Paguṇāra or Paguṇavāra *viṣaya*[2] was the ancient name of the region now covered by the Bhīmavaram and Narasāpuram and the southern fringe of the Taṇuku tālūk of the West Godavari District and the eastern edge of the Kaikalūr

Pṛthivīmahārāja and his Tāṇḍivāḍa grant c. 620 A. D.

1 *Tri-sahasra-vidya* is, the technical expression for the Vājasanēyin branch of the Yajurvēda. It cannot be translated literally.

2 In the later records the name appears as Pānāraviṣaya also.

tālūk of the Kistna district, and was bounded by the Lake Kollēru on the west, sea on the east and the river Vasiṣṭha-Gōdāvari on the north. Tāṇḍivāḍa seems to be the same as Tāḍināḍa in the Kaikalūr tālūk and Koṇḍamañci identical with Koḍamañcili near Ācaṇṭa in the Narasāpuram tālūk. The executor of the grant was Śri Rama-leṇṟurāja who was probably an officer. There is no clue to find out the date of the record, but the language, phraseology, palaeography and other 'formal elements' of the charter clearly point to the early part of the seventh or latter part of the sixth century A. D. It will not be therefore improbale to assign the record to about 620 A. D.

Viṣṇuvardhana's arrival in Andhradesa about 620 A. D., at the head of a large army apparently, caused a tide in the fortunes of the Cālukyas. It was the beginning of the end of the short-lived glory of Pṛthivīmahārāja in Andhradesa, for it will be remembered that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins were already uprooted. Viṣṇuvardhana or as he is popularly known Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana conquered and destroyed the power of Pṛthivīmahārāja in the Northern Andhra country and occupied his kingdom. He then made Piṣṭapura, the former seat of Pṛthivīmahārāja, his own capital and extended his suzerainty in the first place over North Kalinga. The Timmāpuram plates of his reign dated from Piṣṭapura clearly bear out this conclusion.[1] After subduing the lord of Kalinga, Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana turned his attention to the conquest of the south. And before his eventful reign covering over a period of eighteen years came to an end he made himself the supreme overlord in Andhradesa. In fact as the founder of the Eastern Cālukya dynasty he acquired the sovereignty of the entire Andhra country in succession to the Imperial Viṣṇukuṇḍins. There are only two records of his reign; and both of them speak of him as *Mahārāja*, as a paramount sovereign, and apparently as having shaken off the suzerainty of his elder brother Satyāsraya Pulikēśin II. It seems that the formal division, rather separation of the empire

Pṛthivīmahārāja destroyed: c. 623 A. D.

1 *E. I.*, IX, p. 317f.

into two distinct kingdoms, Kuntala and Vēṅgi, between the two brothers and the assumption of sovereignty by Kubja-Viṣṇu-vardhana was brought about under most cordial circumstances. Pulikēs'in II evidently allowed his younger brother to assume independence in the Andhra country which he conquered by the strength of his own arms, as he himself did in Kuntala. For, that event would certainly avert a clash of claims for the throne of Kuntala itself which he apparently intended to descend to his own children. Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana is always described in the records of the family as 'the dear younger brother' of Satyās'raya Pulikēs'ivallabha; and this expression indicates beyond doubt that both the brothers and their descendants, even after separation of the two kingdoms, remained on most affectionate and cordial terms.

Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana founded Eastern Branch of the Cālukya Dynasty at Piṣṭapura c. 624 A. D.

The inscriptions of his period as well as the records of some of the feudatory chieftains of Andhradesa of the twelfth century speak of the manner in which Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana conquered the whole of the Andhra country and destroyed the power of the Pallavas and their vassal kings in the Southern Andhra country on the one hand, Pṛthivīmahārāja of Piṣṭapura and the Eastern Gaṅga king of Kalinga on the other. Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana brought several mercenary chieftains of war from the west, or the Middle Country in Dakṣiṇāpatha as it was called, when he came to Andhradesa and in course of time raised them to the rank of vassals by granting them principalities in the newly conquered territories as rewards for the assistance rendered by them in subduing the hostile feudatory princes and conquering the country. One such military chieftain is known from the inscriptions. He was Buddhavarman, the ancestor of the Durjaya chiefs of Giri-pas'cima-*sīma* (Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi-*sīma*) in Guntūr district of which Nādenḍla was the capital.[1] The ancestors of the other Durjaya

Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana conquers Andhradesa.

1 *S. I. I.*, IV No. 662.

Lines 1 to 17 अस्ति.........देवश्शीतमरीचिवंशतिलकः श्रीकुब्जविष्णुर्नृपः.........[१] यो वीरवैरिनिरपालहटात्किरीटसंघट्टघृष्टमसृणीकृतपादपीठः श्रीबुद्धवर्मनृपतिः प्रथितः पृथिव्यां वीरश्चतुर्थं

chieftains of the southern Andhra country, particularly of Oṁgeṛumārga, Natavāḍi, Velanāṇḍu, Kona-Kaṇḍravāḍi and others were probably among those mercenary chieftains that fought for Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana, and obtained from him the rulership of small principalities in the region lying on the southern bank of the Kṛṣṇa. Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana was a great statesman and conqueror. The inscriptions speak of him as a mighty warrior who "humbled the circle of vassals by means of the sharp-edge of his sword." He acquired the title *Viṣama-siddhi*, because "he had achieved success against fortresses difficult of access, on the plains, in the water, in the woods, on the hills." He bore the epithet *Naralōka-vikrama* or *Naralōka-Trivikrama* on account of his invincible prowess which surpassed the world.[1]

According to the Cīpurapalli grant which was dated the 18th year of his victorious reign, Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana appears to have conquered the whole of Kalinga by that date. The date of the grant has been equated to Friday, June 27, 641 A.D.[2] Reckoning backwards we find that he was crowned king of the Andhra country about March, 624 A. D. and that he reckoned the commencement of his reign as paramount sovereign from the fist lunar day of the bright fortnight of Vais'ākha in Śaka Saṁvat 546 expired, corresponding to March, 26, 624 A.D.[3] This date falls roughly six or seven years after the date of the king's Satārā grant. The Cīpurupalli copper-plates register the grant of the village of Kalvakoṇḍa by Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana as an *agrahara*, on the auspicious occasion of a lunar eclipse in Śrāvaṇa to two Brāhmaṇa householders, Viṣṇus'arman and Mādhavas'arman of the Gautama *gōtra* and Taittirīya-*caraṇa*, and sons of Durgas'arman.[4]

Commencement of Kubja-Viṣṇu-vardhana's reign 26 March, 624 A.D.

कुलशैलमृगाधिराजः [३]………स कुब्जविष्णोः प्रबभूव सेवकः। [४] स पालयामास महीं महीपतिः प्रतिप्रसादोपनतान्नताहितः। गिरिप्रतीचींसहराजलाञ्छनैस्त्रिसप्ततिग्रामवतीं शितासिना ॥ [५]

1 *E. I.*, IX pp. 317. text lines 6–10.

2 See *JAHRS*, Vol. IX, Pt. iv, p. 16.

3 Dr. Fleet calculates the equivalent of the date of this grant as July 7, 632 A. D. *Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 16.

4 *Ind. Ant.*, XX, pp 15ff.

The edict was issued from the king's residence at Ceṟupura, a town in the Paḻaki *viṣaya.* Kalvakoṇḍa is said to have been situated in the Dimile-*viṣaya.* The localities mentioned above are of great importance. For, it will be remembered that it was from his residence at Puranisaṁgama in Paḻaki-*rāṣṭra* which lay on the southern bank of the Vaṁs'adhāra in Kalinga, that Indrabhaṭṭāraka issued the Rāmatīrthaṃ plates roughly a century ago.

End of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and Rise of the Cāḷukyas.

The commencement of Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana's reign in Andhradesa as paramount sovereign marks the date of destruction of the last vestiges of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin sovereignty. Mañcyaṇṇa-Bhaṭṭāraka must have been defeated and slain by his treacherous vassal Pṛthivīmahāraja of Piṣṭapura, and later, all the traces of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin suzerainty put an end to by the Cāḷukya conqueror. Thus ended with his death the glorious chapter of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty, in the early history of Andhradesa. The destruction of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and the establishment of the Cāḷukya sovereignty in Andhradesa were marked by the issue of new coinage by Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana in his own name.[1]

1 Two hoards of copper-coins were discovered at Yellamañcili (Vizgapatam district) (*Ind. Ant*, XXV, p. 322) and Daṇḍapahād (Doṇḍapāḍu) in Nalgoṇḍa district. *Rep. Arch. Dept*. H. E. H. Nizam's Dominions. 1925–26 : Appendix B, pp. 26ff.

APPENDIX.

# I

## *Coins and Emblems of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins.*

Viṣṇukuṇḍin coins wrongly attributed to the Pallavas.

Let us now refer to the coins and emblems of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, that have been wrongly and ignorantly attributed to other dynasties of South India. Certain coins that were collected by Sir Walter Elliot have been classed as Pallava or Kurumba-Pallava. This classification was made at a time when the name of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty was not even heard of. These coins were collected by Elliot during his Commissionership of the Northern Circars. These must, therefore, necessarily belong to the dynasties that held sway in the northern part of the Andhra country and not elsewhere. Elliot's collections and the remarks of various writers on the coins have to be re-examined in the light of new materials that have been since discovered. Prof. Rapson refers to a group of coins under the heading 'Pallava' and divides them in to two classes:(I) Those which in style bear some resemblance to the coins of the Andhras (Elliot's *Coins of South India*, Plate II Nos. 55–58) and perhaps also (*Ibid)* Nos. 131–38) called 'Pallava-Kurumbas.' He believes that these belong to the second and third centuries A. D.[1] Rapson believes further that the occurrence of the ship symbol on the reverse testifies that the dynasty, which issued the coins, carried on foreign trade. The Pallavas established themselves only in the middle of the third century in South India. Until then the Andhra country was under the Imperial Andhras and later under the Ikṣvākus. It appears from the Prakrit Inscription of *Upāsika* Bōdhisiri at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, that the Andhra country enjoyed a considerable amount of religious and commercial intercourse with the eastern countries beyond the seas during the Ikṣvāku period. It is well known that the coins of the Andhra king Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi contain a ship symbol

1 *Coinages of Southern India*, pp. 37 No. 128

on the reverse which signifies the existence of commercial intercourse between Andhradesa and countries beyond the seas under the aegis of the Imperial Śātavāhanas. The ship symbol coins which Sir Walter Elliot collected may have to be attributed either to the Ikṣvākus or their successors, the Śālaṅkāyanas and Viṣṇukuṇḍins. (II) The second class of coins according to Prof. Rapson's classification is of gold and silver, which is undoubtedly later. Here again there is no evidence of their exact date. The coins bear the emblem of a 'maned lion' with an inscription in old Brāhmi script underneath it. The 'lion symbol' was the emblem of the early dynasties of Andhradesa, the Ikṣvākus, Viṣṇukuṇḍins and the Early Cōlas; it never was of the Pallavas. The seals of the Rāmatīrtham and Cikkula plates as well as the Polamūru copper plate grant of Mādhavavarman III bear in relief the emblem of a lion standing to the proper right with the right fore-paw raised and, with a wide open mouth and apparently with an up-turned double tail. In the sculptures of the Ikṣvāku epoch and later, of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin period, the lion symbol is always prominent. It is also well known that the Pallava emblem was a bull (*nandi*) and never a lion. Coins which contain a lion symbol on the reverse cannot therefore be attributed to the Pallavas. Moreover, the coins showing the lion symbol have on the obverse a vase on a stand. It may be observed that the 'vase' symbol was a peculiar feature found in the sculptures of the rock-cut temples of Mugalarājapuram (Mudgalarājapura) Uṇḍavalli and Bezwada on the banks of the Kṛṣṇa. The territory lying on the northern bank of the Kṛṣṇa was never under the occupation of the Pallavas. It is, therefore, impossible for the vase to have been the Pallava symbol. The coins, therefore, of the lion and vase symbols that had been wrongly assigned to the Pallavas, by previous writers like Vincent A. Smith, Elliot, Rapson and others, have now to be correctly attributed to the Andhra dynasties, particulaly to the Viṣṇukuṇḍins.

'Lion' and 'Vase' are Viṣṇukuṇḍin emblems; not Pallava.

Sir Walter Elliot mentions in his collection six varieties of coins which he also assigns wrongly to the Pallavas. Two of the six coins are of base silver alloy and the rest of gold of varying weight. The silver coins bear on the reverse the symbol of a lion with ample mane, and an inscription at the bottom. "There are some examples also," he writes, "of coins which have a sword above or in front of the animal."[1] On the reverse is a vase on the stand between the tall tripod lamp-stands, the whole within a broad circle of radiating lines. The gold coins too, (*Coins Nos.* 51—54) have, on the obverse, a lion to the left, paw raised, with a circle around which is a doubtful legend. On the reverse is a storeyed edifice or temple and below it, a word which has not yet been deciphered. According to Elliot these are doubtful coins, the provenance of which is unknown. Nevertheless the symbol of a storeyed edifice on the obverse is interesting, and seems to represent the storeyed cave temple at Uṇḍavalli on the Kṛṣṇa. Another gold coin, (*No. 52 of Plate* II) is from Rājamahēndri, with a lion with paw uplifted on the obverse; and the letter *Mā* with another imperfect letter, perhaps *dha* underneath it is clearly visible. It may be believed that these letters represent the name Mādhavavarman of the Viṣṇu-kuṇḍin dynasty. The storeyed temple or edifice seems to have pillars underneath it. These coins seem, therefore, to belong to the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and not to the Pallavas.

The Anakāpalli hoard.

There is another interesting find of sixty-eight copper coins and one gold coin from Bojjanna-koṇḍa and Eṭi-koṇḍa near Anakāpalli, Vizagapatm district.[2] It has been found that some of the copper coins bear distinctly on their obverse the legend *Viṣamasiddhi* and accordingly assigned to the Eastern Cāḷukya king Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana. Others bear, on the obverse, the figure of a lion and on the reverse, that of a vase; these however were ignorantly assigned to the Pallavas. These coins cannot be assigned to the Pallavas. They must be attributed to the Viṣṇukuṇḍin

1 *Numismata Orientala*, Vol, I. Nos. 152A, Pl. II. Nos. 49—54.
2 *ARSIE.*, 1909, Part I, p. 4f.

dynasty whose sovereignty was supplanted by the Cāḷukyas. It is noteworthy that a single coin out of this hoard is unique and deserves special notice. While marked with the symbols of the vase and the lion like the rest, it bears in archaic characters of about the fourth or fifth century A. D, a legend which the epigraphist, the late V. Venkayya tentatively read as *Śrīkanta*, but which I think must be read as *Śrīparvata*. The Viṣṇukuṇḍins called themselves "the worshippers of the feet of the holy Lord of Śrīparvata." Possibly, the Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarchs of the early period adopted the name of their tutelary deity *Śrīparvatasvāmin* as the legend on their coin. This indeed is a unique coin; and the discovery of the hoard which contained both the Viṣṇukuṇḍin and the Eastern Cālukya coins shows that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins preceded the Eastern Cālukyas in the sovereignty of Andhradesa.

The provenance of these coins in the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dominions as well as the symbols of the lion, vase and storeyed edifice on them clearly prove that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins issued their own coinage in copper, silver and gold to proclaim their imperial suzerainty in Dakṣiṇāpatha. The Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings, at any rate Mādhavavarman I and Mādhavavarman III, claim to have performed eleven *Aśvamēdhas*: and the former a *Rājasūya*, *Sarvamēdha* and thousands of other excellent *kratus*, while the latter, innumerable gifts of gold like *Bahusuvarṇa* and *Hiraṇyagarbha* in thorough orthodox Brahmanical style. The Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarchs, therefore, must have felt a great need to issue their own coinage. They were undoubtedly rich and powerful kings who rose to imperial dignity after the manner of the earlier dynasties like the Ikṣvākus and the Śātavāhanas. They would have copied, too, the Vākāṭakas and the Imperial Guptas, their contemporaries and allies in the North.

Provenance and other evidence point to the Viṣṇukuṇḍins.

The lion symbol is found on the seals of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin charters. It was their *lāñchhana* or emblem. The vase symbol must have been borrowed or copied either from the Śātavāhanas

or the Ikṣvākus, with whom the Viṣṇukuṇḍins seem to have some connection. The storeyed edifice on the coins appears to be a symbol which was adopted to commemorate the famous rock-cut temple at Uṇḍavalli which was probably excavated under their patronage in the hey-day of their glory. These emblems and the political history of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins admirably agree with each other. All the gold and silver coins and all the architecture that had been wrongly and ignorantly attributed to the Pallavas have therefore to be assigned to the Imperial Viṣṇukuṇḍins.

## II

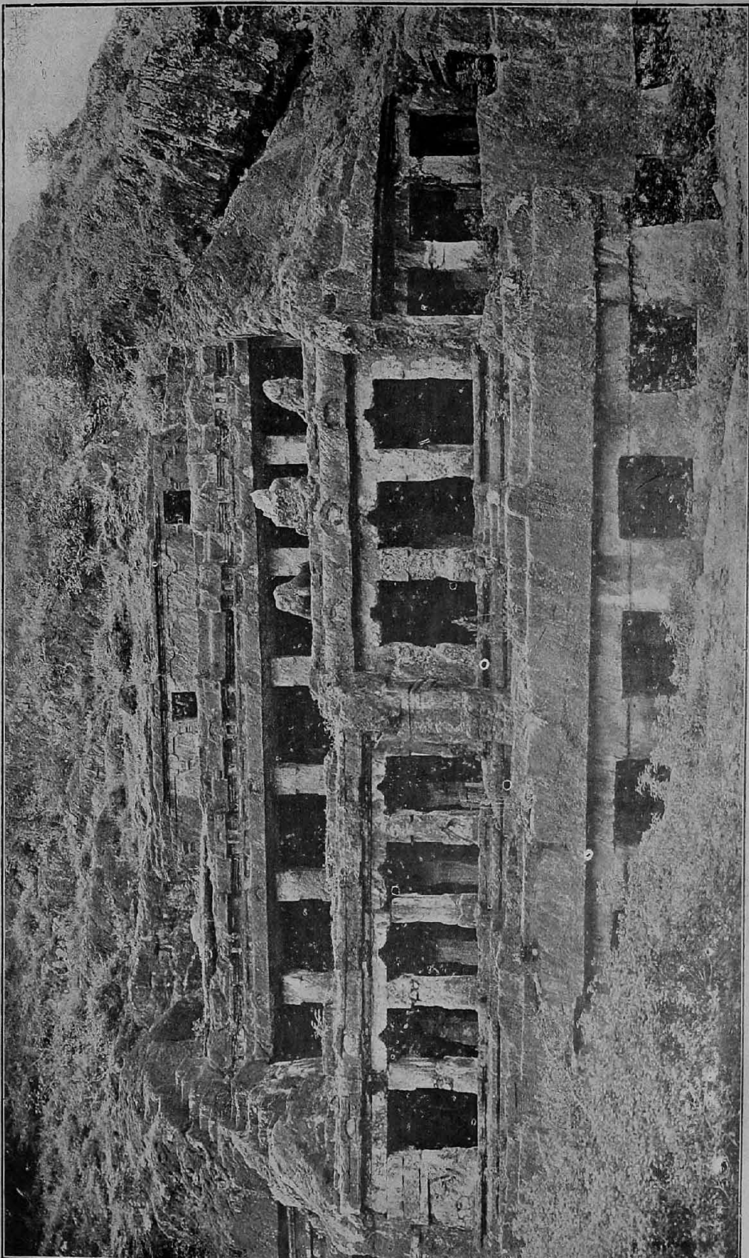
### *Viṣṇukuṇḍin Architecture.*

A number of cave temples are found in Andhradesa. Those that are found at Bezwada, Mugalarājapuram, Uṇḍavalli and Bhairavakoṇḍa (Bhairavunikoṇḍa) seem to have been modelled after the rock-cut temples of Guṇṭupalli and Kōrukoṇḍa and other ancient places, of the earlier Buddhist epoch.

Rock-hewn Temples of Andhradesa. Pre-Mahēndra or Mahēndra style, a misnomer.

These cave temples have much in common in style and architecture with the later temples hewn out of rock at Vallam, Trichinopoly, Dalāvānūr Maṇḍagapaṭṭu and other places in the Tamil country. On account of the great similarity of style and ornamentation, the rock-hewn temples of Andhradesa have been assigned to the so called *Pre-Mahēndra* and *Mahēndra* style of architecture and are believed to be the work of the Pallava king Mahēndravarman I. The originator of this theory and appellation is Mr. A. H. Longhurst.[1] When he wrote his *Memoir* on the Pallava Architecture in 1924, the framework of chronology of the early dynasties of Andhradesa and the political history of the Pallavas of Kāñci were still unsettled. It is therefore necessary to examine the theory advanced by Mr. Longhurst in the light of new facts that have since then come to light.

1 *The Pallava Architecture* Part I. p. 5.



Rock cut four storeyed Temple at Undavalli
on the southern bank of the Krsna near Bezwada.
belonging to Viṣṇukuṇḍin Epoch

*By the kind courtesy of the Archl. Surv. of India.*

The cave temples in Andhradesa are rock-cut subterranean excavations. They have but one external facade, namely the face of the rock. The architectural character of these temples is therefore simple and severe, and is indicative of great strength and durability. The architecture is mainly internal. On plan the temple consists of a rectangular pillared hall with a small shrine chamber excavated in one of the side walls. The shrine chamber is free from all ornamentation within, but usually has *dvārapālakas* or 'door-keepers' carved in bold relief and standing on each side of the entrance to the shrine. The external ends of the facade are also provided with figures of door-keeprs at each end protecting the outer entrance. The *dvārapālakas* are very huge figures and have a characteristic pose, which is somewhat different from those of the door-keepers of the rock-cut shrines of the Tamil country. They generally stand facing the spectator, in rather an aggressive attitude, with one hand resting on a massive club. Others have one hand raised to the head in the act of adoration. The *dvārapālakas* are usually found in large niches excavated in the face of the rock on either side of the entrance. Their head-dress is peculiar; by a curious arrangement, the hair extends outwards and rests on the shoulders in a huge circular mass. The head-dress also contains bull's horns. The bull's horns and the strange manner of dressing the hair suggest that the shrines rank amongst the earliest Hindu temples and that some peculiar Śaiva cult flourished in the Andhra country during that period. Another characteristic feature of these temples is the type of the pillar found in them. The pillars are about two feet square in section and about seven feet in height. The upper and lower portions are cubical in section while the middle portion of the shaft has the angles bevelled off, which makes the middle third octagonal in section. Sometimes the cubical portions are decorated with a conventional lotus flower design, similar to the lotus medallions appearing on the stone rails of the Amarāvatī *Stūpa*. Each pillar has a corresponding pilaster. The cornice of the facade and that over the shrine doorway, usually

Cave temples: their character and architecture.

takes the form of a heavy projecting convex moulding decorated with the Buddhist gable-window ornament. This ornament imitates a miniature barrel-vaulted roof decorated with small horse-shoe shaped gable windows. Human heads are portrayed peering through these windows, and the gables have large flat headed finials shaped like garden spades. Another feature is the Buddhist rail ornament. Floriated *tōraṇas* are also sometimes depicted in bas reliefs, spanning an entrance or as an ornament over a niche containing an image. Still another feature of the style is the bas relief ornament representing a vase. Carved in the base of the pilaster is usually found a bas relief ornament representing a vase tied crosswise with ribbons with a kind of floral decoration issuing from the mouth of the vessel. It is a design that frequently appears in the Buddhist monuments of Amarāvati and other places. Lastly, a very characterstic and striking feature is the lion ornamentation. Usually the bases of the pillars are decorated with lions, sometimes with their fore-paws raised and with up turned lashing tails.

Sculptures found at Bezwada.

Images of *dvārapālakas* similar to those that are found in the cave temples were discovered recently in Bezwada. They have been assigned to the Cāḷukya epoch. They stand six and a half feet high and are carved out of a huge single stone. They seem to have adorned a great shrine at Bezwada, traces of which no longer exist. A *cāmaradhāriṇī* (female figure with a chowrie in hand) and two elephants carved similarly in huge single stones have been also found in the same place. There was sometime ago at the same spot a large figure of Gaṇēs'a. All these monuments seem to belong to the same epoch as the rock-cut shrines found in the Andhra country.

The rock-cut temples in Bezwada are excavated in the eastern and western slopes of the Indrakīla hill. These are five in number. The Akkanna-Mādanna *maṇṭapa* is the largest and the best rock-cut temple in that place. It is a triple-celled temple with a pillared hall in front, and faces the east. There are three temples in Mugalarājapuram, three miles to the east

of Bezwada. There are two more in the neighbouring hills at the same place. These temples like those of Bezwada contain three shrine cells each; and this fact clearly indicates that these shrines were dedicated to the Hindu Trinity. The central cell which is, however, larger than the two flanking on either side seems to have contained a *linga* which was surmounted on the usual *yōni* pedestal. In addition to the usual characteristic features, the central shrine of the *Trimūrti* temple at Mugalarājapuram contains a representation of the heads of Śiva and his consort Pārvati. The one on the west of the central shrine contains the images of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī and the one on the east, Brahma with three faces. Carved in the face of the rock is a life size bas relief figure of Śiva, dancing presumably in the form of Naṭarāja or Kalika-Tāṇḍava.

Temples at Bezwada and Mugalarājapuram.

On the other side of the Kṛṣṇa river is Uṇḍavalli which is more interesting and important. Here is a four storeyed rock-cut temple, apparently dedicated to Viṣṇu under the name *Anantaśayana*, hewn in a hill on the southern bank of the river. Strictly speaking, the shrine at Uṇḍavalli consists of three temples excavated in the rock one above the other. The ground floor is unfinished. The first floor like the temples at Bezwada and Mugalarājapuram contains a shrine which is apparently dedicated to the Hindu Trinity. The second storey contains a large pillared hall in which lies the colossal image of *Anantaśayana* referred to above. The bases of two pillars in the centre of the hall are decorated with little figures of lions which are represented with one fore-paw raised, erect head and gaily carried lashing tails. The bases of the pillars are decorated with vase ornamentations similar to those found at Mugalarājapuram. The style of the door-keepers, panels, niches containing Śiva figures and groups of miniature rock-cut Śiva temples close by on the hill, all indicate that this great shrine was a stronghold of the Māhēśvara cult from the earliest times, in spite of the Viṣṇu image about whose origin there is no information. At the southern end of

Rock cut four storeyed temple at Uṇḍavalli.

the open terrace on the same storey, there is a group of decayed figures carved in the round, representing a life-size male human figure seated in the usual conventional cross-legged style, between two huge lions, one on each side. The figure is unfortunately without head and also too decayed to be identified. The entire group in the round seems to belong to the Śiva temple, for it is just above the cornice of that shrine. The human figure does not seem to represent any particular deity, for it has only two arms. It is quite probable that it was intended as an image of the saintly king who excavated the temple. The two lions on either side and the lion ornamentation in the group and elsewhere seem to suggest that the saintly human figure might be a Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch.

Temples at Bhairavakoṇḍa.

Roughly twenty miles north-west of Udayagiri and at a difficult place to reach in the Nellore district lies Bhairavakoṇḍa, which contains a group of eight temples, all hewn out of the rock and dedicated to the worship of Śiva. These temples are similar in style, plan and architecture to those found at Mugalarājapuram and Bezwada. On each side of the doorway of the temple is a large niche contaning a life-size figure of a *dvārapālaka* wearing a peculiar head-dress including bull's horns, with a curious arrangement of the massive hair, and leaning in a characteristic pose on a huge club. In all these eight temples an important position is given to the *linga* and this feature plainly shows that Mahēśvara was the principal object of worship, Brahma and Viṣṇu being regarded as minor deities. In the ornamental temples at this place, the cornice is decorated with the gable window design and frieze of fat little dwarfs below it, and lion pillars with bracket capitals.

Mr. Longhurst thinks that these rock-cut shrines were the work of the Pallava king Mahēndravarman I. It is no doubt true that the origin of these temples at Bezwada, Mugalarāja-puram, Uṇḍavalli, and Bhairavakoṇḍa is obscure. Unfortunately, too, none of these shrines contain any inscriptions which enable us to determine their origin and date. But it is clear that they sprang into existence during the period of militant revival of

Brahminism and the decline of Buddhism sometime after the fall of the Ikṣvākus. The architectural style of these monuments plainly denotes that they were the work of the people who inherited the traditions of art and architecture of the Buddhists of the earlier Śātavāhana and Ikṣvāku epochs. It seems that the descendants of the workmen who excavated the temples in Andhradesa later on migrated to the Tamil country and executed similar and sometimes better work there. It is no doubt true that the style of the sculptures and mouldings and the similarity of plan and architecture between the rock-cut temples of Andhradesa and Tamil country indicate that both were the work of one and the same race of people. The Telugu names appearing in some of earliest Pallava inscriptions of the rock-cut shrines in the reign of Mahēndravarman I show that the architects and sculptors came from Andhradesa. It is therefore reasonable to believe that the monuments of Andhradesa were the work of a race of people who preceded Mahēndravarman I. It is possible that they were excavated during the vigorous period of the Imperial Viṣṇukuṇḍins.

Reasons for assigning the cave temples to the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Epoch.

Let us see how far this view finds support in the materials available to us. All these shrines were apparently dedicated to the worship of Śiva. It is an admitted fact that Mahēndravarman I got his taste for the rock-cut temples from the Andhra country. And like the great emperor As'ōka, Mahēndravarman I had to change his religion. He was at first a Jaina, but later on he became a convert to the cult of Mahēs'vara. It was only after the adoption of the Mahēs'vara cult that Mahēndravarman felt the impulse to excavate subterranenan rock-cut temples after the models in Andhradesa. Therefore the rock-cut temples on the banks of the Kṛṣṇa and of the Nellore district seem to belong to the period before Mahēndravarman I. Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil believes that the rock-cut shrines of Bezwada, Mugalarājapuram and Uṇḍavalli were the work of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. He is right in this conclusion. But Mr. Longhurst does not accept this view. He thinks that there is no proof that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins

excavated these rock-cut temples. But the history of the Pallava rule of Andhradesa settles the question. To Mr. Longhurst the history of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty was not known. From the days of the Bṛhatphalāyanas, the dynasties of Andhradesa were followers of Brahmanism and the cult of Mahēs'-vara. Śrīparvata or Śris'aila had always been the seat of the Mahēs'vara cult and was celebrated throughout the land during the early period. On the contrary, the Pallavas were worshippers of Viṣṇu and called themsleves *Parama-Bhāgavatas.* Some of the early Pallava kings were either Jainas or Buddhists, but such names as Śiva-Skanadavarman and Vijaya-Skandavarman borne by the early kings, seem to show that at least some of them were worshippers of Śiva at that early date. The fact that the Pallava kings had *khatvāṇga* for their banner and the bull for their emblem or crest supports this view. On the contrary, some of the kings of the Sanskrit charters seem to be adherents of the Vaiṣṇava faith as indicated by their names Viṣṇugōpa, Siṁhaviṣṇu, and Kumāra-Viṣṇu. This is further corroborated by the facts that the Pallavas from the days of the Sanskrit grants adopted the epithet *Parama-Bhāgavata* and that they commenced the preambles to their charters by an invocation to God Viṣṇu as *Jitam Bhagavatā.* These show in unmistakable terms that the Early Pallavas were worshippers of Viṣṇu. It is therefore reasonable to presume that the Pallavas prior to Mahēndravarman I, who were either Jainas or Vaiṣṇavas and not worshippers of Śiva, could not be the builders of the rock-cut shrines of Andhradesa, and that Mahēndravarman I himself could not have excavated them, because he had acquired the taste for them apparently only after he embraced the cult of Mahēsvara.

## Book V

I. The Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinga.
II. The Śāīlōdbhava Dynasty of Kongoda.
III. The Kings of Śarabhapura.
IV. The Nalas of Nandivardhana.

## CHAPTER I.

### 1. *The Rise of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinga.*

### *Circa* 497—625 A. D.

The history of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinga ought to be, strictly speaking, the subject matter of a separate treatise, for it will be doing grave injustice to treat so vast and intricate a subject as that in this summary fashion. A detailed and comprehensive history of the Eastern Gaṅgas is beyond the scope of the present work from the chronological point of view.

**Introductory.** For, it is practically the history of Kalinga from the close of the fifth down to the middle of the fourteenth century. But as the history of the Eastern Gaṅgas is intimately connected with the history of the early dynasties of Andhradesa, and also with the decline of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Empire, we are confining ourselves to the rise of that dynasty to power in Kalinga and to its vicissitudes in the early period. The present study is thus confined to the history of its struggles with the Śailōdbhavas of Konyōḍha and other ancient local dynasties of Kalinga on the one hand and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins on the other. An attempt will also be made in this short study to determine the initial point of the Gaṅga era which has been a knotty problem since the days of Dr. Fleet and which is the basis for the reconstruction of the history of the Eastern Gaṅgas. To be precise, the present study confines itself to the period which commences with the establishment of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty in Trikalinga in the closing years of the fifth century and ends with the accession of Indravarman (III) son of Dānārṇava to the throne of Kalinga-nagara, about 620 A. D.

The origin of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty is lost in obscurity. There are several versions about its origin and rise to power. But the dynastic records are the best material to judge from, as in the case of the Pallavas. There was a Gaṅga dynasty in

Kalinga known to historians as the Eastern Gangas early in the sixth century. There was also a Gaṅga or Jāhnavēya dynasty as it is called, known to the historians as the Western Gaṅgas, in Mysore, earlier than that, in the beginning of the fifth century. Both these dynasties seem to be different families; nevertheless they seem to belong to one and the same tribe called Gāṅga or Gaṅga. It is possible to presume that they became known by that appellation, because they lived for a long time on the banks of the Gaṅgā (Ganges) or Jāhnavī in Northern India and spread southwards at some unknown period. The Gaṅgas who inhabited the Gangetic Delta were ancient tribes: they were mentioned by Megasthenes (c. 300 B. C.) as a tribe or tribes occupying the region of the mouths of the Ganges in lower Bengal. They were referred to as the *Gangaridai*, and their territory is said to have lain between the Ganges on the north and the river Dāmōdar on the south, Magadha on the west and the sea on the east. According to the *Natural History* of Pliny, (*c.* 77 A. D.) the Gaṅga tribe would seem to have moved southwards and occupied the region of *Modo-Calingae* or *Madhya Kalinga* (?) near about the mouths of the Vaṁs'adhāra in the north of the Vizagapatam district. Their capital is said to have been Daṇḍagula which has been identified with Dantapura of the Buddhist traditions.

*Origin and original home of the Eastern Gaṅgas.*

Some writers are of opinion that there must have been some connection between the Gaṅgas of Kalinga and the Gaṅgas or Jāhnavēyas of Gaṅgavāḍi in Mysore. The Jāhnavēyas of Gaṅgavāḍi rose to sovereignty in Punnāṭa-Pannāṭa country in Southern Mysore and were Brāhmaṇs in the beginning like the Gaṅgas of Kalinga. But while the Gaṅgas of Punnāṭa-Pannāṭa country claimed descent in the Kāṇvāyana-*gōtra* and were Jainas by religion, the Gaṅgas of Kalinga were Brāhmaṇs of Ātrēya-*gōtra* and were worshippers of God Śiva under the name Gōkarṇes'vara. The *gōtra* of the Early Gaṅgas of Kalinga is nowhere mentioned; it is a matter for conjecture. Some writers believe that as the Later Gaṅgas of Kalinga seem to belong

*The Jāhnavēyas and the Gaṅgas of Kalinga possibly belong to a single tribe.*

to the same Early Gaṅga dynasty, the latter might in all likelihood belong to the same Ātrēya-*gōtra*. As the Western Gaṅgas of the Jāhnavēyas belong to a different-*gōtra*, it is probable that they were a different family and had no connection with the Gaṅgas of Kalinga, though both of them belonged to the same Gaṅga tribe and had connections with each other in the beginning.

The Jāhnavēyas rose to sovereignty about the beginning of the fifth century as shown elsewhere, while the Eastern Gaṅgas did not rise to power till the close of the fifth century. Those who maintain the connection between the Eastern Gaṅgas and the Western Gaṅgas refer to the tradition recorded in the family charters of the Eastern Gaṅgas, which states that Kāmārṇava I, the founder or progenitor of the Later Gaṅga dynasty, migrated into Kalinga with his four younger brothers from Gaṅgavāḍi and Kōlāhalapura in Mysore, leaving the ancestral kingdom to his paternal uncle, and established himself in Kalinga after destroying the Śabara chief named Śabarāditya. Let us examine the tradition closely.

From the navel of the divine lord Viṣṇu there arose Brahman. From him was born Atri, the lord of the sages. He begot Śas'āṅka. His son was Budha. His son was Purūravas, then his son was Āyus. Then in that lineage was born a son named Tūrvasu who propitiated the river Gaṅgā and obtained a son, called Gāṅgēya. Since then his descendants were renowned in the world under the name *Gaṅgānvaya*.[1] A descendant of Tūrvasu was Pragalbha, whose son was Kōlāhala. He built a city and named it after himself as Kōlāhalapura in Gaṅgavāḍi-*viṣaya*. When there had gone by 81 kings who enjoyed the rulership of Kōlāhala, there arose in his lineage prince Vīrasiṁha. "Among the kings of his time none had the courage even to look at the maddened sword of this (Vīrasiṁha), who terrified the Cōḷas by the march of his armies, the Pāṇḍyas

Eastern Gaṅga traditions examined.

1 *Ind. Ant.* XVIII, pp. 168ff.

अपुत्रत्वं प्राप्तस्सुचिरमतिखिन्नो नृपवृषस्स गंगा माराध्यां नियतगतिराराध्य वरदाम्।
अजेयं गांगेयं सुतमलभतारभ्य च तदा क्रमस्तद्वंश्यतां भुवि जयति गंगान्वय इति ॥

by the knitting of his eye brows, the seven Konkaṇa kings by a menacing roar, the Kēralas by a shout of contempt, the kings of Karṇāṭa and Lāṭa by a threatening movement of his head." He had five sons, Kāmārṇava, Dānārṇava, Guṇārṇava, Mārasiṁha and Vajrahasta. Kāmārṇava, though he could have recovered the kingdom usurped by his father's brother, left the country to him, and set out with his four brothers and destroying the foes that attacked him on the way, marched eastwards. He got up the mountain Mahēndra and worshipped the god Gōkarṇasvāmin. He obtained through His favour the sovereignty of Kalinga with all the insignia of universal kingship, and shone like Mahēndra. Kāmārṇava, who obtained the surname Mahēndra, defeated and slew Śabarāditya, the lord of that region, on the battlefield and thus took possession of the kingdom of Kalinga. Dantapura which excelled even the city of Surēndra was his capital."[1] This account of t~~he origin of the Gaṅga dynasty, particularly of~~ the Later Gaṅga dynasty seems to have some connection with the legendary origin of ~~the family recorded in the preambles of a collatera~~l Gaṅga dynasty ~~of Kalinga.~~ T~~his collateral Gaṅga family ruled from a place called~~ Śvētaka or Ścētaka, ~~which~~ has not been yet identified~~, and now and then~~ interrupted the ~~sovereignty of the elder branch that ruled~~ from Kalinganagara or Dantapura ~~by the strength of their arms. In the formal preambles of their charters~~ a~~re found epithets which corroborate the tradition regarding~~ th~~e migration of the Gaṅga family from Gaṅgavāḍi in the south~~. The kings of this Ścētaka or Śvētaka dynasty are called *Śri-Nandagiri-nāthaḥ Kōkalāvalapura-paṭṭaṇa-vinirgata-kaṁvalya-varayaghōṣaḥ*, "the glorious lord of Nandagiri, who belonged to the city of Kōkalāvalapura and who had brought or obtained the war drum Kāṁvalya."[2] The same epithet occurs in another record of this family with

Epithets belonging to the collateral Branch of Svētaka.

1 The tradition was first recorded in the charters of Anantavarma-Chōḍa-Gaṅgadēva in the eleventh century. See his records dated S'. S. 1034 (*JAHRS.*, Vol. I. p. 107ff.) and S'. S. 1040 (*Ind. Ant*, XVIII, p. 168ff.)

2 *E. I.*, XXIII, p. 78, text lines 7-8.

a slight variation as *Gaṅgāmalakula - tilaka - śrī Kōlāulapura - paṭṭaṇakasyaḥ kaṁvalya-varaya-ghōṣaḥ.*[1] Kielhorn translated the first epithet in the passage as "belonging to the spotless family of the Gaṅgas, the lord of the excellent city of Kōlāhala." For the next epithet, he was unable to suggest any meaning or emendation in a satisfactory manner, but felt no doubt that *kaṁvalya* mentioned some special musical instrument to which he was entitled. He suggested that as the signs for the initial *u* and *ha* are similar, the Kōlaulapura might probably be a mistake for Kōlāhalapura. Accordingly it appears that *Kōlāhala-puravarēśvara* or *Kōlāhalapurapaṭṭaṇaka*, meaning the 'lord of the excellent city of Kōlāhalapura' and 'the inhabitant of Kōlāhalapura' respectively were the hereditary titles of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinga whether they belonged to the elder or the younger branch.[2]

These traditions indicate that the Eastern Gaṅgas were a southern family who emigrated from Gangavāḍi and Kōlāhalapura and obtained sovereignty of Kalinga on the east. Kōkalāvalapura, Kōlāhalapura, Kōlāulapura, Kōlālapura, Kōvaḷālapura or Kuvalālapura, all seem to denote one and the same place which has been identified by Lewis Rice with Kolar in Mysore. The title *Nandagirinātha* is new to the Eastern Gaṅgas, and curiously enough occurs only once in the records of the Junior dynasty of Śvētaka or Ścētaka discovered so far.[3] The title *Nandagirinātha* was also adopted by the Western Cāḷukyas and Western Gaṅgas in some of their charters.[4] Nandagiri has been identified with the well known-fortified hill to the west of Kolar district, Mysore, now called Nandidroog (Nandidurga).[5]

These traditions are found only in the records of the Later Gaṅgas of the eleventh century. Some scholars are therefore

1 *E. I.*, IV, p. 199, text lines 6-7, p. 200, note 1.

2 See *Ind. Ant.*, VI, pp. 102, 103; and Vol. XVIII, pp. 311, 312.

3 *E. I.*, XXIII, p. 78, text line 7.

4 Western Cāḷukya: (Kielhorn's List of *South Indian Inscriptions* Nos. 168, 170 n) Western Gaṅga: (*Ibid*, Nos. 95, 124, 125, 130, 132 and 133.

5 Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. XVIII, p. 850.

inclined to reject them as untrustworthy materials for determining the origin of the family. They contend that these legends and traditions came into existence for the first time in the eleventh century when mythological pedigrees were being invented or constructed for the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty in order to glorify it. It may be true that these legends and traditions were first recorded in the eleventh century or thereabouts but the claim that the ancestors of the dynasty migrated from Kōlāhalapura in Gaṅgavāḍi and that their ancestors bore the epithets 'Lord of the excellent city of Kōlāhalapura' and 'Lord of the Nandagiri' cannot be easily brushed aside as unworthy of historical value. Let us therefore examine the earliest records of the Eastern Gaṅgas and their contemporaries.

Legends etc. found for the first time in the records of the Later Gaṅgas.

As pointed out in the preceding Book, the earliest known king of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty is Indravarman, the donor of the Jirjingi copper-plate grant, "Lord of Trikalinga".[1] He is referred to as *Adhirāja* Indra in a contemporary copper-plate grant. His father's name is not mentioned in the Jirjingi grant. He is simply called the *Gāṅgāmalakula-gaganatala-sahasraraśmiḥ*, "the glorious sun of the sky that is the spotless family of the Gaṅgas." Pṛthivīmūla's Godavari grant, however, calls Indra the "dear son of Mitavarman, who was the moon that arose from the ocean of the twice-born family that inhabited the famous town of Maṇalkuḍi." But his family name is not given. The Jirjingi grant does not speak of Indravarman's father as a king. From the synchronism of the Godavari grant, it has been shown elsewhere that *Adhirāja* Indra, son of Mitavarman, was the same as *Mahārāja* Indravarman, of the Gaṅga family. Indravarman of the Jirjingi grant does not seem to have been the first paramount king of his house. This conjecture rests also on the preamble of the Godavari grant which omits altogether the kingly title to Mitavarman. It is not unreasonable therefore to assume that while Indravarman I or *Adhirāja* Indra rose to

Facts from the Jirjingi and Godavari grants.

1 *Ante.* Book IV, p. 494ff.

imperial dignity in Kalinga, his father was not his predecessor on the throne of Dantapura but somebody else of his own family. For the present, however, it may be supposed that Indravarman's predecessor was either Mitavarman's father or more probably his elder brother.

The Godavari grant speaks of Maṇalkuḍi as the place of origin of the ancestors of Mitavarman and *Adhirāja* Indra. Dr. Fleet is not able to identify the town. The name ending *kuḍi* is peculiar and there is not a single town or village in the whole of Kalinga or Andhradesa, which has a similar name-ending in *kuḍi*. The term means 'a settlement where members of a single community live together.' There are numerous villages and towns in South India which end with the term *kuḍi*; and among such may be mentioned Kās'ākuḍi, Paramakuḍi, Nadkkuḍi, Vēlakkuḍi, Poḍukkuḍi, Yērkuḍi, Pudukkuḍi, Tiruppakkuḍi, Karaikuḍi, and lastly Parttikuḍi in Coorg. These villages are situated all over South India, particularly in the *Drāviḍa-maṇḍala* or Tamil country. Maṇalkuḍi therefore, it is reasonable to believe, lay somewhere in the south and has yet to be identified. The medial *ṇa* is plainly a Dravidian sound in its origin, as in the name Maṇalkuḍi.

Accordingly, it seems that the Gaṅgas of Kalinga were members of a tribe known as the Gaṅgas who at some early period migrated into South India and settled down somewhere in Mysore. It also appears that the Eastern Gaṅga family before it migrated to Kalinga originally held positions of rank as petty rulers of small districts under the Jāhnavēyas of Pannāṭa-Punnāṭa country and the Kadambas of Kuntala and that their capitals were Nandagiri and Kōlāhalapura or modern Kōlar. The petty principality over which the ancestors of *Adhirāja* Indra ruled in the south therefore, seems to have lain, in the modern Kōlar and Anantapur districts. It is also probable that Maṇalkuḍi lay somewhere in that region, in the vicinity of Kolar.[1]

Conclusion.

1 In this connection it is tempting to find some untraceable link between the Gaṅgas of Kalinga and Bhaṭṭis'arman, the *Rahasādhikṛta* who is called the *bhōjaka* of Kolivāla. (*Kolivāla* (*pura*) *bhōjaka*.) It seems to me that Kolivāla might be an earlier form of

The southern origin of the Eastern Gaṅga family seems to rest on another fact. It is stated elsewhere that the Jāhnavēyas would appear to have sprung to power under the aegis of the Kadambas during the chaotic period of wars with their neighbours, the Pallavas of Kāñci. The history of the Kadambas and Pallavas is intimately connected with the Gaṅgas of Punnāṭa-Pannāṭa country which was like a buffer state between the two great kingdoms. The Kadambas were related to the Gaṅgas by ties of relationship. The first Gaṅga king Koṅgaṇivarman was an ally of the Kadamba monarch Kākusthavarman whose daughter was married to Mādhavādhirāja I, the heir-apparent to the Gaṅga throne. Throughout the period of their history, the Kadambas would appear to have been intimately connected with the Jāhnavēyas. The same sort of relationship seems to have existed between the Gaṅgas of Kalinga and their Kadamba feudatories. Some Kadamba families also seem to have migrated from Kuntala and taken up service under the royal Gaṅga family in Kalinga. The powerful Kadamba chiefs became devoted vassals of the Gaṅga throne and the main-stay of the Gaṅga sovereignty. It would appear that the sovereignty of Kalinga was enjoyed, practically both by the Gaṅgas and the Kadambas equally. This is suggested by the fact that some Kadamba charters of Kalinga mention an era called the *Gaṅga-Kadamba era* which seems to be identical with the *Gaṅga Era* of the Gaṅga dynasty. Moreover, the Kadambas in Kalinga built cities under the names Pālāsika and Vaijayantīpura in the land of their adoption, after the names of their famous cities in Kuntala. Pālāsika has become corrupt as Pālāsa. It is a flourishing railway station on the Bengal Nagpur Railway in the extreme north of the Vizagapatam district. Vaijayantīpura has become shortened into Jayantipuram and is found in the neighbourhood of Pālāsa and Mahēndragiri. Mahēs'vara is the lord of Gōkarṇa (*Gōkarṇēs'vara*),

The Eastern Gaṅgas and their feudatories were probably immigrants from Gaṅgavāḍi and Kuntala.

Kōlālapura or Kōvālapura or Kolar, and Bhaṭṭis'arman was an ancestor of Mitavarman. (Hirahaḍagalli plates of S'ivaskandavarman, *E. I.*, I. p. 1, ff.)

a place which is still of great repute and sanctity in the North Kanara district of the Bombay Presidency. Gōkarṇa lies in the region known as Tuluvanāḍ in the ancient Gaṅgavāḍi. Mahēs'-vara, under the name of the holy Gōkarṇasvāmin, was established on the summit of the Mahēndragiri mountain. It is probable that the event was synchronous with the establishment of the Eastern Gaṅga sovereignty in Kalinga. The appellation *Gōkarṇasvāmin*, 'Lord of Gōkarṇa', is reminiscent of the former association of the Eastern Gaṅgas with Gaṅgavāḍi and Gōkarṇa. Thus these circumstances clearly indicate that the Gaṅgas and Kadambas of Kalinga were immigrants from the South. But the Eastern Gaṅgas and Kadambas gave up their original emblems of royalty and adopted new insignia. This was probably due to the fact that they were compelled to adopt the insignia of royalty and other emblems of the rulers of Kalinga whom they had supplanted. It is a well known fact that the victors adopt the emblems of the vanquished in order to overcome the hostility of the people and the feudatories and, to secure the firm establishment of their own sovereignty.

The Early Gaṅgas or at any rate Indravarman and his father Mitavarman appear to be full-blooded Brāhmans as the statement *dvijatyānvaya-payōdhi-sambhūta-sita-ras'mih*, "who was the moon that rose from the ocean of the twice-born family" of the Godavari grant of Raja Pṛthivīmūla clearly indicates. The Kadambas were the well-known Brāhmaṇa dynasty of Vaijayanti. The Kadambas who migrated to Kalinga along with the Gaṅgas, therefore, must have been also a Brāhmaṇa family like their parent dynasty. It was the union of these two powerful families once more in Kalinga that was primarily responsible for the continued prosperity of the illustrious Gaṅga dynasty for eight long centuries.

## 2. *The initial year of the victorious Gaṅga Era.*

The commencement of the victorious Gaṅga Era has long been a baffling problem to our scholars. But none of them has been able so far to advance a satisfactory solution. Dr. Fleet abandoned the study of the Gaṅga era in despair as the supposed synchronism furnished by the Godavari grant and the identification of Indrabhaṭṭāraka, lord of the southern or south-western region, with Indrarāja of the Eastern Cāḷukya dynasty was found to be utterly incompatible with the date obtained by the conversion of the astronomical details recorded in the early Eastern Gaṅga grants discovered in his time.[1] Mr. G. Ramadas, on the other hand, being obsessed by certain preconceived notions, has propounded a date which has brought in more confusion than ever.[2] In doing so, he has shown little or no regard for the chronology of the contemporary dynasties of the Deccan. His initial year of the Gaṅga era, Ś. S. 271 or 349 A. D. cannot be regarded as a satisfactory result. It is too early a date to be good. Mr. R. Subba Rao who claims to have made a critical study of the history of the Eastern Gaṅgas fixes the starting point of the era sometime between 492 and 496 A. D. Apparently his date is not precise and his theory lacks completeness. It does not also stand to test by the recorded astronomical details which yield to conversion into dates of the Christian era.[3] Lastly, Mr. Somasekhara Śarma, has not formulated any scheme of his own, but has chosen to criticise and reject Mr. Subba Rao's theory of the synchronism afforded by the Godavari grant of Pṛthivīmūla as the basis of discussion for determining the commencement of the Gaṅga era.[4] Since Dr. Fleet wrote about the Gaṅga era, roughly fifty years ago, much new material has come to light; and yet the problem of

Introductory: Gaṅga Era, still an unsettled problem.

1 *Ind. Ant.* XVI, p. 131f.; See also *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 128f.

2 For a full discussion of his theory and latest views, see *J. B. O. R. S.* Vol. XVIII, pp. 272—295.

3 *JAHRS.* Vol. V. pp. 267—276.

4 *JAHRS.* Vol. V. pp. 170—186.

the Gaṅga era has not been satisfactorily settled. An attempt will now be made to determine the starting-point of the era by studying all the available materials afresh.

In the first place the limits within which the starting-point of the Gaṅga era lies have to be fixed properly. They are happily furnished by certain facts mentioned in the charters of the dynasty itself and by a synchronism afforded by an early contemporary record. The "victorious era of the prosperous Gaṅga lineage" is mentioned in the copper-plate charters of the dynasty even as late as the eleventh century. And the internal evidence that is forthcoming from such documents enables us to determine precisely the period wherein lies the beginning of the 'Victorious Gaṅga Era.' The clue for the discovery of that period lies imbedded in the Gaṅga-Kadamba history of Kalinga. There are a number of records which establish the Gaṅga-Kadamba alliance from the earliest times. This historical fact supplies us the basis for the exmination of the problem of the starting-point of the Gaṅga era. The earliest of such records is the Vizagapatam copper-plate grant of Anantavarman's son Dēvēndravarman (II) dated the 254th year of the (Gaṅga) era.[1] It mentions a nobleman, Dharmakhēdi, who is called the maternal uncle of the reigning king. The next record is the Siṁhipura copper-plate grant of the Kadamba chief Dharmakhēdi (II?) dated the year 520 of the augmenting victorious era of the (*Gaṅgā-Kadamba-vaṁs'a-pravarddhamāna-vijayarājya-pañca-s'ata-viṁs'ōtarē*) Gaṅga and Kadamba families.[2] It was issued in the reign of the Gaṅga king Dēvēndrabrahmā or Dēvēndravarman (V) son of Anantavarmadēva (III). The record gives the ancestry of the donor Dharmakhēdi up to three generations above in the Kadamba family, which is as follows:

Limits for fixing the initial point of the Gaṅga era.

1 *Ind. Ant.* XVIII, pp. 143ff. The record does not specifically mention the word *Gaṅga*, but from the context we have to construe that 'Gaṅga era' was intended.

2 *JAHRS*, Vol. III, p. 171f.

1. *Mahāmaṇḍalēs'vara* Rāṇaka S'rī
Niyārṇṇava
|
2. *Mahāmaṇḍalēs'vara* Rāṇaka S'rī
Bhāma (Bhīma ?) khēdi.
|
3. *Mahāmaṇḍalēs'vara* Rāṇaka S'rī
Dharmakhēḍi. (*the donor*)

The relationship between Dēvēndravarman (V) and his Kadamba feudatory Dharmakhēdi is not specified in the record; but it is probable that they were related to each other by ties of blood as in the previous case, because the grant is dated in the victorious era of the Gaṅga-Kadamba familes. The third record is the Chicacole plates of Anantavarman's son Madhu-Kāmārṇavadēva, dated the year 528, Gaṅga era.[1] This inscription does not mention any Kadamba prince but its importance lies in the fact that the donor of Madhu-Kāmārṇava, is also described as a son of Anantavarmadēva like Dēvēndravarman of the previous record. Consequently, it seems probable that Madhu-Kāmārṇava was a younger brother and successor of Dēvēndravarmadēva (V) of the year 520 of the Gaṅga-Kadamba era. The pedigree of the Eastern Gaṅga kings recorded in the charters of Vajrahasta III, surnamed Anantavarman, dated in the years Ś. S. 967[2] Ś. S. 979[3] and 984[4] shows that Madhu-Kāmārṇava of the Gaṅga year 528, was the younger step-brother of Guṇḍama alias Dēvēndravarman who reigned for a short period of three years and, was the immediate predecessor of Vajrahasta III. The fourth record is the Parlakimedi plates of Vajrahasta III.[5] It mentions another Kadamba chieftain, Ugrakhēdi, the ornament of the Kadamba family born in the Niḍusanti family. The record is not dated but it obviously belongs to the period

1 *J. B, O. R. S.* Vol. XVIII, pp. 272ff. (C. P. No. 5 of 1918-19.) The date has been wrongly read as 526 both by Mr. G. Ramadas and Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri. It is correctly 528.

2 *E. I.*, Vol. XI, p. 147.

3 *E. I.*, IV, pp. 183ff. with plate.

4 *E. I.*, IX, pp. 96ff.

5 *E. I.*, III, pp. 223ff.

of Vajrahasta III (1038—1069).[1] The fifth record is the Mandasa plates of Anantavarman, dated the Śaka year 976 (*Śākābdē-nava-s'ataka-sapta-rasa-mitē*), which mentions another Kadamba chieftain, Rāṇaka Śrī Dharmakhēdi, son of Rāṇaka Śrī Bhāmakhēdi and the governor of the Pañcapātra and Mahēndrabhōga districts.[2] Anantavarmadēva appears to be the *abhiṣēka-nāma*[3] or the name adopted at the time of coronation by king Vajrahasta III, as the Ś. S. 976 (1054 A. D.) falls in the reign of this monarch. The sixth record is the Kambakāya copper-plate grant of Dēvēndravarman. It mentions another chieftain, *Mahāmaṇḍalika* Udayāditya, son of *Mahāmaṇḍalika* Śrī Dharmakhēdi, the ornament of the Kadamba family.[4] The record is dated in the Śaka year but a good deal of uncertainty attends the interpretation of the passage which mentions the date. The record is in faulty Sanskrit and, therefore, the interpretation of the passage has been the subject of a great controversy. Mr. Somasekhara Sarma, who edits the record restores the faulty Sanskrit passage which runs as *Śākābda-sahasram-ēka-s'ata-trayādhika* into correct Sanskrit as *Śakābda-sahasrē-ēka-s'ata-trayādhikē*, and interprets it as Śaka Saṁvat 1103.[5] But the proper restoration of the passage seems to be *Śākābdē sahasrē ēka-trayādhikē* meaning in the Śaka year, One thousand increased by three, (1003) corresponding to 1081–82 A. D.[6]

1 It is possible to doubt if Vajrahasta mentioned in this inscription could be the same as Vajrahasta III, (1038—1069 A. D.), for he is not spoken of as *Trikaliṅgādhipatiḥ*, 'Lord of Trikalinga.' But this doubt can be easily set at rest by the fact that the king is not called, 'Lord of Kalinga' either. Apart from this, it may be noted that this is a grant by a feudatory chieftain and not by the reigning monarch. That is the reason for the omission of the formal preamble (*pras'asti*) which usually appears in all the copper-plate grants of Vajrahasta III himself. Moreover, the palaeography and other 'formal elements' of the charter point to the conclusion that the record belongs to the reign of Vajrahasta III, i. e., to the eleventh century.

2 *J. B. O. R. S.* Vol. XVII, pp. 175ff. (*C. P.* No. 12 of 1917–18.)

3 It appears that the Eastern Gaṅga kings had alternatively used Anantavarman and Dēvēndravarman as their *abhiṣēka-nāmas* from the earliest times. Similarly the Eastern Cāḷukyas had Viṣṇuvardhana and Vijayāditya in every alternate generation.

4 *C. P.* No. 9 of 1927–28.

5 *Bhārati*, Vol. VII, (1927) Part 5.

6 See *JAHRS*. Vol. X pp. 116—119. Here Mr. Ramadas discusses the date and assumes that it is equivalent to S. S. 603. But see the contrary view which has been adopted above in *Opi. Cit*, p. 120.

All the above six records seem to establish clearly the following facts. *Firstly*: The Gaṅga and Kadamba families of Kalinga were closely related to each other by marital and other alliances. *Secondly*: Their relationship was as old as the establishment of the Gaṅga sovereignty in Kalinga. *Thirdly*, the Gaṅga era, (*Gāṅga-vaṁśa-pravarddhamāna-vijayarājya-saṁvatsara*) and the Gāṅga-Kadamba era (*Gāṅga-Kadamba-vaṁśa-pravardhamāna-vijayarājya-saṁvatsara*) were one and the same. *Fourthly*: The Later Gaṅga dynasty or the Second Dynasty as the same is also called, was descended from or rather was a branch of the Early or First Gaṅga Dynasty. *Fifthly*: The Gāṅga-Kadamba year 520 and the Gaṅga year 520 fell some years before *Śaka Saṁvat* 976, that is before the reign of Vajrahasta III (1038—1069 A. D.) And *sixthly* the Gaṅga era seems to commence somewhere either in the closing years of the fifth or the early years of the sixth century.

Let us now turn to the synchronism in the contemporary charters of the Early Gaṅgas and test the result obtained above regarding the probable limits within which lay the starting-point of the Gaṅga era. The Godavari grant records by means of a figurative expression a great political event of leading importance in the early history of the Eastern Gaṅgas.[1] It has been shown that the figurative expression refers to a decisive battle between Indrabhaṭṭaraka, the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king and a confederacy of kings led by *Adhirāja* Indra, lord of Trikalinga. Dr. Fleet assigned the record on palaeographical grounds to the sixth century. Indrabhaṭṭāraka's reign has been assigned to 500—530 A. D.; therefore, his rival *Adhirāja* Indra or Indra-varman I must also be placed about the same period.

The Godavari grant though undated in the Śaka or any other era, mentions however, the date on which the charter was issued. It was issued on the 3rd day of Vaiśākha, in the twenty-fifth year of Pṛthivīmūla's rule. The edict records the grant of the village named Cūyipāka that lay in the

1 See *ante* p. 496.

middle of the four villages, Vileṇḍi, Renguta, Kaṁpāru and Tukura, as an *agrahāra*, to forty-three families of Brāhmaṇs of various *gōtras*, who were *upādhyāyas* and who studied the Atharva-vēda. The command was addressed to the inhabitants and Rāṣtrakūṭas dwelling in the Tāḷupāka *viṣaya*, in the region of the lower Godavari near the sea. The grant was made at the behest of the overlord, *Adhirāja* Indra, who desired that his parents might acquire religious merit. The record plainly refers to the overthrow and death of Indrabhaṭṭāraka which has been placed about 530 A. D. And this indicates that both Pṛthivīmūla and his overlord Indrādhirāja survived Indrabhaṭṭāraka.

The Jirjingi plates of Indravarman take us one step further. The edict was dated the 21st day of Vais'ākha in the 39th year of the propserous era. The peculiar preamble of this record plainly suggests by its date that Indravarman destroyed his foe Indrabhaṭṭāraka. Since the reign of Indrabhaṭṭāraka is stated to have ended about 530 A. D., it is probable that the 39th year of the Victorious era lay sometime after that date. Accordingly, the era must have commenced somewhere during the closing years of the fifth century. This result, therefore, is in complete agreement within the limits arrived at after an examination of the Later Eastern Gaṅga records.

Limits further closely determined.

We shall now examine the above limits more closely with the help of such astronomical details and occurrences recorded in the charters of the family that yield to calculation and conversion into dates of the Christian era. Dr. Fleet, while editing the grant of Indravarman (II) of the 91st year of the Gaṅga era, expressed the hope that the eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of Mārgas'ira of the year 127 recorded in the grant dated the 15th day of the bright fortnight of Caitra of the year 128, of the Gaṅga era,[1] coupled with the details of the date, that is the 30th day of Māgha in the year 91, might very possibly yield hereafter the precise date for the commencement of the Gaṅga era.[2] Now then, taking the last decade of the fifth century

1 *Ind. Ant.* XIII, pp. 119ff.
2 *Ind. Ant.*, XVI, pp. 137ff.

as the probable period in which the initial year of the Gaṅga era lay, the eclipse on the full-moon day of Mārgaśira in the year 127, has to be looked for between 617 and 627 A. D., corresponding to the Śaka years 539 to 549 expired. During this period of ten years there occurred the following eclipses of the moon on the fullmoon days of Mārgaśira.

Ś. S. 546 expired = November 30, 624 A. D.
Ś. S. 547 expired = November 20, 625 A. D.
Ś. S. 548 expired = November 9, 626 A. D.

And, therefore for the present, it may be assumed that, the lunar eclipses of the fullmoon day of Mārgaśira in the year 127, must be one of the three eclipses noted above.

The other date of leading importance is the 30th day of Māgha of the 91st year. This date is important because it is unusual for the luni-solar month Māgha to have thirty solar days. The discovery, therefore, of the month Māgha which had thirty solar days in the 91st year which would be in suitable accordance with one of the eclipses of the full-moon day of Mārgaśira in the year 127 noted above, will enable us to determine the starting-point of the Gaṅga era. Evidently in the Gaṅga year 91 there were thirty days in the month Māgha and, therefore, it was undoubtedly an unusual occurrence. Taking now the limits for the commencement of the Gaṅga era as before, and regard being had for the dates of the three eclipses mentioned above, the *thirtieth* day of Māgha in Gaṅga *Saṁvat* 91 has to be found between 581 and 591 A. D., corresponding to the Śaka years 502 and 512 respectively. During this period in Ś. S. 510 expired alone, the month Māgha had thirty days.[1]

1 In that year the month Māgha was current from the 23rd December, 588 A. D. to the 22nd January, 589 A. D. The Pauṣa *amānta* new-moon began and ended on the 23rd December at about 42 *ghaṭikas* after mean sunrise and Māgha *śukla* 1 commenced on the 24th December, 588 A. D. And Māgha *bahula* 30 (*amāvāsya*) was current on the 22nd January, 589 A. D. and ended about 16 *ghaṭikas* on that day after mean sunrise. Consequently there were thirty days in the luni-solar month Māgha in Ś. S. 510. Thus Gaṅga *Saṁvat* 91 would correspond to Ś. S. 510 expired, corresponding to 588–589 A. D.

If Ś. S. 510–11 coincided with the 91st year of the Gaṅga era approximately, the year 127 would fall in Ś. S. 546–47 expired; and in Ś. S. 546 there was an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of Mārgas'ira. The equivalent of this date in the Christian era as shown above was November 30, 624 A. D. The equivalents of the two leading dates thus computed correctly, it is not difficult to fix the starting point of the Gaṅga era in Ś. S. 419 expired, corresponding to 497–98 A.D. But it is necessary to see if we can precisely determine the starting point in Ś. S. 419. We shall examine this date by computing the correct equivalents of the eclipses that are mentioned in the later day Gaṅga charters, that have been so far discovered. Unfortunately for the historian, these charters do not specify the months in which the eclipses occurred. The information at our disposal being therefore vague, our results have necessarily to be based upon surmises.

Starting-point of G. E. lay in S'. S. 419.

Proper or correct equivalents of eclipses recorded in dated grants.

We shall examine the inscriptions in their chronological order. The earliest record which mentions an eclipse of the sun in an unspecified month is the Tekkali plates of Dānārṇava's son Indravarman III, dated the year 154 G. E.[1] Reckoning from Ś. S. 419, the year 154 coincides with Ś. S. 573 corresponding to 651–52 A. D. During this year there was only a single eclipse of the sun, and that occurred on the new moon day of Mārgas'ira, corresponding to Sunday, December 18, 651 A. D. The next record is the Santabommāli plates of Nandavarman dated the year 221 G. E. The inscription records a grant made on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun; and the edict was actually engraved on copper-plates on the 5th day (*pañcami*) of Āṣāḍha that came after, in the year 221 G. E.[2] This eclipse of the sun in an unspecified month seems to offer the basis as well the crucial test for determining the starting-

1 *E. I.*, XVII, p. 307f. These eclipses referred to in the text above have been calculated with the help of the *Ephemeris* by Dewan Bahadur L. D. S. K. Pillai.

2 *JAHRS.*, Vol. II. p. 185f.

point of the Gaṅga era. If Ś. S. 419 was the initial year, the Gaṅga *Saṁvat* 221 would fall in Ś. S. 640-41, corresponding to 718—19 A. D. But there were no eclipses during that year Ś. S. 640. This means that the *Gaṅga Saṁvat* and the *Śaka Saṁvat* were *not* identical or exactly co-extensive. It follows from this as a corollary that the Gāṅga *Saṁvat* commenced sometime during the Śaka year 419 and ended sometime in the following year, Ś. S. 420. On the basis of this assumption we shall have to see if there was an eclipse of the sun in the year 221 G. E. which commenced in Ś. S. 640 and ended in Ś. S, 641, the exact limits still remaining to be precisely or approximately fixed. In Ś. S. 641 there was an eclipse of the sun on the newmoon day of *amānta* Jyēṣṭha, corresponding to Tuesday, May 23, 719 A. D. If this view is correct, it may be believed reasonably enough that the Gaṅga *Saṁvat* 1 commenced in some month that followed Jyēṣṭha in Ś. S. 419 and ended in some month, Śrāvaṇa or Bhādrapada in Ś. S. 420. Accordingly, it follows that the Gaṅgā *Saṁvat* 221 fell sometime during the Śaka years 640—641. The grant thus appears to have been made on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun in Jyēṣṭha Ś. S. 641, corresponding to May 23, 719 A. D., that is towards the end of the Gaṅga *Saṁvat* 221. And the edict was actually engraved on copper-plates on the 5th day of *adhika* Āṣāḍha, *five days after* the eclipse and the donation.

The next record is the Chicacole plates of Dēvēndravarman (II) son of Anantavarman (I). It registers a grant made on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun in an unspecified month as before. The grant was engraved on copper-plates in *Gāṅgēya-vaṁśa pravardhamāna vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsaram-ēka-pañcāśat*, "in the 51st year of the augmenting prosperous era of the victorious Gaṅga family."[1] This inscription is written in characters which are unmistakably later in form than those of the charters of Indravarman (III) dated in the years 128[2].

1 *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 272f,

2 *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 128f.

146[1], and 154 G. E.[2]; and belong to the same type as those of another Chicacole grant of Dēvēndravarman, son of Anantavarman (I) dated the Gaṅga *Saṁvat* 254.[3] For these reasons I am inclined to construe the date of the charter under review to be the Gaṅga year 251 instead of mere 51. Moreoever the palaeography and the formal preamble of the charter supplies internal evidence in support of the date 251 G. E. The donor of the present grant, therefore, must be the same Dēvēndravarman, son of Anantavarman, as the donor of the grant of the Gaṅga year 254.[4] It is probable that the scribe who engrossed Dēvēndravarman's edict on the copper-plates committed a palpable mistake by omitting the words like '*Śata-dvaya*' (two hundred) before the phrase *ēka-pañcās'at*, and the numerical figures that usually follow the passage containing the date are not found in the present grant. And in a similar manner the writer of the grant of the time of Satyavarmadēva, son of Dēvēndravarman, of the doubtful year 51, too, seems to have made an obvious mistake by leaving out the word *traya* 'three' after the word *s'atānām* in the passage containing the date of the charter. In my opinion the passage has to be read as *Gāṅgēya-vaṁs'a-saṁvatsara-s'ata-tray-aika pañcās'at* "in the 351st year of the victorious era of the Gaṅga family."[5] It is obvious that there could not be two records dated in the same year, issued by two different sovereigns, who were sons of different fathers and ruling over the same country. And it is equally plain that since the characters of the Chicacole grant of Dēvēndravarman are undoubtedly of an earlier type than those of the grant of Satyavarman, the two charters could not have been issued in one and the same year of the Gaṅga

1 *E. I.*, XIV, p. 362f.

2 *E. I.*, XVIII, p. 307.

3 *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, p. 311.

4 Dr. Fleet, unable however, to explain this discrepancy regarded the year 51 of the present grant and similarly the doubtful 51st year of the Chicacole grant of Satyavarmadēva, son of Dēvēndravarman (*Ind. Ant.*, XIV, pp. 10—12.) as some conventional expressions of the date which could not be properly interpreted. But there does not seem to be any conventionality regarding the date.

5 *Ind. Ant*, XIV, p. 10. and *E. I.*, V, (Kielhorn's List of Ins. of N. India) p. 92. No. 684. n. 4.

era. For the same reason also, the year 51 cannot be construed as a mistake for the year 151, for there is already a grant of Indravarman (III) son of Dānārṇava, dated in the Gaṅga year 154. In the scheme of Gaṅga chronology adopted by me there cannot be a place for a Dēvēndravarman, son of Anantavarman, between Rājēndravarman, son of Anantavarman, of the Gaṅga year 342[1] and Dēvēndravarman (IV), son of Rājēndravarman (II), of the Ciḍivalasa grant of the Gaṅga year 397.[2] In the same manner it is difficult to find a place for Satyavarmadēva, son of Dēvēndravarman (III) if we assume the year 51 of his grant as either Gaṅga year 151 or 251, between Indravarman (III) of theyear 154 and Dēvēndravarman (II) of the year 254. It is therefore reasonable to believe that the Chicacole plates of Dēvēndravarman (II) son of Anantavarman I actually belong, to the Gaṅga year 251 corresponding to the Śaka years 670–71 expired and *not* to the year 51 which the inscription apparently mentions. Accordingly in Ś. S. 671 there was an eclipse of the sun on the new moon day of *amānta* Caitra, corresponding to Sunday, March 23, 749 A. D. And there were no eclipses of the sun during the years 748–50 A. D. Therefore this date seems to be the proper occasion on which Dēvēndravarman (II) son of Anantavarman I made the charity recorded on the Chicacole plates.

The next record is the Alamaṇḍa plates of Anantavarman II, son of Rājēndravarman, dated in the Gaṅga year 304. It mentions the grant of an *agrahāra* on the occasion of the solar eclipse in an unspecified month. The Gaṅga year 304, coincided with the Śaka years 723–724. There was an eclipse of the sun on the newmoon day of *amānta* Jyēṣṭha in Ś. S. 723 corresponding to Tuesday, June 15, 801 A. D. But as pointed out above, the eclipse cannot be accepted as the proper equivalent as it apparently occurred in the preceding Gaṅga year 303, according to the assumption that the Gaṅga *Saṁvat* 1 ended in some month that came after Jyēṣṭha in Ś. S. 420. Therefore the eclipse of the sun on the newmoon day of

1 *JAHRS*., Vol. II. p. 146—164.

2 *JBORS*., Vol. XII, p. 101. Same as *C. P.* No. 13 of 1917-18.

*amānta* Jyēṣṭha in Ś. S. 724, corresponding to Saturday, June 4, 802 A. D. seems to be the proper equivalent of the date of the charity.

The next record is the Chicacole plates of Satyavarmadēva, son of Dēvēndravarman (III) dated in the Gaṅga year 351, which mentions an eclipse of the sun in an unspecified month.[1] As the characters of this record as well as the formal *pras'asti* closely resemble those of the charters of the Gaṅga years 304, 310.[2] and 342 G. E.[3] it may be presumed that the year 51 is a possible mistake for the year 351. The Gaṅga year 351 falls in the Śaka years 770—771 expired, and within the limits set forth, namely between Āṣādha 770 and Aṣāḍha 771, there was no solar eclipse which could properly be the equivalent of the one recorded in the inscription. But there was an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of *amānta* Jyēṣṭha in Ś. S. 770, corresponding to Tuesday, June 5, 848 A. D. which would fall in the Gaṅga *Saṁvat* 350. If this eclipse was the proper equivalent of the date, then it would appear that the grant was made in the preceding year and the edict was registered on copper-plates in the following Gaṅga year 351.

The next record is the Cīḍivalasa copper-plate grant of Dēvēndravārman (IV) son of Rājēndravarman (II) dated the Gaṅga year 397 which refers to a solar eclipse in an unspecified month. The Gaṅga year 397 fell some time between the month Śrāvaṇa, Ś. S. 816 and Śrāvaṇa Ś. S. 817. During this period there was a solar eclipse on the newmoon day of Mārgas'ira Ś. S. 816, the corresponding date in the Christian era being Sunday, December 1, 894 A. D. It is quite probable that this date was the proper equivalent of the eclipse of the Cīḍavalasa plates.

The assumption that the Gaṅga era was probably reckoned from an unknown *tithi* in the month that came after Śrāvaṇa,

1 *Ind. Ant.* XIV, pp. 10ff. With plate.

2 *E. I.*, XVIII, p. 311,

3 *JBORS.*, Vol. XII, p. 101ff., with plate (*C. P.* No. 13 of 1917-18.)

which still remains to be ascertained, in Ś. S. 419, and that the Gaṅga year 1 ended in some month of Ś. S. 420, finds support in the Santabommāli plates of Indravarman II.[1] The record is dated the 10th *tithi* of Jyēṣṭha in the Gaṅga year 87. The inscription records the grant of a piece of land in the village of Haribhaṭa in the Krōṣṭukavartani-*viṣaya* to God Śiva called Rāmēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka, for the increase of religious merit of himself and his parents. The occasion on which the grant was made is not specified in the inscription, but apparently it was made on the same day on which the edict was engraved on the copper-plates. The 10th *tithi* of Jyēṣṭha which is presumably the 10th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Jyēṣṭha is an important occasion for making pious donations. The importance of the *tithi* is considerably enhanced if it occurs also in conjunction with other astronomical details. It is then the day of *Daśahara*, 'the day of expiation of ten sins'. The Jyēṣṭha *Śukla* 10 falling on a Wednesday or even Tuesday coupled with the *nakṣatra* Hastā and *yōga* Vyatīpāta is called *Daśahara*. Accordingly if the Jyēṣṭha *Śukla* 10 mentioned in the Santabommāli plates was also the day of *Daśahara*, as presumably it appears to be, then it was undoubtedly the proper occasion for making the donation recorded in the inscription. Incidentally, the date becomes important, for it may possibly yield its proper equivalent in Śaka year and Christian era as in the case of the date of Parlakimedi plates of the self-same monarch, dated the 30th day of Māgha in the year 91 of the Gaṅga era. The Gaṅga year 87 fell in Ś. S. 506—507 expired; and the details of the date as the day of *Daśahara* yield their equivalent in the Christian era as Wednesday, the 24th May 584 A. D. On that date there was the *nakṣatra* Hastā current in the morning till 6 *ghaṭikas* after sunrise. The *tithi* was Jyēṣṭha *Śukla* 10 and the *yōga* was Vyatīpāta and the week day was Wednesday.

Two more records support the hypothesis.

The above assumption is further corroborated by another record, the Pondūru grant of Vajrahasta II.[1] The inscription is dated and the passage that contains the date runs as follows:

1 *JAHRS*, Vol. IV, pp. 21—24.; *E. I.*, XXV, p. 194ff.

*Tasya Gaṅgānvaya pravardhamāna vijayarājya saṁvatsara-śata 500 aṅkēn-āpi Āṣaḍha (mā)sa diva 5 Ādityavārē likhitam,* "written on Sunday, the 5th day of Āṣāḍha in the year 500 of the augmenting victorious era of his Gaṅga family." The year 500 falls in Ś. S. 919—20 which corresponds to 997—98 A. D. Since the week-day is mentioned along with the *tithi*, which may be taken as the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight in the absence of any specification of the month of Āṣāḍha, the verification of the equivalent of the date in Christian era becomes easy. In Ś. S. 419 expired the *amānta* Āṣāḍha began on Wednesday, June 9, 997 A. D ; and that was also the 1st day or *tithi* of the bright fortnight. Accordingly the 5th *tithi* actually, fell on Sunday, June 12, 997 A. D. This date falls actually, according to the chronology which I have adopted elsewhere, in the reign of Vajrahasta II, *c.* (997—1014 A. D.)

Thus from the foregoing it appears that the Gaṅga era commenced in some month after Āṣāḍha, roughly either about Śrāvaṇa or Bhādrapada in Ś S. 419 and *the year 1 of the Victorious Gāṅga Era* ended about Śrāvaṇa or Bhādrapada in Ś. S. 420. It is impossible in the present state of our knowledge to fix the starting-point more precisely than this. But tentatively we shall assume that the starting-point was *Bhādrapada bahula trayōdaśi*, "*the thirteenth day of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada.*" There are two reasons for this assumption: Firstly that day was the *yugādi* or the commencement of Kali Yuga. The Gaṅga dynasty may possibly have chosen this date as the beginning of their victorious era as it synchroned with the establishment of their sovereignty in Trikalinga or Kalinga. Secondly the *yugādi* is preceded by the Bhādrapada *śukla* 12, which is celebrated as *Vāmana Jayanti.* It is even today the most important day for Orissa; and it was so for ancient Kalinga. *Vāmana* or the dwarf incarnation of Viṣṇu is enshrined in the celebrated temple of Jagannath (Lord of the

Conclusion: Gaṅga saṁvat 1 began Bhādrapada *ba.* 13. Ś. S. 419, Monday, August 11, 497 A.D.

1 *JAHRS.* Vol. IX, Pt. 3, pp. 23ff., *Ibid.* Vol. XI, pp. 7ff. See also *Ibid.* pp. 147–48 and also *Ibid.* pp. 31–2.

Universe) at Purī on the sea in Orissa. Accordingly if this supposition is accepted as probable, the initial point of the Gaṅga era falls on Bhādrapada *bahula* 13, Ś. S. 419 expired, corresponding to Monday, August 11, 497 A. D, and thus the first year of the Gaṅga era ends in 498 A. D. In the following sections it will be seen that this date is in perfect agreement with the political history of the Eastern Gaṅga and the chronology of other contemporary dynasties of the Deccan.

### 3. *The Rise of the Eastern Gaṅgas in Kalinga.*

A brief survey of events in the closing grants of the Fifth and beginning of the Sixth century.

It will be remembered that the last quarter of the fifth century was a period of political ferment in Ancient India. The Hūṇa hordes poured through the North-Western Frontier Province into Āryāvarta and their savage warfare and barabaric cruelty shook the integrity of the great Gupta Empire to its foundations. In the Deccan, too, the great tributary dynasties threatened to overthrow the imperial suzerainty of the Vākāṭakas. At that juncture, Pṛthivīṣena II by his great ability, strength and energy restored the sunken prestige of his family, for a short while. His successor Dēvasēna the ease-loving, soon abdicated the throne in favour of his energetic son Harisēna, the last great king of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. Having perceived the disintegrating forces in the empire, Harisena quickly destroyed them and rehabilitated the empire. And by a bold stroke of statesmanship rapidly paralysed the great and powerful kingdoms that lay to the south, east and west of his empire by throwing them into confusion and internecine warfare. In his own empire he would seem to have uprooted the great feudatory dynasties like the Traikūṭakas, Nalas and, others in Kōsala, Mēkala and Cēdi, and replaced them or caused them to be replaced by their

rivals who were sometimes their own kindred like the Kaḷacuris, the Śarabhapura kings and lastly the Sōmavaṁśis or the Pāṇḍu dynasty, in Lāṭa, Avantī, Cēdi, Mēkala and Kōsala respectively. Outside his empire in Kalinga, Kuntala and Andhradesa, which were not even within the sphere of his political influence, Harisēna either set up or openly espoused the cause of rivals against rightful claimants or helped others to establish new kingdoms on the ruins of old, in order to claim a sort of loose hegemony over the whole of Dakṣiṇāpatha and the South. In dealing with the reign of Indrabhaṭṭāraka, we have shown how Harisēna helped Viṣṇuvarman to acquire the sovereignty of Kuntala to the exclusion of the rightful heir Ravivarman. We have also shown there that Harisēna set up a rival claimant to the throne of Andhradesa and even for a time successfully kept Indrabhaṭṭāraka out of the realm.

Though the sovereignty of the kingdoms of Andhra and Kuntala was not in any way impaired by the interference of Harisēna, at least the prestige of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and the Kadambas was rudely shaken for some time. Further Harisēna's glory as mighty emperor in Dakṣiṇāpatha was considerably enhanced. Hastibhōja, the chancellor of the Vākāṭaka emperor, proudly claimed in the contemporary Ajanta Cave inscription that " Harisēna who was equal in glory to Hari, Rāma, Hara, Smara and Indra and whose prowess was equal to that of Viṣṇu, conquered, or subverted, or at any rate made obedient to himself the lords of Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kōsala, Traikūṭa, Lāṭa and lastly Andhra."[1] This claim, as shown elsewhere, was not a boast. A complete survey of the period of Harisēna is not within the scope of our present study. We have, however, dealt with the claim with reference to Kuntala and Andhra elsewhere and also illustrated the bold and courageous policy which Harisēna pursued to acquire some sort of overlordship over the entire Dakṣiṇāpatha. And in dealing with the history of the Gaṅgas of Kaḷinga, we shall

1 *ASWI.*, Vol. IV, p. 125, verses 17-18. See also *ante* p. 486.

presently notice, how the claim of the Vākāṭaka monarch was fully justifiable. For, it appears that the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty came to be established in Trikalinga at a time when Andhra and Kōsala were involved in disastrous dynastic wars. The commencement of the Gaṅga era Ś. S. 419, that is 497 A. D. fully supports this hypothesis.

Events in Kalinga in the last decade of the fifth century.

It will be remembered that Anantavarman, the last great king of the Vāsiṣṭhas, was destroyed about 485 A. D.[1] The fall of Anantavarman seems to have offered a splendid opportunity for the rise of new dynasties to power in Kalinga. The Śailōdbhavas were already there in the north. They always remained eager and ready to conquer the entire Kalinga and bring it under their sway. During the reigns of the first two Vsiṣthī kings, Guṇavarman and Prabhañjanavarman, the Śailōdbhavas were able to extend their sway into North Kalinga. But it would appear that with the rise of Anantavarman, (*c.* 465—485 A. D.), the Śailōdbhavas were driven out of Kalinga. Anantavarman, it may be remembered, claimed supreme overlordship of the entire Kalinga; and he also claimed the conquest of the kingdom (*sva-bala-vikram-ōpārjjita-bhūḥ*) "by the strength of his arms and prowess". The death of Anantavarman and the destruction of his line, by the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman II and his allies, enabled once more the Śailōdbhava king to annex North Kalinga to his kingdom. The Śailōdbhava king of this period appears to be Yaśōbhita I.[2] It is probable that the Śailōdbhavas and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins were allies at this period, for both of them had a common foe in Anantavarman and, therefore, both would seem to have joined together to uproot the last of the Vāsiṣṭhas. But shortly after this in Andhradesa the aged king Mādhavavarman II died (*c.* 488 A. D.); then followed a dynastic dispute, and the short reign of Vikramēndra-varman I. The Vākātaka throne at this juncture came to be occupied by Harisēna who showed unmistakable hostility

1 See *ante*. Book IV, p. 472.
2 See Chapter II below.

to the suzerainty of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins in the Deccan. Thus the Śailōdbhavas were left alone in the field. It was at this period apparently, (*circa.* 495 A. D.) that a Gaṅga prince, whose name is not known, appeared on the scene as a rival to the Śailōdbhava prince for the sovereignty of Kalinga. The Gaṅga prince being stronger and a more powerful destroyed the Śailōdbhava rival and established the kingdom of Trikalinga. It was apparently by a signal and decisive victory over the Śaliōdbhava monarch who was the erstwhile ruler of Kalinga that he became the founder of a new dynasty known as the Eastern Gaṅgas. The Śailōdbhava king who was overpowered at this juncture appears to be Yaśōbhita I, for whom we have assigned a period of about twenty years, from *circa.* 475 to 495 A. D. The establishment of the Eastern Gaṅga sovereignty had long been a memorable event: It marked the commencement of the new era.

The founding of the Eastern Gaṅga kingdom. The Unknown Founder c. 497—515 A. D.

The newly established Gaṅga dynasty in Trikalinga was not, however, destined to have a peaceful period. The Eastern Gaṅgas passed through the fire of adversity and turmoil in the first three decades or more that followed the commencement of their sovereignty. The beginning of the Gaṅga rule in Trikalinga synchronised more or less with the accession of Mādhavavarman, alias Śrinivāsa, surnamed Sainyabhīta II (*c.* 495—520 A. D.) He was the first great king of the Śailōdbhava dynasty. He was a powerful monarch; his Buguḍa plates claim for him the supreme overlordship of Kalinga and the performance of an *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice.[1] These do not seem to be mere boasts as we shall presently see.

The dawn of the sixth century brought a tide in the fortunes of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. Indrabhaṭṭāraka destroyed his rivals and became the undisputed lord of Andhradesa. It would appear that he found an ally in the contemporary Śailōdbhava king, Mādhavavarman. In Kuntala, too, Ravivarman rose, uprooted Viṣṇuvarman and his allies, and established himself, *c.* 502 A. D.,

1 *E. I.*, III, p. 43ff.

as the lord of Kuntala with his capital at Pālāsika. In the heart of the Vākāṭaka Empire itself Harisēna met with troubles from his rebellious feudatories who were fast rising to power. The Vākāṭaka emperor was, therfore, too much absorbed with his own affairs to interefere once again in those of any other kingdom in the Deccan and much more so in Trikalinga or Kalinga. At that juncture Mādhavavarma-Sainyabhīta II and Indrabhaṭṭāraka would seem to have combined against the rising Gaṅga king of Trikalinga and crushed his power completely. Indrabhaṭṭāraka was a mighty king. "He presided over the whole orb of the earth which was illuminated by the radiance of his flashing sharp sword. He gained extensive victories when his troops of elephants encountered in battle numerous *caturddanta* elephants."[1] And an equally powerful king and soldier was Mādhavavarma-Sainyabhīta II. "He gained innumerable victories by the strength of impenetrable rows of elephants in many a battle. He had performed innumerable *yajñas*; he pleased the earth (kingdom) by destroying the enemies; and by performing the ceremonial bath (*avabhṛta-snāna*) at the end of an *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice, he rose to the rank of a *cakravartin*."[2] The death of Harisēna about 510 A. D. paved the way for the renewal of hostilities between the Gaṅga king of Trikalinga and his enemies Mādhavavarma-Sainyabhīta II and Indrabhaṭṭāraka. The Śailōdbhava king was victorious in the war that followed. The Gaṅga king who was presumably the founder of the dynasty was defeated and destroyed. Just at that juncture the Vākāṭaka Empire lay submerged in troubles; and it never emerged again. It is doubtless true that, the fall of Harisēna completely weakened the newly established Gaṅga dynasty: the result was a great disaster which Mādhavavarma-Sainyabhīta II inflicted upon the Gaṅga prince. The disruption of the Vākāṭaka Empire brought great confusion and disorder to the kingdoms of Kōsala, Cēdi and others. It would appear

Hostility of the Śailōdbhavas and Viṣṇukuṇḍins to the Eastern Gaṅgas.

1 *E. I.*, IV, p. 193f. text lines 11—13.

2 *E. I.*, XIX, p. 265f. text line 19f.

that Sainyabhīta II took advantage of the chaotic condition in Kōsala and extended his sway over a part of that kingdom as well. Those were indeed notable achievements of Mādhava-varma-Sainyabhīta II. It was apparently to commemorate those glorious achievements, that he performed the *Aśvamēdha* and proclaimed his imperial dominion over Kalinga, Kōsala and the east. These events may be placed with certainty about 515 A. D.

Who is the founder of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty?

Mr. R Subba Rao assumes the founder of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty to be Mitavarman, father of Adhirāja Indra, mentioned in the Godavari grant.[1] The assumption is untenable. It is based upon an incorrect reading of the date of the Tirlingi plate as Gaṅga year 28. On the assumption that the date of the Tirlingi fragment is the Gaṅga year 28, Mr. Subba Rao believes the unknown donor of that grant to be Mitavarman. The date of the Tirlingi fragment cannot be read as *aṣṭāviṁśatim*, 28 but as *aṣṭāśitaś···sya*, that is, 88.[2] The characters of the record resemble closely those of Acyutāpuram and Santa-Bommāḷi plates of Indravarman II of the Gaṅga year 87.[3] The records of Indravarman II are engraved by Vinayacandra son of Bhānucandra like the Tirlingi fragment. And there are other reasons also for rejecting the assumption of Mr. Subba Rao. Firstly, Mitavarman is not referred to as *Mahārāja* in the Godavari grant. Apparently that chief had no kingly titles; and all the kingly praise is bestowed upon Indrādhirāja alone. Secondly, no exploits of Mitavarman are mentioned in that record. Thirdly, the Jirjingi grant, does not mention Indravarman's father's name. This omission seems to be significant, for the Eastern Gaṅgas were often not in the habit of mentioning their fathers' names, if the

1 *JAHRS*, Vol. IV, part ii, p. 61.

2 The Tirlingi grant: *JAHRS*, Vol. III, pp. 54ff. with plate. Dr. Bhandarkar (*E. I.*, XXI,) Insc. of N. India, No. 2047, p. 285 thinks that the date should be construed as 88 and not twenty eight. This seems to be justifiable.

3 Acyutāpuram plates, *E. I.*, III. pp. 223ff.: Santa Bommāli plates: *JAHRS*. vol. IV, pp. 21ff. with plate.

latter were not also crowned kings like themselves.[1] And fourthly, Indravarman is described as *Gaṅgāmala-kula-gagana-tala-sahasraras'miḥ*, "the thousand rayed sun to the sky that is the spotless family of the Gaṅgas." This epithet denotes apparently that the sovereignty of the Gaṅgas was completely enveloped in darkness (who were the enemies) for sometime during the period of Indravarman's predecessor and that when Indravarman rose like the sun, the darkness (enemies) quickly disappeared. This epithet indicates also that the founder of the Gaṅga dynasty was uprooted, and that Indravarman, apparently of another branch, perhaps a brother's son of the founder, rose and restored the sovereignty to his house. This interpretation agrees properly with the history of the hostilities between the Śailōdbhavas and Eastern Gaṅgas and the celebration of *As'vamēdha* rite by Mādhavavarma-Sainyabhīta II. For the present, therefore, we do not know the name of the founder of the Gaṅga dynasty.

2. Indravarman I. or (Indrādhirāja) c. 520–539 A. D.

There seems to have been an interval between the fall of Indravarman's unknown predecessor and the rise of Indravarman I himself. This view rests on the fact that it would have taken sometime for the Gaṅga family under Indravarman to revive after the crushing military disaster, inflicted by the Śailōdbhava king. It is reasonable to believe that Indravarman I did not rise to rescue the sunken prestige of his house till the death of his powerful adversary, Mādhavavarma-Sainyabhīta II, which may be placed about 520 A. D. Indravarman I was undoubtedly a great king. But his period was occupied with wars apparently, with Madhyamarājadēva I surnamed Yas'ōbhīta II, the lord of the Śailōdbhavas in the north and Indrabhaṭṭāraka, the great king of Andhradesa in the south west. The Jirjingi grant and the Godavari plates clearly reveal that Indravarman I had a greater enemy in Indrabhaṭṭāraka, at this juncture. It would appear that Indrabhaṭṭāraka was responsible for the overthrow of Harisēna and the disruption

1 *E. I.*, XVII, pp. 62ff.; *E. I.*, III, pp. 127ff.; *JAHRS*. Vol. IV, pp. 21ff.; *Ind. Ant.* pp. 181ff.

of the Vākāṭaka Empire. He was probably responsible for the signal victories obtained by Mādhavavarma-Sainyabhīta II as his powerful ally against the lord of the infant Gaṅga dynasty. "His flashing sharp-sword had gained for him innumerable victories against his enemies. His lotus feet were covered by the diadems of the kings of the four oceans." He was therefore the most formidable foe whom Indravarman dreaded. The Gaṅga king's sole object was to overthrow Indrabhaṭṭāraka and prevent him from pursuing his unchecked career of aggression. The Godavari grant states this in clear terms. "*Ādhirāja* Indra *first* acquired great and pure fame, spread abroad over the surface of the earth, by overthrowing the infuriated elephant *Kumuda* that came against the elephant *Supratīka*, in the tumultous combat waged by all the kings, who were gladdened by having assembled together *in the desire to uproot by force Indrabhaṭṭāraka.*" Indrādhirāja did not feel secure even in his own kingdom until his formidable adversary Indrabhaṭṭāraka was uprooted. And in the end he completely succeeded in the realisation of his long cherished desire. He had formed a great coalition of treacherous vassals of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Empire and other kings of Northern Deccan; and placing himself at the head of that confederacy, he attacked and slew him at last in a fierce battle. Elsewhere the event has been placed in 530 A. D.

Among the erstwhile vassals of the Vākāṭaka Empire was king Pratāpas'īla of an unknown dynasty. His newly acquired independence was perhaps sought to be destroyed by Indrabhaṭṭāraka. He would, therefore, appear to have joined the great confederacy of disaffected kings who desired to uproot Indrabhaṭṭāraka by force, according to a passage which occurs as an epithet in the king's Khaṁkhēḍ plates.[1] Pratāpas'īla is described as *anēka - caturddantagaja - ghaṭā - saṁghaṭṭa - prāpta - vijayaḥ*, "one who had gained victories in battles with troops of numerous four-tusked elephants." The reference to the *Caturddanta* elephants is a feature peculiar o the charters of Indrabhaṭṭāraka; Pṛthivīmūla and Indra-

1 *E. I.*, XXII p. 93f.

varman. We have, therefore, assumed elsewhere that these three kings were contemporaries. The term *Caturddanta*, in the Khamkhēḍ plates makes the donor Pratapas'īla a possible contemporary of the lords of Andhra and Trikalinga. Though the dynastic name and the capital from which the Khamkhēḍ edict was issued are not forthcoming, it is possible to believe, that Pratāpas'īla was a Kaḷacuri prince whose kingdom lay, about the region known as Berar, in the heart of the former Vākāṭaka Empire. Pratāpas'īla is said to be a younger brother of king Uttaragaṇa, who apparently was the predecessor on the throne. Pratāpas'īla was an ambitious and powerful soldier; he had usurped the throne which in right belonged to his eldest brother king Uttaragaṇa's son, prince Davana-Dhrubhaṭa. As the names of some of the Kaḷacuri kings end in the suffix *gana*, it is probable that Uttaragaṇa was related to the Kaḷacuri kings.[1] "The use of the expression *samadhigata-pañca-mahā-s'abda*, 'one who had attained the dignity of being heralded by the *Pañcamahās'abda* or five great sounds', and the absence of any suzerain's name in the charter indicates that Uttaragaṇa belonged to a feudatory royal family and that his successor Pratāpas'ila made himself independent in his kingdom, when the Vākāṭaka Empire declined and disappeared. Pratāpa-s'īla, therefore, would appear to be one of those Vākāṭaka feudatories who was eager to protect his newly gained independence. But the Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch would, after overthrowing Harisēna, seem to have attempted to extend his imperial dominion over the erstwhile vassals of the Vākāṭaka Empire. In that attempt, Indrabhaṭṭāraka probably threatened the independence of Prātāpas'īla. And that may have been possibly the cause of the latter joining the great coalition of kings who had assembled together to uproot Indrabhaṭṭāraka by force.

There are two more facts, with reference to the Jirjingi grant, which remain to be noticed. According to the passage *vimala - vikōs'a nistrims'a - dhārā - samākrānta - sakala-sāmanta-*

1 See Prof. Mirashi's remarks in *Ibid*. p. 93f,

*nṛpati-maṇḍalādhipati-makuta-nihita-rucira-padmarāga - prabhā-praseta-pariṣvaṅga-piṅgāṅgī-kṛta-caraṇayugalaḥ*, "whose pair of feet were made resplendent by the encircled red rays shed by the lustrous jewels placed in the diadems of the entire circle of the vassal kings of the earth, who had been prostrated by the edge of his flashing sharp sword," in the Jirjingi grant, it appears that Indravarman I acquired a large kingdom and levied tribute from a host of vassals. The Godavari grant fully supports this claim. Secondly, the Jirjingi grant mentions the date of the charter as the 21st day of Vais'ākha in the prosperous year 39. The Gaṅga dynasty had not yet proudly claimed the epithet 'victorious' for their era. The details of the date do not admit of any verification. Nevertheless the Gaṅga *Saṁvat* 39 and the details may be equated to May, 537 A. D. with the help of the results that we have hereto obtained. The date may have fallen roughly towards the close of the king's reign.

Indravarman's fall c. 539 A. D.

It would appear that the reign of Indravarman I like that of his predecessor ended in a severe military disaster. While he was still rejoicing in the destruction of Indrabhaṭṭāraka, a new foe seems to have arisen on the north of his kingdom at that juncture. He was Madhyamarājadēva I surnamed Yas'ōbhīta II. (*c.* 520-548 A. D.) of the Śailōdbhava dynasty. It may not be unreasonable also to assume that Indravarman I died at the hands of the Śailōdbhava king about this time (*circa* 539 A. D ), for the latter claims to have performed *Mahāmakha*, *Vājapēya* and *As'vamēdha* sacrifices and assumed imperial dignity. Probably in order to celebrate his overthrowing of the mighty lord of Trikalinga, Madhyamarājadēva performed the renowned *Vājapēya* and *As'vamēdha* rites. The event was of paramount importance. The destruction of Indravarman I threw the kingdom of Trikalinga into confusion and anarchy; and the province of Kalinga was annexed to the Śailōdbhava dominions. Once again the Eastern Gaṅga sovereignty was eclipsed by the glory of the rising Pāṇḍuvaṁs'is and Śailōdbhavas, for two decades to come.

A noteworthy fact about Indravarman I, is that he is called *Trikaliṅgādhipati*, 'lord of Trikalinga', while his descendants are styled only as Lord of Kalinga. Yet another king, Mahā-Sāmantavarman,[1] a descendant of Indravarman, is also called *Trikalingādhipati*. There must be some significance therefore in this title. It is fairly certain that Trikalinga and Kalinga did not refer to the same country. It is probable however that Trikalinga comprised a portion of the latter, that is, North Kalinga and the region lying to the west of the Eastern Ghats locally called Pālakoṇḍalu in Vizagapatam and Malayagiri in Ganjam district. It also covered apparently the northern half of the feudatory state of Bastar and was bounded by Kōsala or the Mahānadi on the north, Kongōḍa on the north east, and the sea on the east. And it probably extended as far as the river Lāṅgulya in the extreme north of the Vizagapatam district. It would seem therefore to have comprised the entire district of old Ganjam lying between the river Ṛṣikulya in the north and the Lāngulya in the south, the Zamindary of Jeypore, and the feudatory states of Bastar, Patna and Kalahaṅḍi. The capital of Trikalinga during the reign of *Adhirāja* Indra was Dantapura. It was from this city that Indravarman issued the Jirjingi grant. Dantapura is mentioned in the inscriptions of the shrine of Madhukēs'vara at Mukhalingam on the Vaṁs'adhāra in the Ganjam district.[1] This circumstance indicates that Dantapura must have lain in the vicinity of Mukhalingam. Dantapura has been identified with a place called Danta-varapukōṭa near Chicacole Road Railway station. It is an ancient site with extensive ruins of fortifications and mounds. It lies near the village of Āmudālavalasa, which is the same as Ēraṇḍapalli, the seat of prince Damana, referred to in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta.

Trikalinga. Its extent and capital.

1 A C. P. grant of this king is in the possession of my friend Mr. M. S. Sarma who has been kind enough to inform me about it. See *JAHRS*, Vol. XIII, pp. 94-95.

1 *S. I. I.*, V. Nos. 1076 and 1084. See my paper "On the identification of Kalinga-nagara" in *JBORS.*, Vol. XV, Pts. I & II, p. 110.

From about the fall of Indravarman I, *c.* 539 A.D., till the rise of about Sāmantavarman Mahā the Gaṅga *Saṁvat* 64 corresponding to 561–62 A.D., for about two decades roughly, the sovereignty of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty was obstructed. It was due to the expansion of the Paṇduvaṁs'i or Sōmavaṁs'i kings of Kōsala in the north and the increasing power of the Śailōdbhavas in the north-east. Madhyamarāja-dēva I, one of the greatest princes of Śailōdbhava dynasty, destroyed Indravarman of Trikalinga and perhaps also king Nannadēva of Kōsala, and performed the *Vājapēya*, *Mahāmakha* and *As'vamedha* sacrifices. As long as Madhyama-rājadeva I was alive, the Eastern Gaṅgas remained completely subverted. It is not unreasonable to presume that some time between 540 and 545 A. D. Madhyamarājadeva I joined the coalition of the great kings of the Deccan led by the mighty Gōvindavarman of Andhradesa to uproot the Maukhari prince Īs'ānavarman and restore the Imperial Gupta sovereignty once more in Āryāvarta under Kumaragupta III or his successor. According to a statement in the Aphsad stone inscription it appears that at this juncture Kumāragupta's accession was opposed by Īs'ānavarman.[1] It is probable that Kumarāgupta III sought the assistance of the kings of Dakṣhiṇāpatha, notably the lords of Andhra, Kongoda Śarabhapura, Surāṣṭra, Dhārā and others.[2] Madhyamarajadēva was probably the lord of the Gauḍas, who was defeated along with his confederates by Īs'ānavarman in that campaign, and forced to retire into his own country. For,

Second period of obscuration for the Eastern Gaṅgas *c.* 540–560 A.D.

1 *Gupta Inscriptions* (*CII*, Vol. III) No. 42 p. 200, text lines 5.7.

प्रख्यातशक्तिमाजिषु पुरस्सरं श्रीकुमारगुप्तं इति ।

अजनयदेकं स नृपोहर इव शिखिवाहनं तनयम् ॥

उत्सर्प्पद्वातहेलाचलित कदलिकावीचि माला वितानः
प्रोद्यद्धूलीजलौघ भ्रमितगुरुमहामत्तमातंग शैलः ।

भीमः श्रीईशानवर्म्म क्षितिपतिशशिनः सैन्यदुग्धोदसिंधु-

र्लक्ष्मी संप्राप्तिहेतुः सपदि विमथितो मन्दरीभूय येन ॥

2 See Book IV *ante* pp. 506-13 : reign of Gōvindavarman ; See also *E I.*, XIV, p. 110.

the Harāhā inscription claims victory for Īs'ānavarman, who is said to have made the Gaudaṣ who may be reasonably identified with the Śailōdbhavas, to confine themselves, "in future within their realm on the seashore." The significance of the claim becomes apparent when we see that after the death of Madhyamarājadēva I, there followed dynastic wars between his two sons, Dharmarāja surnamed Mānabhīta and Madhavarāja II, surnamed Sainyabhīta, for the throne of Kongoda. A kingdom thus divided between the two rival claimants could not have continued its hostilities against the Maukharis in the north and much less against the Eastern Gaṅgas of Trikalinga in the south.

Rise and expansion of the Pāṇḍuvaṁs'is or Sōmavaṁs'is of Kōsala.

Moreover the period following the death of Indravarman I seems to have synchronised with the decline of the short lived dynasty of Śarabhapura in Kōsala and the rise of a new dynasty known to historians by the name of the Pāṇḍuvaṁs'is or Sōmavaṁs'is with their capital at Śrīpura, the modern Sirpūr in Raipūr district. The founder of this dynasty was Nannadēva, son of Indrabala and grandson of Udayana. But the real founder who raised the prestige of his family from that of a vassal to that of a paramount power was Nannadēva's son Tīvaradēva or Mahās'ivagupta Tīvaradēva. He is called, in all the records of the family, 'the supreme lord of all Kōsala,' which is the same as Mahā-Kōsala or Dakṣiṇa-Kōsala, the old name of Chattisgarh. It is stated in the records of his reign that he acquired the sovereignty of Kōsala by extending his conquests in all directions. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to presume that Tīvaradeva uprooted the Śarabhapura dynasty, the last of whom was Mahā-Pravararaja.[1] The euologistic *pras'asti* of the records speaks of Tīvaradēva as a powerful soldier, who seized the sovereignty of his former overlords by a *coup d'etat* and overawed all his foes by his fierce prowess. It also indicates how he endeavoured to make his usurpation popular by remitting taxes, by making charities

1 See below Chapter III. "The S'arabhapura Dynasty".

and distributing wealth and by not confiscating the property of others who had apparently opposed his rise.[1] It is therefore probable that Tīvaradēva conquered and occupied the provinces belonging to Trikalinga, Kongoda, Mēkala, Magadha and perhaps Cēdi also in the west. Elsewhere his reign is fixed with reasonable certainty between *c.* 545-555 A. D.; and though his reign was short, it appears to have been eventful and highly prosperous.

The Eastern Gaṅga prince of this period, whose name is not preserved seems to have encountered Tīvaradēva and perished in the conflict. Of Trikalinga apparently included the southern provinces of Kosala, and Tīvaradeva's forcible wresting of that region reduced considerably the power and prestige of the Eastern Gaṅgas. Beset with powerful foes on all sides of his kingdom, Andhra, Kongoda and Kōsala, the Eastern Gaṅga kings of this period, *c.* 540–560 A.D. suffered serious reverses and finally succumbed. The death of Tīvaradēva (*c.* 555 A.D.) and the fall of Mādhavarāja II, his Śailōdbhava protege in Kongoda, almost simultaneously, brought relief and respite for a short period to the Eastern Gaṅga kingdom. Towards the end of this second period of obscuration, rose king Mahā-Sāmantavarman I, who once more asserted the sovereignty of his house over Trikalinga, like his illustrious ancestor Indravarman I. A recently discovered grant of his reign dated the Gaṅga year 64,[2] which corresponds to 561-62 A.D., supports this conjecture. The inscription speaks of Mahā-Sāmantavarman I as the 'sun in the sky which is the spotless family of the Gangas,' in just the same manner as the Jirjingi grant speaks of its donor. Mahā-Sāmantavarman is said to have acquired the sovereignty with the help of the sharp edge of his flashing

Its repercussions on the Eastern Gaṅga Kingdom of Trikalinga *c.* 539—560 A.D.

2. Maha-Mahā Samantavarman I. *c.* 560—565 A.D.

1 Betul plates *E. I.*, VII pp. 102ff. text lines 2-18.

2. See note 1 on p. 602 *JAHRS.*, vol. XIII, pp. 93ff. The *pras'asti* runs as follows:—

जयश्रीसौम्यवनात्.........गंगामल गगनतलसहस्रराश्मिः स्वासिधारापरिस्पन्दााधिगतराज शब्दः त्रिकलिङ्गाधिपतिः श्रीमहाराज श्रीमहासामन्तवर्म्मा ।

sword. His royal residence was Saumyavana, a place which cannot be identified at present. It is described as *jaya-s'rī-nivāsa*, 'the abode of the goddess of victory.' His reign seems to have been cut short; and the history of the contemporary Pāṇḍuvaṁs'is and the Śailōdbhavas amply corroborates this assumption. Mādhavarāja II was succeeded by his elder brother Dharmarāja surnamed Mānabhīta. It is provable that he reigned at least for three decades. His period is fixed elsewhere as lying between 555 and 585 A.D. He was a powerful king, and like his great father pursued a vigorous policy of conquest. During his eventful reign, the boundaries of the kingdom of Kongoda were once more extended on all sides, and into the Eastern Ganga territory as well. It is therefore reasonable to presume that the region lying to the north and west of the Mahēndragiri, which formed part of Trikalinga, was for ever lost to the Gaṅga dynasty at this period. In Kōsala too, Candragupta, the younger brother and successor of Tīvaradēva would seem to have revived hostilities with the Eastern Gaṅgas and annexed once more the southern provinces of Kōsala which had formed part of Trikalinga during the reign of Mahā-Sāmantavarman. The Gaṅgas lost the sub-provinces of Kosala also permanently, for they never afterwards claimed to be lords of Trikalinga. Candragupta's reign seems to have lasted nearly three decades, from *c.* 555—to 594 A.D. And during this long period, the Eastern Gaṅga kings do not seem to have attempted to regain their hold over the region that formed part of Trikalinga at one time. This conjecture is fully borne out by the preambles of the charters of Hastivarman, dated in the Gaṅga years 79 and 80. It cannot be known who the successor of Mahā-Sāmantavarman was. But it is possible to presume that once more the Eastern Gaṅga sovereignty was obscured on the death of that monarch. According to the preambles of the grants of years 79 and 80, it appears that it was not until Hastivarman ascended the throne, that the Eastern Gaṅgas emerged once more from obscurity. Fortunately for the Eastern Gaṅga kingdom at this period, there were no troubles from Andhradesa. For, during this period

*c.* 546—580 A.D., the throne of that kingdom was occupied by the infant king, Mādhavavarman III.

The accession of Hastivarman was a turning point in the early history of the Eastern Gaṅgas. It is probable that it took place about 570 A.D., and that Hastivarman defeated, or rather obtained a signal victory against his contemporary Śailōdbhava king Dharmarāja. This conjecture is based upon the achievements mentioned in the two records of his reign, the Narsingapalli[1] and the Urlām plates[2]. The postscript at the end of these grants clearly supports the above assumption. It reads, "This is an edict of the glorious Raṇabhīta, whose commands are irresistable and who has crushed the confederacy of his enemies by strokes of the point of his scimitar"[3]. The claim is made also in the formal preamble of the charters, as *svāsi-dhārā-parispandhādhigata-sakala-Kaliṅgādhirājyaḥ*, "who has acquired the sovereignty over the whole of Kalinga by the quivering edge of his sword." He is spoken of as *anēka-samara-saṁkṣōbha-janita-jaya-s'abdaḥ*, "one who has caused the cry of 'victory' to resound in the turmoil of many a battle," and also as "one whose feet are reddened by the dense clusters of the light of the jewels on the crests of all vassals prostrated by his excessive valour." Above all he is called, significantly enough as *Gāṅg-āmala-kula-pratiṣhṭhaḥ*, "the establisher of the spotless family of the Gaṅgas." Obviously these claims cannot be boasts. Hastivarman conquered the foes of his house, who apparently formed a great confederacy led by the Śailōdbhava king. And having destroyed the confederacy, he was able to establish firmly the Gaṅga family on the throne of Kalinga. He abandoned the old capital Dantapura and made Kalinganagara his seat. His reign was therefore eventful and victorious, but it must have been also suddenly cut short, for we find his successor, Indravarman II, reigning as king of

4. Hastivarman surnamed *Rājasiṁha* and *Raṇabhīta*. *c.* 570—580 A.D.

1 *Bhārāti*, Vol. XI, Pt. 9, p. 461-467. Also *E.I.* XXIII, p. 63f.

2 *E.I.*, XVII, p. 330.

3 मण्डलाग्रविनिष्पेष निष्पिष्टाराति संहतेः । श्रीमतो प्रतिघाज्ञस्य रणभीतस्य शासनम् ॥

Kalinga in theGaṅga year 87 corresponding to 584–585 A.D. It is probable therefore, that Hastivarman's reign lasted a decade, *c.* 570—580 A.D.

The Narsingapalli charter is the earlier of the two records of Hastivarman. It is dated the 12th day of the bright fortnight of Jyēṣṭha, Ganga year 79. The date falls in May 577 A.D. The inscription is important, for it contains an altogether new form of preamble. It states that Hastivarman established the Eastern Gaṅga family firmly in Kalinga. It was apparently invented for the first time in Hastivarman's reign. It gives him the epithet *Raṇabhīta* and the title *Rājasiṁha*. The title *Raṇabhīta* is a curious one and indeed an uncommon expression. At first sight it does not look very complimentary, but may have to be understood in a moral sense. Hastivarman seems to have acquired this title from the Śailōdbhavas whose lord he had apparently defeated. The titles ending with *bhīta* like *Yaśōbhīta*, and *Sainyabhīta* were peculiar to the Śailōdbhava dynasty. The Narsingapalli plates register the grant of six *halas* (plough measures) of land and four house sites (*nivēśana*), all separated from the village, Rōhaṇaki and constituted as *dēvāgrahāra* to god Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) designated as Raṇabhītōdaya, for the performance of rites known as *bali*, *caru*, *nivēdya*, for running a *satra* (feeding house) and for repairs of the temple. The grant was made by the king on the request of the *bhōgika* Buddhamañci, for the increase of religious merit to himself and his parents. The gift was evidently made on the occasion of *Kūrma Jayanti*, which falls always of Jyēṣṭha *śukla dvādaśi* (12). It is interesting to note that the three epithets given to god Nārāyaṇa in this record, namely, *sapta-ārṇṇava-śayinē*, 'who lies on the seven seas,' *sapta-sām-ōpa-gītāya*, 'who is sung in the seven hymns', and *sapata-lōk-aika-nāthāya*, 'who is the lord of the seven worlds,' occur in a single verse in Kāliddāsa's *Raghuvaṁśam* (canto x, v, 21). Presumably the composer of the record is acquainted wlth the work of Kālidāsa; and what is more, Hastivarman appears to have founded the temple in commemoration of his victory against

Narasingapalli plates and their importance

the Śailōdbhava king. The fact that Hastivarman, who was himself a *paramamahēs'vara,* made this donation to the god Raṇabhītōdaya, shows that he was not merely tolerant of Viṣṇuism, but something more. A new form of Viṣṇuism would seem to be spreading from the north to the south in this period. In the same manner we must look for some hidden significance for the assumption of his title Raṇabhīta.

The second record of Hastivarman is the Urlām plates.[1] The inscription records the grant of a piece of land, two and a half *halas* in extent, at the village of Hoṇḍevāka in Krōṣṭukavartanī-*viṣaya* as an *agrahāra* to Jayas'arman, an inhabitant of Urāmalla, who belonged to Vatsa *gōtra* and who was a student of the Vājasanēya *s'ākha.* It is said that the land had been purchased from the residents of the *agrahāra* of Hoṇḍevāka by the king and constituted as a separate section, and that the day of the grant was the 8th *tithi* (day) of Kārttika[2] in the Gaṅga year 80. The date corresponds to sometime in September-October, 578 A. D.

Urlām plates.

Hastivarman's fall may have been brought by about several causes. As stated in the history of the Śailōdbhavas, it appears that Dharmarāja-Mānabhīta recovered quickly from the signal defeat which the lord of the Gaṅgas had inflicted, and in a short time after, atacked once more Hastivarman and slew him in a tumultuous battle. The *pras'asti* of the Koṇḍeḍḍa and the Nivina grants of this monarch corroborate the conjecture. With the death of Hastivarman, it appears that the Gaṅga sovereignty was obscured for a few years again. Yet another view is also likely. It is possible to believe that Hastivarman was uprooted by Candragupta, the powerful king of Kōsala. To understand this we shall have to turn to the history of Kōsala

Fall of Hastivarman. Probable cause.

1 *E. I.*, XVII, pp. 330ff.

2 Dr. Hultzsch (*Ibid.* p. 331) takes the *8th day of Kārttika* to mean the 8th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Kārttika. He has not however given any reasons for this presumption. The reason may be that Kārttika *ba.* 8 is the *Manvādi* of Indrasāvarṇi. It is also an auspicious occasion known as *Kālabhairav-āṣṭami,* a proper day for making a pious donation for one's own religious merit.

for a while. While Indravarman I and Mahā-Sāmantavarman I called themselves 'Lord of Trikalinga', their descendant, Hastivarman, styled himself merely as the 'Lord of Kalinga.' This change is significant. It means that the Gaṅgas ceased to be lords of Trikalinga which apparently comprised also the southern region of Kōsala in the north. The dismemberment of Trikalinga kingdom which seems to have begun in the reign of Tīvaradēva[1] (*c.* 545—555 A. D.) was completed in the reign of his successor Candragupta, who was a great military general.[2] The Gaṅgas then, who were surrounded by hostile kingdoms on all sides were never able to regain their hold on the Kōsala sub-provinces and restore their sovereignty over the kingdom of Trikalinga. Harṣagupta, the son and successor of Candragupta too, was a powerful king. He had a powerful ally in Mādhavavarman III, king of Andhra, who was himself an opponent of the Gaṅga sovereignty in Kalinga. And, therefore, during the reigns of Harṣagupta and his successors, the integrity of Kōsala remained unimpaired. That seems to be the reason presumably which compelled Hastivarman to adopt the epithets, the 'Lord of entire Kalinga (*sakala-Kalingādhirājaḥ*) and 'the establisher of the spotless Gaṅga family.' Driven away by the Sōmavaṁs'is from Trikalinga, and severely beaten by the Śailōdbhavas, it was probably a great achievement for Hastivarman who was ably assisted by Indravarman II, his successor, to have been able to consolidate his power and establish the Gaṅga sovereignty firmly in Kalinga with Kalinganagara as its capital. His desire to bring the kingdom of Trikalinga under his sceptre once more, presumably brought him into conflict with Candragupta, lord of Kōsala. In the records of the Sōmavaṁs'is, Candragupta is spoken of as a mighty warrior. He is described as the crest-jewel of the Sōmavaṁs'i family.[3] Even his elder brother, Mahās'iva Tīvaradēva who is called *rājādhikāra dhavalaḥ* 'shining with regal power,' it is said, "became his follower in

1 The inscriptions of the time of Mahās'iva Tīvaradēva:—Baloda plates of Tivaradēva: *E. I.*, VII, p. 102f.; Rājim copper-plate Inscrption of Tivaradēva: *C. I. I.* p. 291 No. 81.

2 Sirpūr Stone Inscr. *E. I.*, XI, pp. 184ff. Candragupta's prowess is described in two beautiful verses 7 and 8 in this record.

3 *Ibid.* verse. 4.

battles as Balarāma followed Kṛṣṇa, the slayer of Kaṁsa, in tearing up the mighty elephants of his unassailable enemy."[1] The simile seems to indicate that Candragupta was the real hero who slew his own kinsman that was the bitter opponent of his family, and was responsible for raising the glory of his house even during the reign of his elder brother. It is, therefore, also probable that Hastivarman lost his life in the conflict with Candragupta.

Hastivarman's family was apparently destroyed, for the succession passed on to his younger brother, Indravarman II. There are no materials that describe precisely the relationship of Indravarman II to Hastivarman, but it is not unreasonable to presume that he was his younger brother.

5. Indravarman II.
*c.* 580—595 A. D.

Indravarman II bore the title *Rājasiṁha* like Hastivarman. And likewise he claimed to be the '*Adhirāja* of the entire Kalinga' and 'the establisher of the family of the Gaṅgas.' These facts render the above conjecture very probable. When Hastivarman was uprooted, Indravarman II rose and rescued the sunken glory of his house.

There are three records of his time. Two of them, the Santabommāli and the Acyutāpuram plates are dated in the Gaṅga *Saṁvat* 87; and the third, the Parlakimedi plates, is dated in the 91st year. The earliest of these charters, is the Acyutāpuram grant; it is dated the new-moon day of Caitra in

Three C. P. grants of his reign.

Gaṅga *Saṁvat* 87.[2] It records the grant of a field in the village of Siddhārthaka to a Brāhman of the Gautama-*gōtra* who was a student of the Chandōga school. The land

1 *Ibid.* v. 6.

दुर्घर्षकोरवैरिवारणदारुणेषु सीरायुधः स इव कंसनिषूदनस्य ।
राजाधिकारधवलः सबलोबभूव यस्याग्रजो ष्यनुचरश्चरतो रणेषु ॥

2 *E. I.*, III. p. 127f. The details of the date, Caitra *bahula amāvāsya* coupled with *Udagayana* in Gaṅga saṁvat 87 which would coincide with Ś. S. 507-08 expired or 585–86 A. D. may, on the presumption that *udagayana* was the same thing as *Mēṣa-saṁkrānti*, and the other astronomical details mentioned in other charters agreeing, yield the necessary date for determining the initial point of the victorious Gaṅga era still more precisely.

lay near the *rājataṭaka* 'the king's tank' and the water from it the donee was permitted to utilise for irrigation purposes. The grant was made on the occasion of consecrating a tank in honour of the king's mother, during *udagayana* or the sun's progress to the north. Siddhārthaka may be identical with Siddhāntam near Chicacole,[1] and the Varāhavartani- *viṣaya* in which the village Siddhārthaka lay, seems to correspond to the coastal region between the river Vaṁs'adhāra and Tekkali.[2]

The second record is the Santabommāli plates dated the 30th day of Jyēṣṭha in the Gaṅga year, 87.[3] The charity was made on the request of the *bhōjaka* Talavaradēva. The third record is the Parlakimedi plates dated the 30th day of Māgha in the Gaṅga Year 91. The details have been computed already and their equivalent is January 22, 589 A. D. The inscription records the grant of the village of Kettaṭa situated in the district of Dēvanna-Pañcāli as an *agrahāra* to Dhruvas'arman of the Gārgēya-*gōtra*, who belonged to the community of Brāhmans of Kalinganagara and a student of the Chandōga school. The village was granted on the request of a certain Koṇḍavallaka, probably an officer of the king.

All the charters of Hastivarman as well as Indravarman II, were issued from Kalinganagara. Dantapura, the former capital had been abandoned and the new city, Kalinganagara was built to be the metropolis of the kingdom apparently at this period.

Kalinganagara identical with Mukhalingam.

There is controversy and difference of opinion about the identification of Kalinganagara. Dr. Fleet dientifies Kalinganagara with Kalingapatam ;[4] and this view is shared by Mr. Bhaṭṭācharya.[5] Prof. G. V. Rāmamūrti, on the contrary, identifies Kalinganagara with Mukhalingam *cum* Nagarakaṭaka, two adjacent ancient villages lying on the northern bank of the

1 *E. I.*, XIII, p. 213.

2 *E. I.*, XXII, p. 65.

3 *JAHRS.* Vol. IV, pp. 21—24, with plate.

4 *Ind. Ant.*, XVI, p. 132f.

5 *JBORS.*, Vol. XV, pp. 623—25.

Vaṁśadhāra.[1] And with this identification I entirely agree.[2] Some of the inscriptions of the temple of Madhukēśvara at Mukhalingam speak of the shrine as situated in Kalinganagara itself. The city would seem to have been founded in the early part of the sixth century and perhaps by Hastivarman. The city had not yet attained celebrity even during the reign of Indravarman II, which its predecessor Dantapura enjoyed. While Dantapura was claimed to be *Amarapura-pratispardhiḥ* 'the rival to Amarapura, the city of the gods;[3] Kalinganagara was merely called *sarvartu-sukharamaṇīyaḥ*, and *vijaya*, 'the victorious city, which was pleasant in all seasons.'

To Indravarman II a period of about fifteen years may be assigned. The limits of his reign may be easily determined. It will be remembered that according to a statement in the Polamūru Grant, Mādhavavarman III set out early in the year 594 A. D. on an expedition with the desire to conquer the eastern region *i. e.* Kalinga. It is not unreasonable to presume that the Viṣṇu-kuṇḍin monarch defeated and destroyed Indra-varman II during that campaign. Thereafter, it may be noted, there were not any records of the Eastern Gaṅga kings till the Gaṅga year 128 of Indravarman III, son of Dānārṇava.[4] The Gaṅga year 128 falls in 625–26 A. D. It is therefore probable that the reign of Indravarman II came to an end about 595 A. D. The earliest limit for his period may likewise be fixed reasonably in 580, roughly four years before the date of his edict issued in the Gaṅga year 87. It would have taken at least four or five years for Indravarman II to gather his scattered forces and conquer the enemies of his house, and establish his sovereignty firmly in Kalinga once more. Indravarman II was certainly more fortunate than his elder brother. It would appear that the enemies of Kalinga during the early part of his period were

Indravarman III the length of his reign. c. 580–595 A. D.

1 *E. I.*, IV, p. 187–88.

2 See my paper on the subject in *JBORS.*, Vol. XV, pp. 105–115.

3 *JAHRS.*, Vol. III. p. 51, text line 1.

4 *Ind. Ant.* XIII, p. 128; and *E. I.*, XIV, p. 362.

only the Śailōdbhavas; but their power was already reduced considerably owing to the vigorous policy of expansion of the Sōmavaṁśis of Kosala. Indravarman's period therefore would have lasted from *c.* 580—595 A. D.

Interval between the fall of Indravarman II and the rise of Indravarman III. *c.* 624 A. D.

With the death of Indravarman II, a new chapter opens in the early history of Kalinga. The Viṣṇukuṇḍin expedition into Kalinga completely obscured the glory of the Gaṅgas for nearly three decades. The Gaṅgas then were probably reduced to subjection. Mādhavavarman III perhaps subdued or overawed also the lord of Kongoḍa and levied tribute from him. Harṣagupta, king of Kōsala, at this period was already his ally, having been related to him by ties of marriage. Mādhavavarman's queen Candrāvatī was a princess of Kōsala, and as stated elsewhere would seem to be a sister of Harṣagupta.[1] It was not until sometime after the deluge of Satyāśraya-Pulikēsin II's invasion of Kalinga had passed away and the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty of Andhradesa was uprooted, that the Eastern Gaṅgas rose once more under Indravarman III and retrieved the fortunes of the family. The Śailōdbhavas were not then there as a paramount power to oppose the restoration of the Gaṅga sovereignty. They had been subdued and compelled to pay tribute to Śaśāṅkadēva, the Gauḍa king of Karṇasuvarṇa. Some time after the death of Harṣagupta, the Sōmavaṁśis were driven from Kōsala by the Kaḷacuris; and were trying to found a new kingdom in Orisa at that time. The only power that proved a menace to the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty in Kalinga was that of the Eastern Cāḷukyas founded by Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana in Andhradesa, in the south west. The history of the relations between the Eastern Cāḷukyas and the Eastern Gaṅgas from the time of Danārṇṇava's son Indravarman III, is a subject which is not within the scope of the present work.

1 See Appendix. Chronological tables and pedigree.

## The Pedigree of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty.

(From 497 to 625 A. D.)

*Gaṅga–Vaṁśa*

*

Founder of the Dynasty
of Trikalinga
c. 497—515 A. D.
(Name not preserved)

Mitavarman

Indrādhirāja or
Indravarman I.
c. 515—539 A. D.
(Lord of Trikalinga ;)
Capital : Dantapura.
(*Donor of Jirjingi grant*, 39 G. E.)

*

3. Mahā-Sāmantavarman I.
c. 560—565 A. D.
(Lord of Trikalinga ; Capital
Saumyavana ; *donor of C. P. Grant
dated the Year 64, G. E.)*

*
*

4. Hastivarman
c. 570—580 A. D.
(surnamed *Rājasiṁha* and
*Raṇabhīta* ; Lord of Kalinga ;
capital : Kalinganagara.)

5. Indravarman II.
c. 580—595 A. D.
(Surnamed
*Rājasiṁha* ; Lord of Kalinga ;
capital : Kalinganagara )

*

Danarnava.

6. Indravarman III.
c. 620—655 A. D.
(*Donor of the grants dated in the
years 128, 137, 138 and 154 G. E.*)

etc.

CHAPTER II.

# *The Śailōdbhava Dynasty*: c. 350—650 A. D.

## 1. Sources and Chronology.

A survey of the political history of the Śailōdbhava dynasty is not strictly speaking within the purview of the present thesis. The Śailōdbhava kingdom of Kongoda lay far away from Andhradesa. Kongoda or Konyodha has been identified by Kielhorn with *Kung-yu*(or *gu*)*t'o* of Yuan Chwang.[1] We find from the *Records* that the Chinese Pilgrim journeyed south-west from the Oṭa (Oḍra) country for over 1000 *li* and reached *Kung-yu-t'o*, Kongoda.[2] As the inscriptions of the Śailōdbhava dynasty referring to Kongoda-*maṇḍala* have been found, in Puri, Khurda and Ganjam districts we may reasonably conclude that the kingdom of Kongoda extended from the southern bank of either the Mahānadi or Vaitariṇī on the north to the river Ṛṣikulya in Ganjam on the south and that it was bounded by the sea on the east and the mountain ranges on the west. According to the Pilgrim, *Kung-yu-t'o* was a hilly country and its capital lay presumably on a hill bordering on the bay of the sea. The Ganjam plates of the reign of Śasāṅkarāja state that the city of Kongoda was situated on the bank of the Śālimā, which has not been found anywhere so far. The trace of the ancient name of this river may be found in the small river Sālia which flows into the Chilka lake.[3] This part of the country extending from the Mahānadi to the Ṛṣikulya answers well to the description given by the Chinese Pilgrim. Though at present there is no locality which answers to the name Kongoda on the river Sālia, it is possible to believe that it ceased to exist on the fall of the Śailōdbhavas about the middle of the seventh century. Now to grasp clearly the history of

Introductory: Kongada same as *Kung-yu-t'o* of its extent *etc*.

1 *E. I.*, III, pp. 41ff.

2 Watters: *Yuan Chwang*: Vol. II, pp. 195-6.

3 Dr. N. P. Chakravarti is responsible for this identification. *E. I.*, XXI, p. 28.

the Early Dynasties of Andhradesa, it is necessary to survey the political history of the contemporary Śailōdbhava dynasty as their kingdom lay adjacent to Andhra and Kalinga and their history was intimately connected with the history of those two kingdoms.

The scheme of the chronology and political history of the Śailōdbhavas put forward by former writers is not acceptable to me; and my reasons for rejecting their scheme altogether are threefold. In the first place there are no reasonable grounds either to assign the Śailōdbhava dynasty to the period between the seventh and tenth centuries, or to suppose that there were two branches or dynasties, the Earlier holding sway from about 550 to 700 A. D. and the Later ruling from about 825 to 1000 A. D., and that the sovereignty of the Earlier Śailōdbhavas was interrupted by a family known as Earlier Karas, between *c.* 700 and 825 A. D. Secondly it seems to me too much to rely on the doubtful testimony of palaeography alone when other contemporary events do not agree with it. Palaeography by itself cannot be the sole guide in determining either the chronology or the genealogy of the family. particularly when other circumstances are not in consonance with it. Thirdly, the earlier writers have ignored the chronology of the contemporary dynasties of Andhradesa, Kalinga, Kōsala, Mēkala and other neighbouring kingdoms. In my opinion, the Śailōdbhavas are an early dynasty, who have to be assigned to the period beginning from the middle of the fourth and closing with the first half of the seventh century. Accordingly they appear to be the contemporaries of the Māṭharas, Vāsiṣṭhas, Viṣṇukuṇḍins, Nalas and the Eastern Gaṅgas among several others. They seem to have disappeared from the political horizon of the Deccan about the middle of the seventh century for ever, owing to the expansion of the Eastern Gaṅgas from the south and the Sōmavaṁs'is from the west.

Earlier Writers and untenability of their theories.

1 *JAHRS*,, Vol. X, pp. 1—18. (Dr. R. C. Majumdar: *History of the Sailōdbhava Dynasty.*); R. D. Banerji: *History of Orissa.*

The history of the Śailōdbhava dynasty is known from the nine copper-plate charters of the kings that have since been discovered and published. They are:—1. The Buguḍa plates of Mādhavavarma-Sainyabhīta surnamed Śrīnivāsa.[1] 2. The Purī plates of Mādhavavarma-Sainyabhīta, alias Śrīnivāsa.[2] 3. The Cuttack Museum Plates of Mādhavavarman.[3] 4. The Parikuḍ plates of Madhyamarājadēva.[4] 5. The Nivina copper-plate grant of Dharmarāja-Mānabhīta.[5] 6. The Konḍeḍḍa grant or the Purī plates of Dharmarāja-Mānabhīta.[6] 7. The Ganjam plates of Mādhavarāja-Sainyabhīta.[7] 8. The Khurda plates of Mādhavarāja-Sainyabhīta.[8] 9. And lastly, the Tekkali plates of Madhyamarāja (III).[9] All the above records except Numbers 1, 7 and 8 are dated, either in the regnal year of the king or in some era.

Sources of history Copper plate charters of the kings.

The earliest of these records is no doubt the Buguḍa plates of Mādhavavarma-Sainyabhīta. It is undated. The inscription is written in characters that have been variously assigned to the seventh, eighth and tenth centuries. None of these opinions is therefore conclusive. The uncertain evidence of palaeography shall not therefore be our guide here; and for the reasons that will be discussed, the inscription seems to be the earliest record of the family. It furnishes the following pedigree:—

1 *E. I.*, III. pp. 43ff. Remarks by Dr. Hultzsch, *E. I.*, VI, p. 144, n. 1., Note by Kielhorn in *E. I.*, VII, pp. 100ff.

2 *E. I.*, XXIII, pp. 122—131.

3 *E. I.*, XXIV, pp. 148ff.

4 *E. I.*, XI, pp. 281—87.

5 *E. I.*, XXI, pp. 34—41.

6 *JBORS.*, vol. XVI, pp. 176ff. Edited by Mr. Satyanarayan Rajaguru. Referred to in *ARSIE*, 1920–21, p. 93. Edited afresh in *E. I.*, XIX, pp. 265ff.

7 *E. I.*, VI, pp. 143ff. The record is published under the caption: The Ganjam plates of the time of *Mahārājādhirāja* S'aśāṅkarāja.

8 *JASB.*, vol. LXXIII, Pt. 1, pp. 284ff. and plate.

9 *JBORS.*, vol. IV, pp. 165ff. Referred to in *E. I.* XXI, p. 35, n. 6.

Pulindasēna
(*Lord of Kalinga*.)
*

S'ailōdbhava.
(*in his family*)
*

1. Raṇabhita.
|
2. Sainyabhita.
(*in his family*)
*

3. Yas'ōbhīta.
|
4. Mādhavavarma-Sainyabhita
*surnamed* S'rīnivāsa. (Donor)

The record is not dated. To the same reign has to be assigned the Purī plates of Mādhavavarma-Sainyabhīta surnamed Śrīnivāsa. The inscription is dated; and according to Prof. Basak, it is *saṁvat* 20(?)+3=23, which is regarded as the regnal year. But neither the reading of the numeral nor the interpretation of the *saṁvat* as regnal year seem to be tenable. The inscription, however, furnishes the same pedigree as the Buguḍa plates. To the same reign may be assigned the Cuttack Museum plates of Mādhavavarman. The inscription is dated the 24th day of Śrāvaṇa of the year 50. The Year 50 may denote the year or the era of the Śailōdbhava dynasty commencing with some date of Raṇabhīta. The next record in point of chronology is the Parikuḍ plates of Maḍhyamarājadēva. The inscription is dated. Prof. Banerji thinks that the date is given as 88 of some unknown era, which he identifies as the Harṣa era, and equates the date to 88+606 *H. E*=694 A. D. Rai Bahadur Venkayya, on the contrary, takes a different view,[1] which is not tenable. The grant is dated twice and the regnal year is undoubtedly 26. It is therefore probable that Madhyamarājadēva I reigned for about 28 years. The inscription gives not only the same pedigree as the two above mentioned grants but also gives one more generation. The lists of these charters are placed alongside each other for comparison at a glance.

1 *E. I.*, XI. p. 282, note 1.

| *Buguḍa, Cuttack and Purī plates.* | *Parikuḍ plates.* |
|---|---|
| Pulindasēna | Pulindasēna |
| * | * |
| 1. S'ailōdbhava (*in his family*) | 1. S'ailōdbhava (*in his family*) |
| * | * |
| 2. Raṇabhīta.[1] | 2. Raṇabhīta. |
| 3. Sainyabhīta (I) (*in his family*) | 3. Sainyabhīta (I) (*in his family*) |
| 4. Yas'ōbhīta | 4. Yasōbhīta |
| 5. Mādhavavarma *alias* S'rīnivāsa (*donor*) *surnamed* Sainyabhīta II. | 5. Sainyabhīta II, *alias* S'rīnivāsa. |
| | 6. Madhyamarājadēva (*donor*) *surnamed* Yas'ōbhīta (II) |

The Koṇḍeḍḍa and Nivina grants of Dharmarāja-Mānabhīta seem to yield the next two generations of the dynasty and therefore obviously come after the Parikuḍ plates, in point of time. We have accordingly the following pedigree :—

6. Madhyamarājadēva *surnamed* Yas'ōbhīta II.

| | |
|---|---|
| 7. Mādhavarāja. | 8. Dharamarāja *surnamed* Mānabhīta |

Then come two more charters, the Ganjam plates of *Mahārāja-Mahāsāmanta* Mādhavarāja, dated the Gupta Year 300 and the Khurda grant of Mādhavarāja-Sainyabhīta. These two inscriptions seem to belong to one and the same king, namely Mādhavarāja, surnamed Sainyabhīta. Here we have the two lists given in these records.

1 Prof. R. G. Basak and Dr. N. P. Chakravarti read the names Raṇabhīta and Yas'ōbhīta as Araṇabhīta and Ayas'ōbhīta respectively. They have not been able to reconcile themselves to read them as they are. Their reasons for amending them accordingly are far from convincing. Besides the S'ailōdbhava king, Hastivarman, the Eastern Gaṅga king too, bore the title Raṇabhīta and in such a manner as would leave no room for any suspicion or doubt whatsoever. Hastivarman apparently adopted the S'ailōdbhava title as evidence of overthrowing his S'ailōdbhava contemporary. Dr. Chakravarti is not able to show that both the Gaṅga and S'ailodbhava titles were not one and the same. If Raṇabhīta and Yas'ōbhīta are amended as Araṇabhīta and Ayas'ōbhīta, then Sainyabhīta and Mānabhīta should also be amended but the learned scholars have not been able to do that. In my opinion therefore, the epithets which are peculiar to the S'ailōdbhavas have to be understood and interpreted in the proper manner. The word *bhīta* is not to be understood as 'being afraid' but as 'one who causes fright.' Accordingly Raṇabhīta means 'one who causes fright in battle', Yas'ōbhīta, one 'who so causes fright by his fame or renown', and Mānabhīta, 'one who cause fright by his pride'.

| *Ganjam plates.* | *Khurda grant.* |
|---|---|
| S'ailōdbhava | S'ailōdbhava |
| * | * |
| *Mahārāja-Mahāsāmanta* Mādhavarāja (I) *surnamed* Sainyabhīta. | *Mahārāja-Mahāsāmanta* Mādhavarāja (I) *surnamed* Sainyabhīta. |
| \| | \| |
| *Mahārāja* Yas'ōbhīta | Yas'ōbhīta |
| \| | * |
| *Mahārāja-Mahāsāmanta* Mādhavarāja (II) *surnamed* Sainyabhīta. | *Mahārāja-Mahāsāmanta* Mādhavarāja (II) *surnamed* Sainyabhīta |

Since the first prince of these lists is given the titles *Mahārāja-Mahāsāmanta*, it must be that he was not a paramount king but a vassal. And the manner in which the family pedigree is given also supports the view. It is possible therefore to presume that *Mahārāja-Mahāsāmanta* Mādhavarāja-Sainyabhīta is different from Mādhavarma-Sainyabhīta surnamed Śrīnivāsa, the fifth king in the pedigree and the donor of the Buguḍa and Purī plates. We shall have to determine the place of this line of kings in the family pedigree.

As the Ganjam plate is dated the Gupta year 300, corresponding to 619–20 A. D., previous writers have presumed that it must be the earliest record of the family. Their supposition is, however, far from being correct or tenable. The Ganjam plate does not describe the family pedigree in the usual manner of the earlier records, the Buguḍa, Purī and Parikuḍ grants. At the beginning of the inscription Śas'āṅkarāja, who is probably identical with king Śas'āṅka of Karṇasuvarṇa, who according Yuan Chwang, murdered Rājyavardhana, the elder brother of Harṣavardhana, king of Thānēs'var,[1] is mentioned as the *Mahārājādhirāja* ruling the earth, he must be understood to have been the overlord of *Mahārāja-Mahāsāmanta* Mādhavarāja-Sainyabhīta, the donor of the grant. The preamble of the record does not also show that the donor's grandfather was the founder of the dynasty. The inscription begins rather

1 See Beal, *Siyuki*. Vol. I, p. 210. In Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*, the slaying of Rājyavardhana is attributed to the king of Gauḍa, who according to one manuscript of *S'rīharṣacarita* was called Narēndragupta. (*E. I.*, I, p. 10) but according to the commentator on the S'ri *Harṣacarita* (Bombay edn. 1892, p. 195) was named S'as'āṅka.

abruptly, with the mention of the donor's ancestor, without describing the origin of the family. It is probable, therefore, that the princes mentioned in this and the Khurda grant were descendants of Madhyamarājadēva surnamed Yas'ōbhīta, the donor of the Parikuḍ grant. There is one circumstance which supports this conjecture. While the donor and his grandfather are mentioned with the epithets *Mahāraja-Mahāsāmanta*, the donor's father Yas'ōbhīta is referred to by the kingly title *Mahāraja*, apparently meaning a paramount sovereign. Like *Mahāraja-Mahāsāmanta* Mādhava-rāja (II) who was a vassal of Śas'āṅkarāja or Śas'āṅkadēva, his ancestor, Madhavarāja (I) also appears to have been a vassal of a sovereign. Who could be that sovereign? The Nivina and Koṇḍeḍḍa grants speak of a Mādhava, younger brother of Dharmarāja, who usurped the throne of Kongoda and formed the evil intention of driving away his elderly relations *i. e.* Dharmarāja, from the country. After having been defeated by his elder brother, the records state that, Mādhavarāja sought the assistance of King Trivara.[1] And later on, being foiled in that attempt as well, apparently at the battle of Phāsika, he died broken-hearted at the foot of the Vindhyas. These facts show presumably that Mādhavarāja was a protege of, and acknowledged the suzerainty of King Trivara who has been rightly identified with Tīvaradēva of Kōsala.[2] It is thus possible to assume that *Mahāraja-Mahāsāmanta* Mādhavarāja (I), the grandfather of the donor of the Ganjam and Khurda grants was the same as Mādhava, the protege of King Tīvaradēva. If this view is correct, then we get three more generations from Madhyamarāja (I) surnamed Yas'ōbhīta II.

It follows further that the Buguḍa, Purī, Parikud, Nivina and Koṇḍeḍḍa grants are earlier than the Ganjam and Khurda

1 राज्यं लब्ध्वा प्रदर्प्पाविगणित तयोमाधवो ज्येष्ठभानान्
तस्मा देशादस्मा दपास्तुं कृतविषममतिर्विग्रहे फासिकायाम् ।
युद्धक्षोभेन भग्नोन्नृपातिपरमसौ संश्रित स्त्रिवराख्यं
पश्चात्तेनापि सार्द्धं पुनरपि विजितो विन्ध्यपादेषुजीर्ण्णः ॥

2 *E. I.*, XXI, p. 86. I agree with Dr. N. P. Chakravarti in identifying Trivara with Tīvaradēva of Kōsala.

plates and, therefore, all the kings mentioned in those grants preceded the princes mentioned in the last two records.

There now remains one more inscription, the Tekkali plates of Madhyamarāja. Unfortunately the first and the last plates of this record are missing, and thus instead of a complete pedigree of the family we get only the intervening kings. This record seems to contain the names of the successors of Madhyamarāja I surnamed Yas'ōbhīta II, the donor of the Parikuḍ grant. The genealogy recorded in this charter is as follows :—

- Madhyamarājadēva I
  - 2. Dharmarāja-Mānabhita
    - 3. Madhyamarājadēva II
      - 4. Raṇakṣōbha
    - Allaparāja (?)
      - *Yuvarāja* Taillapanibha
        - Madhyamarājadēva III

Accordingly we obtain the following pedigree from the Parikuḍ, Ganjam, Khurda and Tekkali plates of the dynasty.

- 6. Madhyamarājadeva (I) *surnamed* Yas'ōbhita II.
  - 8. Dharmarāja-Mānabhita. (*Mahārājādhirāja*)
    - Madhyamarājadēva (II)
      - Raṇakṣōbha.
    - Allaparāja[1]
      - *Yuvarāja* Taillapanibha.
        - Madhyamarājadēva III.
  - 7. Mādhavarāja (I) (*Mahārāja-Mahāsāmanta*)
    - *Mahārāja* Yas'ōbhīta
      - Mādhavarāja (II) *Mahārāja-Mahāsāmanta.*

1 *Mahamahopadhyaya* Hara Prasada Sastri and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar read the name of the prince Allaparāja as Pētavyōllaparāja. (*JBORS.*, IV, p. 165ff; and *E. I.*, XX, Appendix, No. 1676,) and make him a son of Madhyamarāja II. It is not a correct reading. The name has to be read as Allaparāja and the passage containing the name as *paitṛvyōllaparaja* (I. 19) meaning 'uncle Allaparāja.' as Dr. Chakravarti suggests. (*E. I.*, XXI, p. 35, n. 6.) At the same time I do not agree with Dr. R. C. Majumdar in presuming that Madhyamarāja III was the son of both Allaparāja and *Yuvarja* Taillapanibha as well. (See *JAHRS*, X, pp. 2 and 7.)

With the help of the results that we have so for obtained, we proceed to determine as approximately as possible, respect being had for the chronology of the contemporary dynasties like the Māṭharas, Vāsiṣṭhas and the Gaṅgas, the chronological succession of the Śailōdbhava dynasty as follows:—

*Śailōdbhava Dynasty*

1. Pulindasēna. *c.* 350—360
(*Lord of Kalinga.*)

* * *

2. Śailōdbhava, *c.* 390—420 A. D.
(*Founder of the dynasty.*)

*

*In his family*

3. Raṇabhīta, *c.* 440—460
(Established the sovereignty of his family in Kongoda.)

|

4. Sainyabhīta I, *c.* 460—475

*

*In his family*

5. Yas'ōbhīta I., *c.* 480—495

|

6. Mādhavavarman *alias* Śrīnivāsa, *surnamed* Sainyabhīta II 495—520
*As'vamēdhāyajin,*

|

7. Madhyamarājadēva I, *surnamed* Yas'ōbhīta II, *c.* 520—548.
(*As'vamēdhāyajin*)

*Mahārājādhirāja*
9. Dharmarāja *surnamed* Mānabhīta, *c.* 554—585

*Mahārāja-Mahāsāmanta*
8. Mādhavarāja I *c.* 548—554.

Sons of 9:

10. Madhyamarājadēva II, *c.* 585-590

Unnamed son.

Son of 8:

11. Yas'ōbhīta III. *c.* 590—605.

Sons of the unnamed son:

12. Raṇkṣōbha, *c.* 605-610.

*Allaparāja*

*Yuvarāja* Taillapanibha.

13. Mādhavarāja II, *surnamed* Sainyabhīta III 610-635

Son of Taillapanibha:

*Mahārāja-Mahāsāmanta*
14. Madhyamarājadēva III. *c.* 635—650.

There are certain problems connected with the chronology of the Śailōdbhavas which require a critical examination as preliminary to the study of the political history of the dynasty. The Parikuḍ plates of Madhyamarājadēva contain two dates; rather the inscription is dated twice, first, in the regnal year clearly as *ṣaḍ-viṁs'atimē vijayavardhamāna rājyē*, 'in the year 26 of the victorious reign', (1.45) and secondly, in the year 88 of an unspecified era, which R. D. Banerji identified with the Harṣa era.[1] Therefore it is obvious that the twenty-sixth year of Madhyamārajadēva I coincided with the year 88 of the unspecified era. Apparently, the Śailōdbhavas reckoned an era which does not seem to be identical either with the Harṣa or any other known era. It may be in all probability the era of the Śailōdbhava sovereingty itself. We shall examine this question.

Certain problems connected with the S'ailōdbhava chronology.

The Purī plates of Mādhavavarma-Sainyabhīta seem to mention a year in the same unspecified era like the Cuttack Museum plates of the same king, which are dated the year 50. Both these charters belong to one and the same king; it is incorrect to assume that the Cuttack plate records the edict of Mādhavarāja-Sainyabhīta, the donor of the Khurda and Ganjam plates. This wrong identification involves many real difficulties. The donor of the Cuttack record is a paramount king while that of the Khurda and Ganjam plate is not. Mādhavavarman and Mādhavarāja were two different persons. Mādhavavarman claims to be an offerer of the *As'vamēdha* and other rites, while Mādhavaraja does not claim any such achievements for himself and what is more, calls himself *Mahārāja-Mahāsāmanta*, a feudatory prince. The Cuttack record is the composition of Upēndrasiṁha son of Kundabhōgi, like the Buguḍa and Purī plates. The same officer Jayasiṁha who engrossed the Purī edict with the royal seal, placed the royal seal (*lāñchitam or tāpitam*) on the Cuttack plates as well. And the same Skandabhōgi who engraved the edict on the

1 *E. I.*, XI, pp. 281—287.

Cuttack plates, appears as the engraver of the Purī plates.[1] The date of the Purī plates has been doubtfully read as *Saṁvat* 23 and regarded as the regnal year. Some may feel tempted to read the first numerical symbol as 10, but it seems to be clearly the symbol for 60, and therefore the *Saṁvat* has to be read as 63. Apparently the Purī plates too refer to the date in some era like the Cuttack plates and not to any regnal year. Accordingly, it is reasonable to suppose that the Śailōdbhavas commenced an era from some important event.

Śailōdbhava era : Presumably connected with the establishment of the Kingdom of Kongoda.

There is at present no clue for determining that event ; it seems that it was connceted with the reign of Raṇabhīta, who presumably established the sovereignty of his family in Kongoda. This event may possibly have occurred about the middle of the fifth century. For the present it cannot be more precisely fixed. Having been driven from Kalinga, the Śailōdbhavas, presumably established themselves firmly as the lords of Kongoda. And that event may have given the starting point for the era which is recorded in the family charters. All the Śailōdbhava records refer to Raṇabhīta as the first paramount king in the family, if we leave out of account the eponymous legendary prince. It is for this reason apparently that the Eastern Gaṅga Hastivarman assumed the epithet Raṇabhīta, after destroying his Śailōdbhava contemporary.

This conjecture finds support in the other charters of the family. The Koṇḍeḍḍa and Nivina grants of Dharmarāja speak of Mahāśiva Tīvaradēva as an earlier contemporary of the Śailōdbhava monarch. Elsewhere Tīvaradēva's period as paramount king of Kōsala has been fixed about 545—555 A. D. Dharmarājadēva claims to have destroyed Tīvaradēva before he ascended the throne, and therefore his reign must have commenced after or about the date of Tīvaradeva's fall (*c.* 555). It has been assumed that the Nivina grant was dated in the ninth year and the Koṇḍeḍḍa charter in the thirtieth year

1 Prof. Basak (*E. I.*, XXIII, p. 127, text-line 43) reads the name as *Chchaḍḍibhōgi* it is incorrect. The name is plainly written as Skandabhōgi.

of the reign of Dharmarājadēva. This assumption does not seem to be sound. The numeral in the Nivina plate which has been read as 9 is not clear. It may be anything; but it cannot be 9; and it cannot be deemed to be the regnal year either. The Koṇḍeḍḍa plate too contains a date; and the numeral has been variously interpreted by scholars. Mr. Rājaguru believes it to be *Saṁvat* 512 of the Śaka era.[1] Mr. Venkobarao takes the symbol to represent 800,[2] while Mr. Gupte reads the date as *vijayarājya saṁvat* 30.[3] There is no doubt that the readings of all these scholars are doubtful. The numeral is something which cannot at present be correctly made out. Suffice it to say for the present, however, that the Parikuḍ, Koṇḍeḍḍa and Nivina charters contain a date in some *saṁvat* and in symbols which denote sometimes hundreds rather than tens or regnal years.[4] We shall leave out of consideration for the present the uncertain readings of dates of these grants, and assume that Dharmarājadēva's period commenced about 554 or 555 and that the dates of the Koṇḍeḍḍa and Nivina grants fall sometime after that date.

The Nivina grant has been assumed to be an earlier record. It does not really appear to be so; the internal evidence is against such a presumption. In the Koṇḍeḍḍa plate, the king calls himself simply 'the glorious Dharmarājadēva, son of him, who performed the celebrated *Mahāmakha*, *Vājapēya* and the *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice. On the contrary in the Nivina grant, he calls himself Mānabhīta and proclaims that his assumption of supreme sovereignty had not brought about any change in him. He assumes the epithets *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Paramamāhēśvara*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* and claims imperial dignity. Presumably, therefore, the Nivina grant is a later charter, issued long after Dharmarājadēva ascended the throne and claimed imperial dignity. He was a young man when he conquered the kingdom and would appear to have been well advanced in age at the time of the Nivina charter. To be able

1 *JBORS.*, Vol. XVI, p. 176ff.
2 *ARSIE.*, 1920–21, p. 93.
3 *E. I.*, XIX, p. 267.
4 Dr. R. C. Majumdar is of the same opinion. See *JAHRS.*, Vol. X, p. 4.

to conquer the neighbouring kingdoms or overawe them, and claim to be an emperor, a long reign of about thirty years may be necessary. This long reign from about 554 to 585 is in suitable accordance with the course of events in Kōsala, Kalinga and Andhra, as shown elsewhere.

The date of leading importance is that of the Ganjam plates of Mādhavarāja-Sainyabhīta of the time of Śaśāṅkarāja.[1] The record registers the grant of a village at an eclipse of the sun in the Gupta year 300 corresponding to Ś. S. 541 expired or 619-20 A. D. There was only a single eclipse of the sun in Ś. S. 541 and that took place on the Phālguna newmoon. This eclipse may be therefore presumed to be the occasion for the charity. The date has been equated to March 9, 620 A.D. As this inscription is written in characters which are distinctly later than those of the Koṇḍeḍḍa and Nivina grants, the princes mentioned herein, like those of the Khurda plates, have to be placed after Dharmarājadēva. It is probable that *Mahārāja-Mahāsāmanta* Mādhavarāja, the ancestor of the line of the Ganjam charter, was the same as Mādhava, the younger brother of Dharmarājadēva. Thus it is plain that all the kings mentioned in the earlier records beginning with Buguḍa grant seem to have reigned before the close of the sixth century, and that they cannot be placed on the doubtful testimony of palaeography either in the eighth or ninth century.

1 *E. I.*, VI, pp. 143—46; text line 45.

## 2. *Political History of the Śailōdbhava Dynasty*. c. 350—650 A.D.

The origin of the Śailōdbhava dynasty is imbedded in obscurity as the origin of almost every other ancient dynasty of Dakṣiṇāpatha. All the copper-plate charters of the family refer to a prince called Pulindasēna as the first lord of Kalinga. Whence this prince came, who he was, and by what circumstances he acquired the sovereignty of Kalinga are not narrated in the inscriptions of the family. According to the chronology proposed above, Pulindasēna's date, assuming that he was a historical person, falls about the middle of the fourth century. Pulindasēna appears to be a political adventurer who took advantage of the chaotic condition that followed the southern expedition of Samudragupta and established himself as the supreme lord of Kalinga. His date may be placed about 350—365 A. D. Pulindasēna's sovereignty appears to have been shortlived: for, almost simultaneously rose Vāsiṣṭhīputra-Śaktivarman, the ancestor or the founder of the Māṭhara dynasty on the throne of Kalinga. Śaktivarman conquered the northern provinces of Kalinga and extended his suzerainty over the entire Kalinga. The Rāgōlu plates of his period bear testimony to this fact. It is probable that Vāsiṣṭhīputra-Śaktivarman I, conquered and destroyed the adventurer Pulindasēna and established his own dynasty in Kalinga. What became of the successors or descendants of Pulindasēna in Kalinga is not known. It is reasonable to presume that they fled from Kalinga, unable apparently to regain their hold on that country.

Pulindasēna: the progenitor of the eponymous prince S'ailōdbhava.

It may be remembered that the successors of Śaktivarman I were defeated and dislodged from their ancient capital Piṣṭapura in southern Kalinga by the Śālaṅkāyanas of Vengi. Thereafter, it appears that, Anantavarman the son of Vāsiṣṭhīputra-Śaktivarman and his son Ananta-Śaktivarman or Saktivarman II removed the seat of their government to northern Kalinga and reigned over Kalinga or North Kalinga from their new city Siṁhapura. About this time, it

appears, that the descendants of Pulindasēna moved northwards and founded a new kingdom in Kongoda-*maṇḍala*. This region would seem to have extended from the Mahānadi in the north to Ṛṣikulya in the south and to have extended as far Kosala on the west and in its hey-day comprised even the region on the northern bank of the Mahānadi. Kongoda is a rocky country, and that probably accounts for the reigning dynasty of Kongoda founded by the descendants of Pulindasēna to have called themselves *Śailōdbhavas*, 'sprung out of rock'. The epithet *Śilās'akalōdbhēdī*, found in the formal preambles of the charters of the family, supports this hypothesis. God Brahman created a ruler named Śailōdbhava "who split asunder parts of a rock, and was founder of a dynasty." Pulindasēna is said to have worshipped God Brahman in order to create a fit ruler for the land and that the god granted his wish by creating out of rocks the eponymous prince Śailōdbhava. The truth underlying this seems to be that, Pulindasēna having been conquered and expelled, fled and took shelter in the rocky region of Kongoda and there died apparently broken-hearted. He however hoped that a descendant of his might arise one day and conquer a kingdom or recover the old kingdom of Kalinga. His wish was fulfilled when there arose a prince of his stock and obtained the rulership of Kongoda-*maṇḍala*. He was the eponymous prince Śailōdbhava. The term *Śailōdbhava* literally means 'one who sprang out of rocks 'or' one who sprang from under rocks" but figuratively it may be interpreted to mean a person who was an innabitant of a rocky country. It was in this fashion probably that the first prince who acquired the sovereignty of Kongoda-*maṇḍala* and founded a dynasty came to be called Śailōdbhava. We may, therefore, presume reasonably enough that prince Śailōdbhava was the first historical king of Kongoda-*maṇḍala*. His period may be fixed in the first quarter of the fifth century, *circa* 390—420 A. D. It may be recalled that towards the end of this period the Śālaṅkayanas were uprooted in Vēṅgi by the Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch Mādhavavarman I. About this time, too, it would appear that the Māṭhara kings were also distressed by wars and rebellions in

2. S'ailōdbhava c. 360–420 A. D.

Kalinga as the frequent change of their capital from Siṁhapura to Vardhamānapura and then to Śrīpura, and the events of the reigns of Umavarman would indicate.[1] The political turmoil in Kalinga probably enabled Śailōdbhava to establish himself as the lord of the region known by the name Kongoda-*maṇḍala* about this period.

Nothing is known about the immediate successors or the descendants of Śailōdbhava. Śailōdbhava or his descendant, it is possible to believe, was overthrown by Umavarman, the powerful Māṭhara king of Kalinga (*c.* 400—430 A. D.) at this juncture. That may be the reason for the obscuration of the Śailōdbhava sovereignty after the fall of Śailōdbhava. Vis'ākhavarman, the last of the Māṭharas, may possibly have sought to destroy the Śailōdbhavas; but it would appear that he himself was destroyed in the conflict that ensued with his enemies, the Vāsiṣṭhas in the south-west and the Śailōdbhavas in the north-east. The Māṭharas disappeared finally and their kingdom was seized by the rising Vāsiṣṭhas. Thus the Śailōdbhavas would seem to have gained some respite and emerged once more from obscurity. All that the inscriptions of the dynasty state, is that in the lineage (*kula*) of Śailōdbhava was born a king named Raṇabhīta. They seem to suggest that the name Raṇabhīta became quite appropriate to him, because he frightened many a time the wives of his enemies, who were afraid that their husbands would be killed if they encountered him on battle-field.[2] This figurative expression further seems to denote that Raṇabhīta was so powerful that without ever having occasion to fight, simply overawed his foes and protected his kingdom. Raṇabhīta's period, *c.* 440 to 460 A. D., synchronises with fall of the Māṭharas in Kalinga. During this period the Viṣṇukuṇḍin emperor Mādhavavarman I died, and shortly afterwards his son Dēvavarman was defeated and slain by the Pallava

3. Raṇabhīta
*c.* 440—460 A.D.

1 See Book III *ante*: The History of the Māthara dynasty of Kalinga. pp. 390ff.

2 शैलोद्भवस्य कुलजो रणभित आसीद्येनासकृत्कृतभियां द्विषदङ्गनानाम् ।
ज्योत्स्नाप्रबोधसमयेस्वधियैव सार्द्धमाकंपितो नयनपक्ष्मजलेषु चन्द्रः ॥

king Siṁhavarman III. Mādhavavarman II, the son and successor Dēvavarman fled the country. About this period, too the Vāsiṣṭha kings, Guṇavarman and his son Prabhañjanavarman rose to power and established a kingdom in Dēvarāṣṭra on the ruins of the Māṭhara sovereignty. The Vāsiṣṭhas, therefore, did not apparently come into hostile contact with Raṇabhīta. If we accept the statements of the Buguḍa and Parikuḍ grants, it would appear that the Vāsiṣṭhas were not strong enough at this juncture to oppose Raṇabhīta, and so left the Śailōdbhava king in peaceful enjoyment of his kingdom which at this period included the region as far as the Mahēndragiri. This conjecture is reasonable, because for the first time, the succession passed peacefuly from father to son. Raṇabhīta was succeded by his son Sainyabhīta I.

4. Sainyabhīta (I)
c. 460—475 A.D.

The dynastic records state that Sainyabhīta I was a powerful king, who won victories in several battles. It is stated further: "At his successes won by the strength of the impenetrable row of elephants in many a battle the earth rejoiced."[1] Sainyabhīta's period, 460—475 A. D. would seem to synchronise with the reigns of Prabhañjanvarman and Anantavarman in Dēvarāṣṭra. It is also probable that his numerous victories with troops of impenetrable rows of huge elephants against the Vāsiṣṭha king of his time, made the latter to strictly confine his rule to southern Kalinga or possibly to Dēvarāṣṭra alone. It is possible to presume that his period was spent in interminable wars with the powerful Anantavarman, the Vāsiṣṭha king. The reign of Sainyabhīta I for that reason must have been cut short. Anantavarman, the greatest king of the Vāsiṣṭhas (*c.* 460—485) quickly conquered his foes and acquired the sovereignty, meaning probably of the Śailōdbhavas of Kalinga.[2] For the first time the Vasiṣṭhas under Anantavarman became the rulers of the *entire* Kalinga. This claim of the Vāsiṣṭha

1 Buguḍa and Puri lates.

तस्याभवद्विबुधपालसमस्थं सूनुः श्रीसैन्यभीत इति भूमिपतिर्गरीयान् ।
यं प्राप्य नैकशतनागघटाविघट्टलब्धप्रसादविजयं मुमुदे धरित्री ॥

2 See Book IV *ante*. The history of the Vāsiṣṭhas is discussed in pp. 469, ff.

monarch would mean two things; firstly, that since the days of Raṇabhīta, the Śailōdbhava kingdom included the northern provinces of Kalinga as well as Kongoda; and secondly that the death of Śainyabhīta I marked the end of the Śailōdbhava sovereignty over Kalinga for a second time.

The immediate successors of Śainyabhīta I are not known for the family charters are silent about them. It is possible to believe that they were destroyed by Anantavarman. The dynastic records merely state that in the family of Sainyabhīta I, apparently after lapse of some period, there arose Yas'ōbhīta.

5. Yas'ōbhīta I. c. 480—495 A. D.

Some scholars hold that the correct spelling or the form of the name of the king should be Ayas'ōbhīta and not Yas'ōbhīta, and in the same manner Raṇabhīta should be Araṇabhīta. But I confess, I am unable to accept the correction for the reasons stated elsewhere[1] and also for the reason that the other two titles Sainyabhīta and Mānabhīta are in perfect harmony of sense with the epithets Raṇabhīta and Yas'ōbhīta. One cannot understand, therefore, why should Yas'ōbhīta and Raṇabhīta alone, on the ground of *sandhi* rules, be picked out and corrected into Ays'ōbhīta and Araṇabhīta? These titles are quite peculiar to the Śailōdbhavas, and in my opinion appear to have some special significance, which at present we have no means to understand. It is therefore, proper to retain the title Yas'ōbhīta as it is without trying to import into it a meaning which its authors never probably intended. Yas'ōbhīta's period has been assumed to be approximately 480—495 A. D. It seems to have been peaceful and prosperous.

The son and successor of Yas'ōbhīta I was Sainyabhīta II. He would seem to be the first great king of the dynasty. There are three records of his time: the Buguḍa, Cuttack and the Purī plates. The Cuttack plates mention Mādhavavarma with the epithet Sainyabhīta but do not refer to his second name Śrīnivasa. The Buguḍa plates mention that Mādhavavarmā was the personal name of the king and that, he had another

1 See *ante* p. 620, n. 1

name Śrīnivāsa while his title was Sainyabhīta. The Parikuḍ and other later charters of the family do not mention him by his personal name but refer to him by his title Sainyabhīta and the secondary name Śrīnivāsa. Sainyabhīta II is said to have destroyed the enemies, performed the *Aśvamēdha* and other important *kratus*, and thus pleased the earth, meaning his kingdom or people. It appears from the family records that he was a very handsome prince and that he was called the 'lotus to the bees which were the eyes of charming women.' The Parikuḍ plate states that Sainyabhīta II acquired even the sovereignty over the whole of Kalinga. This claim, as will be presently seen, is not an empty boast. Sainyabhīta II reigned both over Kalinga and Kongoda-*maṇḍala* as the supreme king.

6. Mādhavavarma surnamed Sainyabhīta II *alias* Śrīnivāsa. *c.* 495–520 A. D.

The period of Sainyabhīta II, *c.* 495—520 A. D., was the most eventful period in the ancient history of Dakṣiṇāpatha. It synchronised with the reign of the Vākāṭaka emperor Harisēna. The Vākāṭaka Empire reached the zenith during this period; and it disappeared also like a shadow quickly on the death of Harisēna, about the beginning the sixth century. The Vākāṭaka monarch, as shown elsewhere, fell on account of the fierce and relentless hostility of Indrabhaṭṭāraka, the mighty king of Andhradesa. It will be remembered that Harisēna set up rivals to the respective rightful claimants in the kingdoms of Kalinga, Kōsala, Andhra, Kuntala and others, and thereby acquired some sort of loose hegemony over the whole of Dakṣiṇāpatha. Harisēna's commands were willingly obeyed by his subordinate allies or proteges in Kuntala, Avanti, Lāṭa, Kalinga, Kōsala and even Andhra. About 485 A. D. the Vāsiṣṭha king Anantavarman was destroyed and his dynasty was uprooted in Kalinga, by Mādhavavarman II who was probably assisted by his ally, the Śailōdbhava king Yaśōbhīta I. Shortly afterwards, Mādhavavarma-Sainyabhīta II ascended the throne of Kongoda, conquered his foes and extended his sway into North

Probable alliance between the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and Śailōdbhavas at this period.

Kalinga. He was probably an ally of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king Vikramēndravarman I and his son Indrabhaṭṭāraka as well, afterwards. An alliance between the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and the Śailōdbhava king at that juncture appeared to be too formidable a menace to the Vākātaka ascendancy in Dakṣiṇāpatha. It seems reasonable, therefore, to presume that Harisēna set up a rival to Indrabhaṭṭāraka in Andhradesa and in the same manner helped the Eastern Ganga family to set up a powerful kingdom in the west in Trikalinga, and thus diverted the attention of his foes in Andhradesa, Kalinga and Kongoda, for a short period from him.

After the fall of Harisēna and the quick disappearance of the Vākāṭaka Empire, both Śainyabhīta II from the north-east and Indrabhaṭṭāraka from the south-west attempted simultaneously the destruction of the newly established Gaṅga dynasty in Trikalinga. Herein lies the cause apparently for the bitter hatred of the Eastern Gaṅga king *Adhirāja* Indravarman I for Indrabhaṭṭāraka. Mādhavavarma-Sainyabhīta's death at this juncture, perhaps at the hands of his Gaṅga foe, presumably saved a coalition of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin and Śailōdbhava kings and the consequent uprooting of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty. The presence of the powerful Indrabhaṭṭāraka in Kalinga according to the Rāmatīrtham plates at this period, 520—527 A. D. amply corroborates the supposition that the Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch planned the complete overthrow of the Eastern Gaṅga sovereignty in Trikalinga with the assistance or co-operation of the Śailōdbhava king. The death of Mādhavavarma-Sainyabhīta II and the accession of his son Madhyamarajadēva or Yasobhīta II at this juncture *c.* 520. did not however alter the situation. Ten years passed in that manner in protracted conflict. The Eastern Gaṅga king Indravarman I, slowly consolidated his position and gathered the intransigent and treacherous vassals of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Empire under his banner and at last inflicted a crushing blow on Indrabhaṭṭāraka. The timely death of Indrabhaṭṭāraka, about 530 A. D. however saved the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty from destruction.

The Purī plate states that Mādhavavarma-Sainyabhīta II performed the *As'vamēdha* sacrifice and thus pleased his kingdom. The claim seems to be just and true. The Purī plate is believed to have been dated the 23rd year of his victorious reign, and if it be so, the *As'vamēdha* must have been celebrated before the date of that grant. Reckoning from the initial date, *c.* 495 A. D., which has been fixed for the commencement of the probable period of Sainyabhīta II, the 23rd year falls about 518 A. D. Accordingly, Mādhavavarma-Sainyabhīta must have celebrated the *As'vamēdha*, sometime before that date. The date is probable and is in suitable agreement with the chronology of the contemporary dynasties. By that date the first king or the founder of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty of Trikalinga appears to have been overthrown. And his great ally, Harisēna's, too, fell about 510 A. D. Thus it is reasonable to assume that the Gaṅga king, Harisēna's protege, perished about the same time. The interval following the death of the first Gaṅga king and the rise of Indravarman I, who claimed to be the sun in the spotless sky of the Gaṅga family, seems to be the opportune period during which Śrīnivāsa-Sainyabhīta II celebrated the *As'vamēdha* rite. There was no power either in Trikalinga or in Kōsala that could oppose his *As'vamēdha*. And the lord of Andhradesa, Indrabhaṭṭāraka, was his great ally. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that Śrīnivāsa's *As'vamēdha* took place about 515 A. D.

Mādhavavarma Sainyabhīta's *As'vamēdha* c. 515 A. D.

Mādhavavarma-Sainyabhīta II's successor was his son Madhyamarāja I, surnamed Yas'ōbhīta II. He had a long and victorious reign which has been assumed to have lasted roughly twenty-eight years on the basis of the regnal year given the Parikuḍ plates. His period has been fixed about 520—548 A.D. The hostilities between the Eastern Gaṅgas and the Śailōdbhavas would seem to have revived during the reign of Madhyamarāja-dēva I. So great and powerful was this king and probably so decisive and crushing were his victories that towards the end of his long and eventful reign the sovereignty of the Eastern Gaṅgas was completely overshadowed. This supposition is based

on the circumstance *viz.*, that of this period, 540—560 A. D., there are no records of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty. And the kings, Hastivarman and his successor Indravarman II, that ascended the throne of Kalinga after *c.* 575 A. D. proudly claimed the firm establishment of the Gaṅga sovereignty in Kalinga.

7. Madhyamarāja-dēva I *surnamed* Yas'ōbhita (II) *c.* 520—548 A. D.

Madhyamarājadēva I was apparently a greater king than his illustrious father. The Parikuḍ grant speaks of him as the offeror of the *Mahāmakha*, *Vājapēya* and *As'vamēdha* sacrifices and as having attained great celebrity. He is spoken of as "a devotee of the venerable feet of his father and mother", as *Paramamāhēs'vara* "devout worshipper of Mahēs'vara" and as *Śailōdbhava-kula-tilaka*, "the ornament of the Śailōdbhava family." The performance of *Vājapēya*, *Mahāmakha* and *As'vamēdha* sacrifices denotes that Madhyamarājadēva I attained the rank of a *cakravartin* and levied tribute from a number of conquered kings. Madhyamarājadēva's claim to universal suzerainty and the performance of *As'vamēdha* sacrifice are therefore important events in the history of the Deccan at this period. His *As'vamēdha* may have taken place about 540, after the fall of Indravarman I of Trikalinga. Madhyamarājadēva was a contemporary of three Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings, Indrabhaṭṭāraka, Vikramēndravarman II and Gōvindavarman successively. Indrabhaṭṭāraka's reign ended in a military disaster. Vikramēndravarman II ascended the throne, quickly restored the prestige of his house and died. Then followed the short reign of Gōvindavarman *surnamed* Vikramās'raya.

Madhyama-rāja-Yas'ōbhita II. and his contemporaries.

Gōvindavarman espoused the cause of Kumāragupta III. His reign proved to be a memorable period. He placed himself at the head of great confederacy of the kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha and led an expedition against the Maukhari king Īs'ānavarman who at this period attempted to subvert the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha. It appears that Gōvindavarman and his confederates joined together to destroy Īs'ānavarman and restore the sovereignty of Northern India and

Magadha to Kumāragupta III. Gōvindavarman's invasion was unsuccessful in the end; Īs'ānavarman was able to defeat the great confedaracy of kings after a heroic struggle; and then he could crown himself on the throne of his ancestors. The Maukhari king routed the mighty armies of elephants, horses and foot soldiers of the Andhra monarch and his confederates, according to the contemporary records. The Jaunpur fragment mentions that the lord of Dhāra or Western Mālwa and the king of Surāṣṭra whose territory lay by the Raivataka mountain, were among the powerful confederates of Gōvindavarman. These kings belonged to the north-western region of Dakṣiṇāpatha. And the Hārāh inscription mentions the lord of the Śūlika who had an army of countless gallopping horses and the king of the Gauḍas who inhabited the seashore, among the allies of the lord of Andhradesa. The Śūlika king has been tentatively identified with the king of Śarabhapura of this period. In the same manner, the lord of the Gauḍas may be reasonably identified with the Śailōdbhava king Madhyama-rājadēva I, surnamed Yas'ōbhīta II. There are two grounds in support of this identification. Firstly, the Śailōdbhava king-dom at this period would seem to have extended as far as the river Dāmōdar in the north, bordered on the kingdom of Kōsala in the west and on the sea in the east and included the region of North Kalinga in the south. It is probable therefore that the Śailōdbhavas were known as the Gauḍas to the Maukhari king at this period. Secondly, there was no Gauḍa dynasty on the banks of the Dāmōdar in West Bengal or in Orissa at that time save that of the Śailōdbhavas. Accordingly the Gauḍa king referred to in the Hārāh inscription would seem to be the powerful Śailōdbhava king Madhyamarājadēva Yas'ōbhīta II. The chronology that has been proposed for this dynasty and for the course of events in the history of Deccan during the middle of the sixth century fully support the identification.

Madhyamarājadēva I was also a pious monarch; and in his kingdom religion and *dharma* flourished. Apparently Buddhism received no support or patronage during his reign. The Parikuḍ

record states that "while he reigned sages left their abodes and performed various austerities to seek after the *divya-pada* or *mōkṣa*, which was his kingdom." Here is clear proof of the revival of Vedic Brahmanism and Brahmanical rites in Kongoda. During his reign the glory of the Śailōdbhava dynasty reached the zenith.

It would appear that after Madhayamarājadēva's death, there arose troubles and dynastic disputes in the kingdom. Madhayamarāja left two sons, Dharmarāja and Madhavarāja II.

8. Usurpation of *Mahārāja-Mahāsāmanta* Mādhavarāja II c. 548—555 A. D.

The younger son Mādhava took forcible possession of the kingdom and attempted to expel or actually expelled from the kingdom his elder brother Dharmarāja who had a rightful claim to the throne. He has been identified already as *Mahārāja-Mahāsāmanta* Mādhavarāja II, the ancestor of the donor of Ganjam plate. The Nivina and Koṇḍeḍḍa charters state that Mādhava, having obtained the kingdom by force and not having been recognised as the rightful king, formed the evil intention of expelling from his kingdom his elder relation, namely Dharmarāja. In the civil war that ensued Mādhavarāja was defeated and forced to flee. He sought the help of Mahās'iva-Tīvaradēva who perceived a golden opportunity to extend his overlordship over Kongoda as well. Accordingly Tīvaradēva espoused the cause of Mādhavarāja and declared war upon Dharmarāja. In the beginning Tīvaradēva was successful, but towards the end he was severely beaten and overthrown at the decisive battle of Phāsika about 555 A. D. Tīvaradēva presumably lost his life and his protege fled once more for his life. Phāsikā has not been identified, but it is possible to believe that it stood somewhere on the borders of Kōsala and Kongoda. At last Mādhavarāja II, having lost all hope of regaining the throne, died broken-hearted at a place called Vindhyapada, probably 'the foot of the Vindhyas.'[1]

1 These events are narrated in graphic detail in the Nivina (*E. I.*, XXI, p. 34ff) and Koṇḍeḍḍa (*E. I.*, XIX, p. 265ff.) grants.

King Dharmarāja obtained the kingdom apparently after his victory at Phāsika. The Battle of Phāsika enhanced considerably the power and prestige of the Śailōdbhavas. It gave a severe set back to the progress of prosperity of the newly established sovereignty of the Sōmavaṁs'is. It took sometime even for the powerful Candragupta, the younger brother and successor of Tīvaradēva, to retrieve the fallen prestige of his house. At any rate, as long Dharamarāja was on the throne of Kongoda, the Śailōdbhavas and the Sōmavaṁsis would seem to have remained hostile to each other.

Dharmarāja-Mānabhita c. 554–585 A. D.

Dharmarāja's period has been fixed about 554—585 A. D; a period of thirty-one or thirty-two years is allotted to him on the basis of the Koṇḍeḍḍa grant which is dated the 8th day of the bright fortnight of Vais'ākha of the 30th year of 'his victorious reign.' Dharamarāja bore the epithet Mānabhīta and called himself the *Mahārajādhirāja*, 'the supreme king of great kings'. He was a great scholar, who studied all the *s'āstras* and comprehended their characteristic differences (*sakala-s'āstra-vis'ēṣa-vēdī*) with a critical knowledge. He spent his time in deliberating on matters of religion in the assemblies of Brāhmans. While he reigned the kingdom prospered, for 'his very untarnished and increasing fame removed human sufferings as do the feet of Hari.' He was possessed of excellent qualities and was free from all failings. At times he would kill foes on battle-fields who had risen to prominence, and would go into raptures over the tales of Śiva's radiant deeds. He was a *paramamāhēs'vara*, and a devotee of the feet of his venerable parents. He possessed a great army of elephants, horsemen, and foot soldiers who used weapons of various kinds. His exploits were famous all over the world. They were like that of the enemy of Krauñca, *i. e.*, Kārttikēya.

Dharmarāja's claim to have vanquished his enemies and subdued his rivals does not seem to be a mere boast. As pointed out already Candragupta, lord of Kōsala, did not thereafter measure swords with Dharmarāja; and the powerful

Eastern Gaṅga dynasty was either reduced to submission or almost crushed. Mahā-Sāmantavarman, who claimed to have risen, like the sun on the spotless sky that was the Gaṅga family, about 560—562 A. D., was vanquished and probably killed. For, the Koṇḍeḍḍa plate says: "Others who were conquered by him, and those who displayed formidable prowess in the battle-field, were brought to the place of bliss by his coming within their sight and were seen every morning in the courtyard of his palace ready to pay him their respects." The Gaṅga dynasty did not rise to power until Hastivarman ascended the throne, *c.* 575 A. D. Dharmarāja was conscious of his power and greatness. He had a long and prosperous reign; for, while he was still a youth he acquired a great kingdom. The Nivina and Koṇḍeḍḍa plates state that "though bravery, prosperity, youth and sovereignty are ever singly sufficient to cause perturbation, yet all of them came together to the illustrious Dharmarāja, without producing any change in him."

The rise of Hastivarman, it is reasonable to presume, during the last decade of Dharamarāja's reign, considerably disturbed the tranquillity of the Śailōdbhava kingdom. It is also probable that Hastivarman defeated Dharmarāja on more than one occasion during this period, though victory at no time was decisive. Hastivarman, however, assumed the epithet Raṇabhīta. The assumption presumably denotes that Hastivarman proudly desired to proclaim to the world his overthrowing the powerful descendant of the illustrious Raṇabhīta.

Period of confusion and chaos. Successors of Dharmarāja. c. 585—605 A. D.

It appears that on the death of Dharamarāja-Mānabhīta, *c.* 585 A. D., the Śailōdbhava kingdom sank into chaos and internecine wars. Indravarman II (*c.* 580—590 A. D.) from Kalinga and Candragupta (*c.* 555—590 A. D.) from Kōsala seem to have dragged Kongoda into political turmoil and increased her troubles. Dharāmarāja left apparently two sons, Madhyamarāja II and another whose name has not come down to us.[1] In the usual course of things,

1 The above theory and pedigree given on p. 630 *ante* are therefore tentative conjectures.

Madhyamarāja II would have succeeded to the throne on the death of his father. But it is possible to presume that Yas'ōbhīta III, the son of *Mahārāja-Mahāsāmanta* Mādhavarāja II, younger brother of Dharmarāja, claimed the throne and opposed the succession of his cousin. Yas'ōbhīta III is the only prince who is referred to with the title of a paramount king *Mahārāja* in the Ganjam plates of his son, while his father and son are mentioned with the epithets *Mahārāja-Mahāsāmanta*, as semi-independent feudatories. This fact, therefore, corroborates the conjecture that Yas'ōbhīta III was also on the throne of Kongoda at least for some time like Madhyamarāja II. Therefore it appears that the history of the two decades following the death of Dharmarāja was one of confusion. Nothing is known about the rulers of this period, Madhyamarājadēva II, Yas'ōbhīta III and Raṇkṣōbha.

A survey of political events of the period c. 590—615 A. D. in the Deccan.

During this period (590—610) there occurred several important events almost in succession which altered the course of history in Dakṣiṇāpatha and augured the dawn of a new era in the seventh century. Dharamarāja's death was followed by that of Candragupta in Kōsala and Indravarman II in Kalinga. While nothing is known about the successors of Indravarman II for sometime to come, it appears that Candragupta was succeeded by his son Harṣagupta, (*c.* 590 A. D.). Taking advantage of the political condition of the kingdoms of Kōsala, Kalinga and Kongoda, the Viṣṇukuṇḍin emperor Mādhavavarman III invaded Kalinga and perhaps Kōsala too. Then followed the obscuration of the Eastern Gaṅga sovereignty for a time and the subversion of Kōsala. Mādhavavarman III seems to have proceeded to Kōsala from Kalinga, in all probability to put down an insurrection at this juncture which prevented the accession of Harṣagupta. It is possible to believe that the Nalas, contumacious vassals of Kōsala, gave trouble to the Sōmavaṁs'i dynasty (*c.* 595 A. D.). Shortly

1 The Nalas were dislodged from their dominions sometime before the close of the fifth century, after the death of Skandavarman. They would appear to have regained their power roughly a century after that. The event would synchronise with

afterwards in the dawn of the seventh century, Satyās'raya-Pulikēs'in II defeated Harṣavardhana, the lord of Uttarāpatha, in a decisive battle somewhere in the north of the Deccan, and invaded Kōsala, Kalinga and Andhradesa, apparently with the object of celebrating *digvijaya*. Kōsala once more passed through a period of political turmoil. Harṣagupta fell (*c.* 610), very much like his own brother-in-law Mādhavavarman III. It was left to his son and successor Mahās'ivagupta-Bālārjuna (*c.* 610—635 A. D.) to retrieve the fortunes of his house.

It appears that at this juncture Mādhavarāja III conquered his ancestral kingdom by the strength of his arms. But it is difficult to say who his predecessor was, and by what circumstances he acquired the kingdom. According to the chronology that we have adopted, Mādhavarāja's accession to, or conquest of the ancestral throne took place about 610 A. D. It was about this period that Pulikēs'in II invaded Kōsala and Kalinga. It seems therefore probable that in order to avoid a disastrous defeat at the hands of the Cāḷukya invader he entered into a sort of defensive alliance with the powerful king Śas'āṅkadēva of Karṇasuvarṇa and acknowledged his nominal overlordship as the price for his protection. It seems equally probable that Śas'āṅkadēva overawed Mādhavarāja-Sainyabhīta and subdued him. Whatever it might be the Śailōdbhava king acknowledged the suzerainty of Śas'āṅkadēva. Pulikēs'in II apparently with a desire to avoid a conflict with the great king Śas'āṅkadēva, turned away from Kōsala to Kalinga, without crossing into Kongoda along the valley of the Mahānadi.

Mādhavarāja III was a great warrior; and his powerful adversary would seem to be Mahās'ivagupta-Bālārjuna. The Eastern Gaṅgas had not yet emerged into power again after the great disasters inflicted on them almost in succession by Mādhavavarman III and Pulikēs'in II. The Ganjam plates of his reign describe him as a great soldier who destroyed his

the death of Candragupta. The Rājim stone inscription of the time of Vilāsatuṅga (*E. I.*, XXVI, p. 49ff.) speaks of a Nala family ruling in the heart of the Sōmavaṁs'i dominions, about the 8th century. The ancestor of this family was Pṛithvīrāja who may have flourished about the beginning or middle of the seventh century.

enemies by the sharp edge of his fierce sword, conquered his rivals and obtained the kingdom by the strength of his bar-like arms.[1] He is called a *parama-brahmaṇya* and a worshipper of Mahēs'vara. The formal preamble of the record shows that Mādhavarāja III, though he was a feudatory of Śas'āṅkadēva, was still the paramount ruler within his own dominions. The fact that he gave away as charity a whole village as an *agrahara* for the merit of his parents and himself without the formal sanction of his overlord clearly supports the above conjecture. The inscription describes further that he was "a mass of rays namely virtues" and that "his wealth was enjoyed by the distressed, poor, and mendicants", and that he "possessed the virtues of learning, courage, and constancy which adorn the whole world."

13. Mādhava-rāja III surnamed Sainyabhita IV *Mahārāja-Mahāsāmanta.* c. 610—630 A.D.

It is reasonable to presume that the reign of Mādhavarāja III lasted roughly till about 630 A. D., for sometime after the death of his overlord. This conjecture is rendered probable by certain contemporary events. The death of Śas'āṅkadēva about 625 A. D. paved the way for the extension of the empire of Harṣavardhana into western Bengal or Karṇasuvarṇa. It removed the greatest ally whom Mādhavarāja III had for many years. The Śailōdbhava king was left alone to measure his strength against his adversary Harsagupta who would appear to have sought the alliance of Harṣavardhana at this juncture. If what the *Life* of the Chinese Pilgrim says is to be accepted, Harṣa-vardhana readily espoused the cause of the Sōmavaṁs'i king and led an expedition into Kongoda.[2] It is stated in the *Life* that Harṣavardhana spent a long time in Orissa or Kongoda towards the latter part of his reign, waging wars or directing military campaigns.[3] If this

Harṣavardhana and Kongoda. Mādhavarāja-Sainyabhīta's death: c. 630 A. D.

1 *E. I.*, VI, pp. 143—46. Text lines 10—13. '*vikōs'a-nīlōtpala pratisparthani khaḍga - dhārā - nis'ita nis's'ēṣa pratihata - ripubalō din-ānātha-kṛpaṇa - vanīpak ōpabhujyamāna vibhavaḥ sva-bhuja-parigha-yugal-ōpārijita nṛpa-s'rīḥ*'.

2 *Life of Hiuen Thsang*, p. 172.

3 *Ibid.* p. 159.

statement is true it would seem that Harṣavardhana was in Kongoda or Kosala apparently to reduce the haughty Śailōd- bhava king, Mādhavarāja III or his successor. And this period may have lasted from about 630 to 635 A. D.

We have tentatively assumed that Mādhavarāja III was succeeded by his cousin, Madhyamarājadēva III, who was a descendant of Dharmarāja, about 630 A. D. As stated above Madhyamarāja's early period was spent in wars; it was during this period, that the Sōmavaṁs'is, driven away from Kōsala, moved into Orissa and established themselves there. It was during this period also that Yuan Chwang visited Kongoda. Apparently at the time of his visit, Kongoda was enjoying peace with her neighbours, and her powerful army kept the neighbouring kings in awe. The neighbouring Gaṅgas and Sōmavaṁs'is were too absorbed in their own affairs at this juncture to have any respite to interefere in the affairs of Kongoda at the time Yuan Chwang's visit (*c.* 638 A. D.). It is probable that Madhyamarājadēva III was the last of the Śailōd-bhavas, but in the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to trace the downfall and disappearance of Śailōdbhava dynasty in the middle of the seventh century. The connection between the early history of Andhradesa and Kalinga with that of Kongoda however, ceases altogether with the reign of Madhyamarāja III; and it is not necessary for us to trace the history of Kongoda any longer. Suffice it to say, however, that Kongoda ceased to exist as a separate kingdom from the middle of the seventh century. While its southern provinces were annexed to the Gaṅga kingdom of Kalinga, the northern region became part of the dominions of the Kara dynasty of Orissa.

14. Madhyamarāja-dēva III, *c.* 630—650 A. D.

## CHAPTER III.

### *The Śūlika Dynasty or the Kings of Śarabhapura.*

### *circa* 450—545 A. D.

The history of the Śarabhapura dynasty is the history of Kōsala or Dakṣiṇa Kōsala for about a century during the fifth and sixth centuries. It seems to be closely connected with the early history of Andhradesa, for Kōsala is contiguous to and lies directly to the south of it. A brief survey of the rise and fall of the dynasty of Śarabhapura is necessary to grasp the essential turning-points in the early history of the Deccan. From the provenance of the inscriptions of the dynasty, the Śarabhapura kingdom seems to have included the ancient Kōsala, that is the whole of modern Chattisgarh division, and perhaps a portion of Wardha and Chanda districts on the west as well. It seems to have comprised also a portion of Orissa and some parts of the feudatory state of Bastar. The kings of Śarabhapura dynasty apparently derived their appellation from the capital Śarabhapura from which they reigned over Kōsala. Rai Bahadur Hira Lal places the Kings of Śarabhapura chronologically after the Sōmavaṁs'i or Pāṇḍuvaṁs'i dynasty and identifies Śarabhapura with Śrīpura or modern Sirpur. He believs that "Śarabhapura may have been a new name imposed on the conquered city of Śrīpura by the victor from the fabulous animal of that name who is believed to be a match for a lion with reference to the claim of the Sirpur dynasty to be Kēsarins."[1] This conjecture is rendered impossible by the discovery of a copper-plate grant issued from Śrīpura itself by the last king of the dynasty.[2] Moreover the Sōmavaṁs'is who reigned from Śrīpura are never known to have assumed the title *Kēsari*.

Introductory: The Kingdom of S'arabhapura. Its extent and the identification of S'arabhapura.

1 *E. I.*, XI, p. 186ff.

2 *E. I.*, XXII, p. 15ff.; and footnote on p 17.

A recent writer has suggested that Śarabhapura seems to be represented by Śarabhagarh, the chief town of the modern zamīndāri of that name in the Gaṅgāpūr state in Orissa.[1] This identification is not really sound though it seems to be quite plausible. Certain copper-plate grants issued from Śarabhapura itself refer to villages situated in Pūrvarāṣṭra or 'Eastern Province' apparently meaning a territory which lay to the east of the capital Śarabhapura. If Śarabhagarh is to be identified as ancient Śarabhapura, then the region which was called Pūrvarāṣṭra in ancient times would lie to the west of it. As almost all the inscriptions of the dynasty are found in the neighbourhood of Sirpur, Arang, Raipur, Khariar, Sārangarh and Thākurdiya, Sirpur cannot be identified with Śarabhapura. It must have been a different town altogether, which is not represented by any place at the present day. Dr. Sten Konow suggested however that Śarabhapura might be Śarabhavaram, a village about thirty-five miles to the north-west from Rājahmahēndri (Rajahmundry) in the East Godavari district or one of the few villages of that name in that neighbourhood.[2] But this identification is wrong, because this place lies about three hundred miles to the south of Kōsala where the dynasty originally held sway. Cunningham suggested in the first place that by elision of the first letter Ś, it may be, through the forms 'Arabhpura' or 'Ārbhi' represented by the modern Arwi, the chief town of the tahsil of that name in the Wardha district and in the second place by Sambalpur, the chief town of the district of that name. None of these suggestions too can be upheld; and it is idle to search the maps for some name that resembles Śarabhapura. That ancient city must have been destroyed and gone out of existence. It is probable that it stood somewhere in the Raipur district in the neighbourhood of Sirpur.

1 "A silver coin of Prasannamātra in *JAHRS*, IV, pp. 195—198; Same in the Proceedings of the Fifth Oriental Conference, p. 461ff.

2 *E. I.*, XIII, p. 108.

3 Sir Alexander Cunningham; *Arch. Surv. Ind*, vol. XVII, p. 57ff. Dr. Fleet rejects this identification, see *C. I. I.*, III, p. 191ff.

It is probable that Śarabhapura was founded by a king named Śarabharāja just as Pravarapura was founded by Pravarasēna II, the Vākāṭaka emperor. A certain Śarabharāja is mentioned in the Eraṇ Pillar inscription of Gōparāja.[1] The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any particular king, but records that a prince named Gōparāja, daughter's son of Śarabharāja of celebrated prowess, came to assist the powerful king Bhānugupta and died at the battle of Eraṇ (in Saugor district) and was killed, and that his devoted wife accompanied him by cremating herself on the funeral pyre. The inscription is dated the Gupta year 191, which corresponds to 510 A. D. Bhānugupta is doubtless the Gupta king of that name. And it is quite probable that Śarabharāja was the same Śarabharāja, the founder of the line of kings known as the Śarabhapura dynasty. There is nothing which mitigates against this conjecture. Accordingly Śarabharāja may be presumed to be a powerful king who flourished about the middle of the fifth century, and to have been a contemporary of Narēndrasēna of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, Mādhavavarman II of Andhradesa and Narasiṁhagupta of Magadha. He seems to have been originally a vassal of the Vākāṭaka Empire, who assumed independence during the troublous period of Narēndrasēna. Śarabharāja's period therefore seems to lie sometime about 450—475 A. D.

The Eraṇ Pillar inscription of Gōparāja, and reference to Śarabharāja.

The successors of Śarabharāja, like those of every other dynasty in the Deccan at that period, appear to have been conquered and reduced to submission by the illustrious king Pṛthivīsēna II, and therefore, nothing is known about them. The vicissitudes of fortune of the Vākāṭakas, after the death of Pṛthivīsēna II, rather towards the close of his reign, and the accession of the weak king Dēvasēna, seem to have enabled the descendants of Śarabharāja to wrest their independence once more. The first king who proclaimed his independence, taking advantage of the weakness of the Vākāṭaka Empire

1 *CII*, III, p. 92ff.

seems to be Prasannamātra. The name of this king appears in the beginning of the lists of kings mentioned in the family charters.[1] It is, therefore, probable that he was the first to regain the lost kingdom and proclaim his independence after the fall of Śarabharāja. And, presumably to proclaim his subversion of the imperial suzerainty of the Vākāṭakas, Prasannamātra struck coins in his own name,[2] emulating the example of his contemporary Nalas, Bhavadattavarman and his son Artthapati. It does not appear that his period was far removed from that of his predecessor; probably the interval did not exceed two decades. It is also reasonable to assume that he rose to power towards the close of Pṛthivīsēna II's reign or during the weak rule of his successor Dēvasēna. His period may therefore have lasted about ten years from 485 to 495. It is probable that Śarabharāja had only a daughter whose son Gōparāja died on the battlefield of Eraṇ, and that therefore the succession passed on to the collateral branch of which Prasannamātra was the foremost representative. Perhaps he was a brother's son of Śarabharāja. It is thus evident that on account of the contumacious attitude of feudatories like Prasannamātra, Artthapati and the Kaḷacuri king Uttaragaṇa at this period, coupled with the weak character and dissipated life of Dēvasēna, the great Vākāṭaka Empire sank low and showed signs of decline and disruption. Only the vigorous policy of the energetic emperor Harisēna who ascended the throne after the abdication of Dēvasēna saved the empire from immediate disruption. It is probable that Prasannamātra was destroyed or reduced to submission by Harisēna and that the prosperity of the Śarabhapura kings was once more abruptly cut short.

2. Prasannamātra. c. 485—495 A. D.

1 There are altogether six charters of the S'arabhapura kings. They are:—1 Arang plates of Mahā-Jayarāja (*CII*, III, p. 191ff.), 2 Khariar plates (Raipur) of Mahā-Sudēvarāja (*E. I.*, IX, p. 172ff.), 3 Raipur plates of Mahā-Sudēvarāja (*CII*, III, p. 197ff.), 4 Sārangaḍh (Chhatisgadh) plates of Mahā-Sudēvarāja (*E. I.*, IX., p. 281ff.), 5 Arang plates of Mahā-Sudēvarāja, 7th or 8th year, (*E. I.*, XXIII, p. 18ff.), 6 Thākurdiya plates of Mahā-Pravararāja, 3rd year, (*E. I.*, p. 16ff.)

2 'A Silver coin of Prasannamātra' in *JAHRS*, IV, p. 195–198, Same in the *Proceedings of the* Fifth Oriental Conference, p. 461ff.

There are, however, no records of the reign of Prasannamātra ; but considering the tumultuous period in which he rose to sovereignty, a reign of about ten years (*c.* 485—495 A. D.) may be reasonably allotted to him.

**3. Mahā-Jayarāja c. 510—525 A. D.**

The death of Prasannamātra was followed by an obscuration of the fortunes of the Śarabhapura dynasty. This period lasted two decades and apparently synchronised with the vigorous period of Harisēna. On the death of the Vākāṭaka emperor, (*c.* 510 A. D.) the Empire crashed and as remarked elsewhere, the fall of Harisēna and the dismemberment of the Vākāṭaka Empire were brought about through the indefatigable efforts of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch Indrabhaṭṭāraka and his allies. Prasannamātra had left two sons, Mahā-Jayarāja and Mānamātra. Mahā-Jayarāja rose on the death of Harisēna and reconquered the kingdom of his ancestors. It is probable that Mahā Jayarāja was an ally of Indrabhaṭṭāraka and was helped by the latter in reconquering the ancestral kingdom. The epithets like *vikram-ōpanata-sāmanta-makuṭa-cūdāmaṇi-prabhās-ēkāmbu-dhauta pāda-yugaḷaḥ* 'whose two feet are washed by the water which is the flowing forth of the lustre of the crest-jewels in the tiaras of the *sāmantas* who have been subjugated by his prowess', and *ripu-vilāsinī-simant-ōddharaṇa-hētuḥ*, 'who is the cause for the removal of the parting of the hair (causing widowhood) of the women of his enemies', in the *pras'asti* found in the records of this period[1] indicate that the great king Mahā-Jayarāja's overthrew Harisēna, his formidable adversary, and thereby uprooted the Vākāṭaka dynasty.[2] That Mahā-Jayarāja re-conquered his ancestral kingdom is borne out by the legend that appears on the seal of his only grant. It runs as follows :—

प्रसन्नहृदयस्य तनयस्येदं विक्रमाक्रान्तविद्विषः ।
श्रीमतो महाजयराजस्य शासनं रिपुशासनम् ॥

1 Arang plates of Mahā-Jayarāja, *CII*, III, p. 191ff., text lines 2-3. Note that is the first time that these epithets appear and that they seem to have been copied in the later charters.

2 A similar set of epithets, rather identical epithets appear in the *pras'asti* of the records of Mahās'iva Tivaradēva. (*E. I.*, VII, p. 102ff. textline 3-4) See below. p. 655 *n.* 1

'This is the edict of the glorious king Mahā-Jayarāja, son of Prasanna(mātra) who has overpowered the enemies by his prowess.' Though the only grant of his period is dated the fifth year, it is not unreasonable to believe that his reign lasted about fifteen years. He was a great and powerful king. His period may be assigned to about 510—525. A. D.

Mahā-Jayarāja had apparently left no childern, and therefore the succession passed on peacefully to his younger brother Mānamātra's son Sudēvarāja. It is possible to believe that Mānamātra did not reign, for Mahā-Jayarāja himself would seem to be a man well advanced in years by the time he acquired the kingdom, and that his younger brother and his sons if any, would, therefore, have predeceased him. Mahā-Sudēvarāja's period was peaceful and this conclusion is supported by the legend which is found on the seals on his grants. It runs as follows:—

4. Mahā-Sudēvarāja
c. 525—538 A. D.

प्रसन्नार्ण्णवसम्भूत मानमात्रेण जन्मनः
श्रीमत्सुदेवराजस्य स्थिरं जगति शासनम्॥

'This is the edict of the glorious Sudēvarāja, who is the son of Mānamātra who is a descendant from Prasanna, who has firmly established his rule on the earth.' It appears from this that Mahā-Sudēva's reign was peaceful, at any rate for the best part of it. There are four records of his period, one undated, another dated the 2nd, the third dated the 7th or the 8th and the fourth dated the 10th year. The Sāraṅgaḍh plate is interesting among all the other records. It was like the other charters of Mahā-Sudēva issued from Śarabhapura; it records the grant of a village by the queen Rājya Mahādēvī and other princes and it was assented to by the king. The inscription is exactly worded like the other inscriptions of this king and does not furnish any new information. It is dated in an unspecified year; but from the fact that the grant was made by the royal family, it may be assumed that at that juncture the kingdom was under the regency of the queen, Rājya Mahādēvī and other princes for some reason which cannot be gleaned at present. It is probable that this grant was issued towards the close of his reign. Mahā-Sudēva's records do not go

beyond his tenth year; and therefore it is probable that his reign did not extend beyond the twelfth or thirteenth year. His period, *c.* 525—538, therefore seems to synchronise with that of Indrabhaṭṭāraka and his son Vikramahēndravarman. Though the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and the Eastern Gaṅgas on the one hand and the Śailōdbhavas and the Eastern Gaṅgas on the other were fighting each other during this period, Mahā-Sudēva would appear to have remained aloof watching the conflicts. The reason for this might be that his own insubordinate vassals required to be kept under check and that therefore he had not enough respite to interefere in the affairs of his neigbouring kingdoms. Already the Sōmavaṁs'is under Mahās'iva Tīvaradēva were fast becoming restless and attempting to overthrow the Śarabhagura dynasty. It is probable that Mahā-Sudēva was engaged in a war against his insubordinate vassals towards the close of his reign and that was himself overthrown in the end. Possibly he was defeated and destroyed by the Sōmavaṁs'i prince. The event may be placed about 538 A. D.; and it was precisely about this period, that the Eastern Gaṅga kingdom of Trikalinga was thrown into confusion, and Indravarman I was destroyed.

The period of Mahā-Sudēvarāja witnessed the rise and fall of many dynasties both in the north and south. The Maukharis of Kanauj, the Kaḷacuris of Cēdi and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānapura were among those who sprang to power at this juncture. Simultaneously, the Nalas of Nandivardhana and the Nṛpati-Parivrājakas of Ucchakalpa succumbed and disappeared owing to the onslaughts of the aggressors. The Maukhari dynasty was at this period attempting to carve out an independent kingdom and step into the shoes of Imperial Guptas by subverting their suzerainty in the north.

5. Mahā-Pravararāja: *c.* 540–545 A. D.

It does not appear that Mahā-Sudēvarāja left any children; it is probable that his family was destroyed. Thus for a third time, the fortunes of the Śarabhapura kings were interrupted. And it was given to Mahā-Sudēva's younger brother Mahā-Pravararāja to rise to power after a brief interval and conquer

the kingdom of his forefathers. This conjecture is based upon the legend that appears on the seal of his charter.[1] It runs as follows:—

मानमात्रसुतस्येदं स्वभुजोपार्जितक्षितेः ।
श्रीमत्प्रवरराजस्य शासनं शत्रुशासनम् ॥

"This is the edict of the glorious king Mahā-Pravararāja, the son of Mānamātra, who has destroyed his enemies and acquired the earth by the strength of his arms." Such a legend does not occur on the seals of his elder brother and uncle. Having once recovered his lost throne, Mahā-Pravararāja shifted his capital to Śrīpura, rather he founded the new city called Śrīpura and made it his capital. It is probable that Śarabhapura was destoryed by the enemies and that Mahā-Pravararāja built the new city after he had regained the kingdom, and named it after the goddess Lakṣmī whose figure appears on the seals of family charters and who possibly was the tutelary deity of the family. It is also probable that Mahā-Pravararāja received assistance from Vikramahēndravarman and his son Gōvindavarman surnamed Vikramās'raya of Andhradeṣa in regaining his lost throne. This conjecture is rendered exteremely probable by the events that followed, and to which we shall presently refer.

Mahā-Pravararāja's reign witnessed the fall and disappearance of the Later Guptas of Magadha and the expansion of the Maukharis under Īs'ānavarman. Sometime between 540 and 544 the Maukhari king Īs'varavarman died, and was succeeded by his powerful son Īs'ānavarman. This prince was the greatest of his dynasty and verily laid the foundations of a great empire. He was a contemporary of Kumāragupta III of Magadha with whom according to the Aphsād inscription he was at war.[2] Kumāragupta III defeated Īs'ānavarman in several battles but felt unable to destroy him completely single-handed. In the fierce struggle

Events in the North and the causes for the fall of Mahā-Pravararāja and the S'arabhapura dynasty.

1 *E. I.*, XXII, p. 22.
2 *CII.*, III, No. 42, p. 219.

that ensued, it would appear that Kumarāgupta III himself was worsted and in the end lost his life, (*c.* 542 A. D.). Even thereafter Īs'ānavarman was strongly opposed by Dāmōdaragupta, the son and successor of Kumāragupta III and his allies, but only in vain. The Maukhari king came out in the end with flying colours and the allies of the Gupta monarch were either defeated and slain or routed. The Harāhā stone inscription and the Jaunpur fragmentary record[1] give a graphic account of the fierce conflict, between Īs'ānavarman and the confederacy of hostile kings that once seemed formidable. The Harāhā inscription states that Īs'ānavarman, being victorious and having the subdued princes bending at his feet, occupied the throne after conquering the king of Andhra who had thousands of three-fold rutting elephants, after vanquishing in battle the Śūlikas who had an army of galloping horses, and after causing the Gauḍas living on seashore in future to remain within their proper realm."[2] Elsewhere the lord of Andhra, the king of the Gauḍas and others have been identified; the Śūlikas alone remain. Śūlika is no doubt a new name and there is no epigraphic reference to it. Dr. Hirananda Sastri is right in stating that 'possibly Śūlika is identical with Śaulika of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (XIV–8) and the *Mārkaṇḍēya Puraṇa* (LV), and is to be located in the south-east along with Kalinga, Vidarbha, Cēdi etc.' This identification enablesus to assume that since the Śūlika territory seems to be Kōsala, the lord of the Śūlikas might be the Śarabhapura king. In the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to support this identification any further. At the same time it must be admitted that there is nothing which renders the identification untenable or impossible. If therefore this conjecture is accepted as sound, then the lord of the Śūlikas would be Mahā-Pravararāja. For him a reign of

1 The latter inscriptions has been refered to elsewhere see page 508 *ante*.

2. जित्वान्ध्राधिपतिं सहस्रगणितत्रेधाक्षरद्वारणम्
व्यावल्गन्नियुतातिसंख्यतुरगान्भङ्क्त्वा रणे शूलिकान् ।
कृत्वाचायतिमोचितस्थलभुवो गौडान्समुद्राश्रया
नध्यासिष्ट नतक्षितीशचरणः सिंहासनं यो जिती ॥

Verse 13. *E. I.*, XIV, p. 117.

about five years in the middle of the sixth century (*c.* 540-545) has been assigned. The only record of his reign is dated in the third year and considering the rise of Mahās'iva Tīvaradēva almost immediately, the above date for Mahā-Pravararāja seems to be good. Accordingly, Mahā-Pravararāja appears to have been one of the confedrates that opposed Īs'ānavarman, with the desire to destroy him and restore the sovereignty of Northern India to the Gupta monarch. For, that would mean that once the Later Guptas of Magadha were helped to consolidate their position in the north and regain their lost prestige, the Later Guptas of Kōsala, that is the Sōmavaṁs'is would be destroyed or at any rate, completely subdued. It appears further, that in that conflict Mahās'iva Tīvaradēva and Īs'ānavarman were allies as their cause was almost identical, and that in the end they came out victorious. Mahā-Pravararāja was defeated along with his allies; and it is not unreasonable to presume in the circumstances that his defeat in the north enabled Mahāsiva Tīvaradēva to fall upon Śarabhapura and destroy its ruler not long after. None of his allies including the Lord of Andhra even, could apparently come to his rescue. Thus it appears that with the death of Mahā-Pravararāja the dynasty of Śarabhapura kings came to an end about 545 A. D. That was the year, according to the chronology that has been proposed elsewhere, in which Mahās'iva Tīvaradēva proclaimed himself as the lord of the entire Kōsala. This conjecture is amply corroborated by the long preamble[1] of Tīvaradēva's charters. Tīvaradēva 'illuminates the neighbouring regions;.........numerous princes bow at his feet; he rudely pulls the abundant hair of the goddess of Fortune of kings who are his enemies; he smites his enemies on the battlefield with his sharp sword; he is the submarine fire to the ocean of his enemies; he is skilled in uprooting the wicked; he makes the wives of his enemies widows by making

1 Lines 1 to 10. Betul plates of Mahās'iva Tivaradēva : (*E. I.*, VII. p. 104.)

श्रीमत्तीवरदेवो धौरेयः अनेकनतनृपतिकिरीटकोटिघृष्टचरणनखदर्पणोद्भासितोपकण्ठदिङ्मुखः प्रकट रिपुराजलक्ष्मीः केशपाशकर्षणदुर्ल्ललितपाणिपल्लवो..........आरिबाडबानल श्चन्द्रोदयइवाकृतकरोद्वेगः ....................परामृष्टशत्रुकलत्तनेत्राञ्जनकोमलकपोलकुङ्कुमपत्रभङ्ग शिष्टाचारव्यवस्थापरिपाल-नैकदत्तचित्तः...... ।

them wipe away the collyrium in the eyes and the saffron marks on their soft cheeks; he does not cause distress to the people by heavy taxes just as the rising moon does not cause distress by his hot rays; and his mind is bent exclusively on maintaining the rules of good conduct."

The Śarabhapura kings called themselvs *paramabhāgavatas* and were therefore worshippers of Viṣṇu. Their tutelary deity was the Goddess Lakṣmī or Gaja-Lakṣmī whose figure appears on the seals of their copper-plate charters, standing with a halo round her face and facing the full front. The Goddess holds a lotus in her right hand and something circular, perhaps a disc, in her left. There is an elephant on each side of her standing on a lotus and holding a pot in its uplifted trunk to pour water on the head of the goddess. In the right as well as in the left corner there is a water lily but sometimes a *saṅkha* is to be found in the proper left corner as in the case of the seals of Mahā-Sudēvarāja.[1] The lower half of the seal contains the legend in which is clearly visible the influence of the Vākāṭaka dynasty whose vassals for a long time the Śarabhapura kings were.

*Genealogy of the Śarabhapura dynasty.*

1. Śarabharāja, *c.* 450—475 A. D.
(A vassal of Narēndrasēna, and founder of the Śarabhapura dynasty)

Daughter — * * *

Gōparāja, *c.* 510 (vassal of Bhānugupta) died on the battle field on Eraṇ

2. Prasannamātra, *c.* 485—495

3. Mahā-Jayarāja, *c.* 510—525

Mānamātra

4. Mahā-Sudēvarāja *c.* 525—538

Mahā-Pravararāja *c.* 540—545

1 *E. I.*, XI, p. 170ff.

CHAPTER IV.

# *The Nalas of Nandivardhana.*

## i. Sources of history.

The important part played by the Nalas in the early history of Dakṣiṇāpatha is still a matter of conjecture. Whence the Nalas came and rose to power, where they held sway and how they finally disappeared are still matters upon which no final word can be said. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar speaking of the family of the Nalas defeated by Kīrtivarman I, (*c.* 566—590 A. D.) remarked, "over what province it ruled we do not know."[1] Dr. Fleet depending upon the reference of the Nalavāḍi-*viṣaya* in the Kurnool grant of the Western Cāḷukya king Vikramāditya I[2] of about 657 A. D., thought that 'there is a probable indication that the territory to the Nalas lay in the direction of Bellary and Kurnool districts' on the Tungabhadra.[3] The reference to the Nalas in the Aihole inscription of Pulikēs'in II indicates that they were the enemies of the Cāḷukyas on the east. That indicates also that the Nalas were about the middle of the sixth century ruling on the bank of the Tungabhadra. But whence did they come there? It would appear that they existed there as a ruling power from about the middle or first quarter of the sixth down to the middle or the first quarter of the seventh century.

Introductory.

The Nalas are now directly known from their own records, the Rithapūr copper-plates of *Mahāraja* Bhavattavarman,[4] and the Poḍāgaḍh rock inscription of Skandavarman.[5] A third inscription of the dynasty is on a stone tablet built into a wall

1 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part II, p. 181.

2 *J. B. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 225—235.

3 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Part II, p. 282 and 363.

4 *E. I.*, XIX. p. 100f.

5 *E. I.*, XXI, p. 153f. See also *ARSIE.*, 1921-22. p. 95.

in the *maṇḍapa* of the temple of Rājīvalōcana at Rajim.[1] On the evidence of palaeography, the record may be assigned to about the middle of the eighth century; and the princes mentioned in it therefore, obviously belong to a period later than those mentioned in the two previous inscriptions. The Rithapūr plates come from the Morsi taluk of Amraoti (Amarāvatī) district of the Central Provinces. Thus the provenance of these records, one in Berar, the second on the east in the Jeypore Agency and the third in Raipur district, enables us to localise the territory over which the Early Nala dynasty held sway as between Berar in the west and Bastar or Jeypore in the east.

Sources: The records of the Nala kings.

It seems to have been bounded by the river Vēṇī-Gaṅgā (Wain Ganga) on the west, the Indrāvatī on the south, the great mountain range known as the Malaya-giri or the Eastern Ghats on the east and the Meikal (Mekala) range on the north. All the coins and the stone and copper plate inscriptions of the dynasty come almost from this region. It seems to have comprised of the region now covered by the districts of Chanda, eastern portion Bhandara, Balaghat, Bilaspur, Drug and Raipur and the feudatory states of Bastar (northern part), Kanker and Nandagaon in the Central Provinces. This conclusion is corroborated by the statements in the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas*, that the descendants of Nala would rule in Kōsala or Dakṣiṇa Kōsala.[2] The Rithapūr grant is dated from the capital Nandivardhana. Mr. Y. R. Gupte is of the opinion that Nandivardhana might be identical with Nandor which has good camping ground, in the Yeotmal taluk, Berar.[3] He doubts Rai Bahadur Hiralal's identification with Nagavardhana (Nagardhan), a place situated

The Nala kingdom: Its situation.

1 See *Asiatic Reseaches*, vol. XV, p. 501: referred to by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal in the Inscriptions of *C. P.* & Berar, p. 103. No. 134. The inscription has since been edited in *E. I.*, XXVI, pp. 49ff.

2 Pargiter: *Purāna Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 51. Pargiter places the Nala princes in the third century A. D. is possible to hold that these princes preceded those that were mentioned in the inscriptions referred to above.

3 *E. I.*, XIX, p. 102.

about twenty miles east of Nagpur.[1] Mr. Gupte's identification is based on the provenance of the Rithapūr charter. But that by itself can not be conclusive proof of the identification. The discovery of the Rithapūr plates along with another copper-plate grant of Prabhāvatī-Guptā, Queen of the Vākāṭakas,[2] shows that the former charter had travelled far from its original home along with its owners who presumably migrated. It is a common feature that copper-plates are sometimes found in distant localities having travelled along with their owners at some unknown time. Nandivardhana, therefore, seems to have stood somewhere in the region located above; and it is not unreasonable to identify it with Nandgaon on the river Śivanāth, the capital of the feudatory state of that name. Niṣadha, the place where the epic hero Nala reigned is the ancient name for the eastern region lying between the Vindhya and the Satpura Ranges, and it is not far removed from the territory which has been identified as the ancient kingdom of the Nalas. The Nalas would seem to have moved east by south during the early centuries of the Christian era and acquired rulership of a principality in the Vākāṭaka Empire and later on extended their sway further south, east and west.

The Rithapūr plates.

The Rithapūr inscription records the grant of the village, Kadambagiri as an *agrahāra* to the Brāhmaṇa Mātrāḍhyāryya of the Parāśara-*gōtra* and his eight sons, all specified by name, by the king for obtaining the blessings on his matrimonial relationship (*dāmpatya*) with his queen, with libation of water. The donation was actually made at Prayāga at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna, but the edict was issued by the king from his city Nandivardhana. This does not follow however, that Prayāga formed part of the dominions of Bhavattavarman, for it is a well known fact that donations are sometimes made for acquiring excessive religious merit at exceptionally holy places or *tirthas* like Prayāga or Benares. The edict was engraved at

1 Rai Bahadur Hiralal's identification ; see Inscriptions from C. P. & Berar p. 11.

2 Quarterly Journal of the *Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśōdhak Maṇḍal*, Vol. IV, p. 115-16.

the oral instructions of the king by his confidential officer Culla and engraved by Boppadēva, the grandson of Paddōpādhyāya. The edict is dated the 7th day of the dark fortnight of Kārttika in the 11th year of King Bhavattavarman. There is a noteworthy feature at the end of the edict. It looks as though the original donation which was made by Bhavattavarman orally and reduced to writing on copper-plates in the eleventh year of his reign was later on confirmed by his son and successor *Mahārāja* Artthapati-Bhaṭṭāraka. This view finds support in the statement at the end of the edict which is something like a postscript. It says that Artthapati-Bhaṭṭāraka "caused to be made this charity for increasing the sacred fame of his father and mother." Thus the Rithapūr charter supplies two generations of kings, Bhavattavarman and his son Artthapati-Bhaṭṭāraka. This conclusion is corroborated by the recent discovery of gold coins of Bhavadattarāja, presumably the same as Bhavattavarman, and Artthapati at the village of Eḍeṅgā in the Koṇḍegaon *tahsil* of the Bastar state.[1] The Poḍāgaḍh inscription speaks of Bhavadattavarman as the foremost scion of the glorious Nala family, who repelled enemies by his fierce valour. The Rithapūr plate too states that he was a mighty king. Bhavadattavarman's banner was *Tripatāka*, a hand with three fingers stretched out, or a banner which consisted of three pennons. He was a devotee of Mahēśvara and Mahāsēna, *i.e.* Kārttikēya, and acquired sovereignty by worshipping them. His capital was Nandivardhana, from which place he issued the edict on the Rithapūr plates. He possessed great wealth and issued gold coinage. Artthapati Bhaṭṭāraka, too, like his father was a *paramamāhēśvara*, 'worshipper of Mahēśvara.' Though we have no inscriptions of his period, yet the gold coins which he struck reveal that fact. They also contain the figure of a couchant bull (*nandin*) facing right with a crescent in front of it and the legend *Śrī Artthapatirājasya*.

The other record is the Poḍāgaḍh rock inscription of the time of Skandavarman. The locality in which the inscription is

1 See Prof. V. V. Mirashi's paper, 'Gold Coins of three kings of the Nala Dynasty' in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, 1939, pp. 29—35, with plate.

found is an interesting one. Poḍāgaḍh is in the Nowrangpur taluk in the Agency of the Korāput district of the new province of Orissa. The inscription is engraved upon a natural rock at a height of about forty feet from the ground level. The approaches to the hill are thickly shaded by the tall teak trees of the forest. Within a furlong from the foot of the hill there lie scattered in a group some *Sati* stones. Not far from it are the ruins of a Śiva temple with a fallen roof and dilapidated walls and doorway, with the *nandin*, Gaṇēsa and other associate minor sculptures lying about it. There is a well-watered pond also within a few yards of it, surrounded by a thick bamboo grove. The provenance of the inscription, and the human associations among other things bring home to anybody who visit the locality an impression that Poḍāgaḍh, now forlorn and desolate like the Agency Tracts, was a flourishing spot in the early centuries of the Christian era.

The Poḍāgaḍh rock inscription.

The inscription begins with a verse which glorifies Hari (Viṣṇu); and this fact seems to indicate that Skandavarman, donor of the charity, was, unlike his father and elder brother, a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu. King Skandavarman, son of Bhavadattavarman of the Nala family, is said to have recovered the lost sovereignty of his family that had fallen into others' hands. It is stated further that Skandavarman re-populated the deserted town Puṣkari, which was probably one of his provincial capitals. The inscription records that Skandavarman erected the sanctuary or the *Pādamula*, the meaning of which is not quite apparent, with the hope of obtaining religious merit for his father and other ancestors and desiring welfare for himself. And for the worship of the Lord in the temple, he made with libation of water an abundant *dakṣiṇa*. He founded an *agrahāra*, probably for the establishment of a Brahmanical settlement in the locality, for carrying on the worship of the Supreme Bhagavat (Puruṣa). The proceeds of the endowment were directed to be utilised entirely for the free freeding of the Brāhmaṇs, especially of the ascetics, the poor and the destitute, in a *satra* attached to the temple. The

charity was placed for protection under a certain officer, whose name is not preserved on the rock but who is called the son of a certain nobleman, Cakradrōṇa. The charity was permanently made tax-free. The edict was promulgated by the General (*Sēnāpati*) Prītibhāgavata. It was the composition of Mālin, and was engraved on the rock by Jānturadāsa, son of Cauli. The edict was personally caused to be planted by the king on the rock on the 27th day of Vais'ākha (Madhava) in the twelfth year of his reign. The engraver Cauli of this record might possibly be the same person Culla, the confidential officer of Bhavadattavarman, mentioned in the Rithapūr plates. The identification, if correct, makes the Rithapūr charter undoubtedly an earlier one, and Bhavattavarman or Bhavadattavarman, a predecessor of Skandavarman. The Rajim stone inscription of Vilāsatuṅga refers to a later period which is beyond the scope of our book and therefore it need not be considered here.

## ii. *Political History of the Nalas.*

From the foregoing materials at our disposal it may be assumed that Bhavattavarman, the donor of the Rithapūr plates was the same as Bhavadattavarman, of the Poḍāgaḍh rock inscription. Mr. Gupte, cautiously however, remarks, "the possibility that Bhavattavarman may be the prakritised form of Bhavadattavarman, is not altogether precluded." He thinks that "it is presumptuous at this stage to identify Bhavattavarman with Bhavadattavarman."[1] We need not be so apprehensive of falling into any palpable error in our identification. There is an obvious possiblity of the letter *da* having been omitted by the scribe on the plates. As Dr. Hirananda Sastri points out, there is a similar glaring omission of the letter *da* in the name of a donee Durgādatta which has been written as Durgāttha and another in Dēvadatta, where the name having been originally written as Dēvatta, the letter *da* is added as a correction below the line.[2] Such errors of omission particularly of the letter *da*

1 *E. I.*, XIX, p. 101.

3 *E. I.*, XIX, p.101, note 3.

seem to be a special feature of the Rithapūr charter. The possibility of the engraver omitting the letter *da* in the name of the king cannot altogether therefore be precluded. The identification of Bhavattavarman with Bhavadattavarman is therefore not improper; it seems to rest upon good ground further when we find that the composer's father is referred to as Cauli or Culla, who seems to be identical with Cula, the Privy Councillor mentioned in the Rithapūr grant.

If the above identification is accepted, it follows that Bhavadattavarman had two sons, Arttapati-Bhaṭṭāraka the elder presumably, and the younger, Skandavarman. Mr. Gupte is of opinion that palaeographically the Rithapūr plates might be assigned to the latter half of the fifth or the first half of the sixth century A. D. I am inclined to prefer the earlier date and assign Bhavadattavarman to the period which synchronises with the closing years of the Vākāṭaka emperor, Narendrasēna and the early period of his successor Pṛthivīsēna II, *i.e.* 460—475 A. D. This is a good date for the Rithapūr plates as well as for the reign of Bhavadattavarman for more reasons than one. But it appears that Bhavadattavarman was not the first king of the Nala family known to history. The Eḍeṅgā hoard of gold coins reveals the name of an earlier king by name Varāharāja. The characters of the legend on the coin have been assigned to the fifth century A. D. by Prof. Mirashi. He rightly believes that Varāharāja might be an earlier member of the dynasty. It is not unreasonable to believe that Varāharāja's period lay somewhere in the early part of the fifth century, considering the chronology of the contemporary Vākāṭaka, Viṣṇukuṇḍin and Gupta dynasties. We have no events to record of the reign of Varāharāja; but it is probable that he rose to power and proclaimed his independence during the minority of Narēndrasēna. If this supposition is accepted Varāharāja's reign may be assigned to about *c.* 410—430 A. D.

1. Varāharāja. *c.* 410—430 A. D.

It will be remembered that during the middle of the fifth century, the Vākāṭaka Empire under Narēndrasēna passed

through a period of trial. The Traikūṭakas revolted and assumed independence. Dahrasēna, *c.* 450—470 A. D., conquered his enemies and performed an *As'vamēdha* sacrifice.[1] Elsewhere this event has been placed about 455 A. D. The integrity of the Gupta Empire, too, under Kumarāgupta I was rudely shaken about this period by the revolt of the Paṭumitra and Puṣyamitra republics. Kumarāgupta I was defeated and slain in the revolt; and his son Skandagupta encountered enemies everywhere. Though the Puṣyamitra danger was averted, the irruption of the savage Hūṇas into North Western India closely followed. The Hūṇa hordes carried devastation into the smiling plains and cities of Āryāvarta. In Andhradesa, the death of Mādhavavarman the Great, was followed by the disastrous Pallava invasion, the death of Dēvavarman and the expulsion of his son Mādhavavarman II from the kingdom. It was probably at this period, when the great Gupta, Vākāṭaka and Viṣṇukuṇḍin Empires were faced with troubles everywhere, that the Nala king Bhavadattavarman, revolted against Narēndrasēna and proclaimed his independence. Narēndrasēna was old, and weak, and without any powerful ally either on the north or south that could come to his assistance. Opposed by his vassals who were in revolt, he would seem to have lost his life at that juncture. (*c.* 470 A. D.) It seems probable that the Vākāṭaka Empire was overrun by Bhavadattavarman who, at that period, even make a successful pilgrimage to Prayaga, undaunted. He had apparently a glorious and eventful reign. As the only record of his period is dated the eleventh year it may be assumed that his reign lasted probably fifteen years and fell during this period, *c.* 460–475 A. D.

2. Bhavadattavarman *c.* 460—475 A. D.

Not long after the death of Narēndrasēna, his energetic son, Pṛthivīsēna II, repaired the damage caused to the empire by the haughly vassals. According to a statement in the Balaghāt plates of his reign, it would appear that he rescued the sunken prestige of his family.[1] Pṛthivīsēna II apparently

1 *E. I.*, IX. p. 267, text line 33.

destroyed Artthapati-Bhaṭṭāraka who succeeded his father Bhavadattavarman and soon became a formidable rebel in the Vākāṭaka Empire. That Artthapati proclaimed his independence and defied for a time the emperor Pṛthivīsēna II is evident from the gold coinage issued by him. Pṛthivīsēna's claim to have raised the sunken prestige of his family is amply justified by overthrow of Dāhrasēna on the west and Bhavadattavarman or his successor Artthapati Bhaṭṭāraka on the east and reducing their kingdoms once more to subjection Artthapati's period may not have lasted more than a decade, and it may be placed about 470—480 A. D.

2. Artthapati Bhaṭṭāraka. c. 470—480 A. D.

For a time thereafter the sovereignty of the Nala dynasty was obscured. This fact is clearly stated in the Poḍāgaḍh inscription of Skandavarman. The record describes that Skandavarman retrieved the lost regal prosperity of the Nala family and re-peopled the town, Puṣkara which was perforce deserted after the crushing defeat inflicted by Pṛthivīsēna II on Bhavadattavarman or probably his successor Artthapati-Bhaṭṭāraka. Skandavarman's claim, therefore, does not seem to be a boast. He must have risen to power after the death of Pṛthivīsēna and defeated or overawed Dēvasēna and even threatened the destruction of the Vākāṭaka Empire. Skandavarman was a mighty warrior who acquired great power and kingdom. His own dominions lay apparently in the heart of the Vākāṭaka Empire. His great military strength which was acquired in a short time proved a meance to the Vākāṭaka suzerainty, and finally compelled the weak and pleasure loving Dēvasēna to abdicate the throne in favour of his energetic son Harisēna, in order that the empire might be saved from disintegration. Harisēna, who quickly rehabilitated the empire as shown above, pursued a vigorous policy of destroying the powerful and rebellious feudatory families and setting up in their places new kingdoms and dynasties. Thus Harisēna would seem to have destroyed Skandavarman and broken up the power of the Nalas. The Nalas apparently forced to leave their country migrated to new

2. Skandavarman. c. 480—495 A. D.

territories. Probably a branch of the Nalas thus uprooted from sovereignty and driven from their home in west Kōsala and Bastar moved further south and settled on the banks of the Tungabhadra. There they would appear to have come into conflict shortly after with the Western Cāḷukyas about the middle of the sixth century and were finally destroyed. It was apparently on the ruins of the Nala kingdom that Harisēna caused the Eastern Gaṅga family to establish its sovereignty in a new territory called Trikalinga which comprised of large tracts from the three ancient kingdoms, Kōsala, Kalinga and Kongoda. Skandavarman's fall may therefore be placed about that period, *circa* 497 A. D.

The Nalas thereafter pass into obscurity. For roughly a century nothing is heard about the Nala dynasty in Kōsala. The Rājīvalōcana temple stone inscription at Rajim shows that Pṛthvirāja, a remote descendant of the Nala family, probably a scion of the house of Bhavadattavarman and Skandavarman, established himself once more in a small principality on the Mahānadī in a corner of the former Nala dominions. The new principality was probably acquired on the ruins of the Sōmavaṁśi kingdom, in the latter part of the seventh century. Pṛthvirāja's son was Virūparāja, and the latter's son was Vilāsatuṅga. Nothing is known about the ancestors of Vilāsatuṅga or how they obtained a kingdom. At present there are no materials to trace any connection between the illustrious house of Bhavadattavarman and the later prince Pṛthvirāja.

# APPENDICES.

## *The Jāhnavēyas (Jāhnavīyas) or the Western Gaṅgas of Talakkāḍ.*[1]

Kāṇvāyana gōtra.

*

1. Koṅganivarman, *c.* 400—430 A. D.
(Founder of the Dynasty.)

|

2. Mādhava-Mahādhirāja I. *c.* 430—450
(Married a sister of Kṛṣṇavarman I, *i.e.* a daughter of the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman).

|

3. Harivarman or Āyyavarman. *c.* 450—460.
(Installed on the throne by the Pallava king Siṁhavarman III.)

|

4. Viṣṇugōpa. *c.* 460—475.
A subordinate ally of Skandavarman IV surnamed Trilōcana-Pallava: Seems to have died at the hands of the Kadamba king Mṛgēs'avarman.

|

5. Mādhava-Mahādhirāja II, *c.* 475—530.
(Donor of the Penugoṇḍa plates; was installed on the throne as an infant by the Pallava king Skandavarman IV.); married the sister of Kṛṣṇavarman II, *i. e.* daughter of Siṁhavarman, the Kadamba king of Vaijayanti.

|

6. Kṛṣṇavarman, *c.* 530.
(Donor of the Bendigānhalli plates)

7. Avinīta. *c.* 530—575.
(*As'vamēdhayājin*)

Sons of Avinīta:

By favourite queen — 1st son (name not known) *c.* 575

By another queen — 8. Durvinīta *c.* 575–620
(Contemporary of three Pallava kings beginning with Simhavisnu, patron of Dāmōdara.

Children of Durvinīta:

*Śrīvikrama*[2]
|
*Muṣkara*
|
9. Śivamāra. *accn.* 619–20

Gangamahādēvī.
*m.* Western Cāḷukya king Satyasraya Pulikēsin II
etc.

1 I do not agree with Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil who believes in the existence of two branches of the Western Gangas, of Talakkad and Paruvi.

2 These two princes do not appear to have ascended the throne; they seem to have predeceased Durvinita who had a very long reign of about 45 years.

## *The Vākāṭakas*, c. 248—510 A. D.

(Viṣṇuvṛddha *gōtra.*)

*

Pravarasēna-I[1]

Sarvasēna.

*Hārītiputra.*

1\. Vindhyas'akti : *Dharmamahārāja*, 248—286.
38 years (248—284 A. D.)

2\. Pravarasēna II (Pravīra the *Samrāṭ*), 286—346.
60 years (284—344 A. D.)

1st son Gautamiputra | 2nd son (sub-king) | 3rd son (sub-king) | 4th son (sub-king)

3\. Rudrasēna I 340—350.
(344—348) As an infant succeeded to the Bhāras'iva Empire as the Bhāras'iva grandson. Contemporary of Samudragupta.

4\. Pṛthivīsēna I. 350—378. *Samrāṭ*.
(348—378) (contemporary of Samudragupta and Candragupta II; conquered the king of Kuntala: (Bhagiratha ?)

5\. Rudrasēna II. 378—385, 7 years.
(375—395) m. Q. Prabhāvatīgupta, daughter of Emperor Candragupta II.

6\. Divākarasēna, 385-390.
(395—405 Died as *yuvarāja* in or after his 13th year. Under the regency of his Queen mother Prabhāvati-guptā.)

7\. Dāmōdarasēna-Pravarasēna 390-420.
(known as Pravarasēna II. (Period of minority(405—415) After attaining majority 415—435

8\. Narēndrasēna 420—470.
(Name lost in the Ajanta inscription); succeeded at the age of 8; married Ajjhitabhaṭṭārikā, daughter of the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarman I, (435—470)

9\. Pṛthivīsēna II. 470—485
(470—485 A. D.) Rescued the (485—490) sunken prestige of the family.)

10\. Dēvasēna 485—487
Abdicated in favour of his son Harisēna.

11\. Harisēna, the Great. 487—510
(500—520)

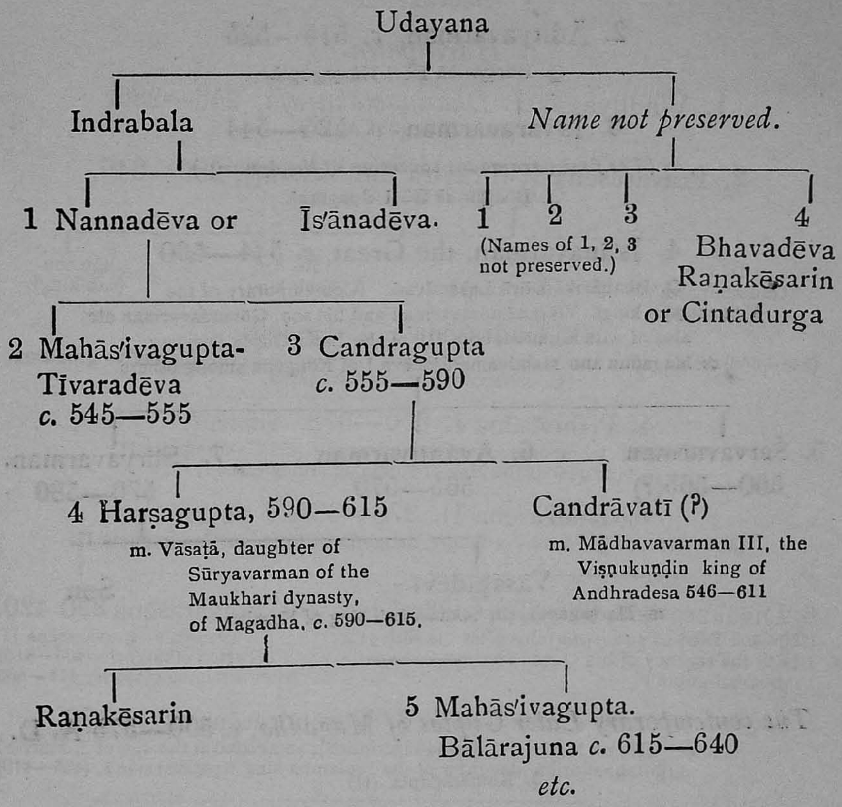
1 These two generations have been added by me after the discovery of the Vatsagulma Prakrit plates of Vindhyas'akti, which I consider to be the earliest inscription of the dynasty. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* Third Session, Calcutta, pp. 453ff.

2 I have altered slightly here the dates of Dāmōdarasēna and his son Narēndrasēna but the discrepancy between these dates and those given in the book is negligible.

N. B. The periods given in brackets are those of Dr. K. P. Jayswal taken from his *History of India* 150—350 A. D., pp. 76; 79.

## *The Sōmavaṁsis.*[1] 545—645 A. D.

(The Sōmavaṁs'is or the Pāṇḍuvaṁs'is or the Later Guptas of Mahā Kōsala or Dakṣiṇa Kōsala as they are called.)




1 See: Baloda plates (*E. I.*, VII, p. 106ff) and Rajim plates of Tivaradēva (*C. I. I.*, III, p. 291ff.); Sirpur Gandhēs'vara Temple inscriptions of S'ivagupta *alias* Bālārjuna. (*Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, p. 179ff.) and Lakṣmaṇa temple inscriptions. *E. I.*, XI, p. 184ff.)

## *The Maukharis of Kānyakubja*, c. 495—585 A. D.

1. Harivarman. *c.* 495—515

Q. Bhaṭṭārikā Dēvi Jayasvāminī.

|

2. Ādityavarman, *c.* 515—525

Q. Bhaṭṭārikā Dēvi Harṣaguptā.

|

3. Īs'varavarman, *c.* 525—544

*(The first paramount sovereign of the dynasty.)*

Q. Bhaṭṭārikā Dēvi Upaguptā.

|

4. Īs'ānavarman, the Great, *c.* 544—560

Q. Bhaṭṭārikā Dēvi Lakṣmīvatī. (Contemporary of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings, Vikramēndravarman and his son Gōvindavarman etc, also of with Kumāragupta III of the Later Gupta Dynasty of Magadha and Mahdyamarājadēva I of Kongoda among others.

|

5. Śarvavarman 560—565(?) | 6. Avantivarman 565—570 | 7. Sūryavarman. 570—580

(children of 6. Avantivarman:)

Vāsaṭādēvī
m. Harṣagupta, the Sōmavaṁs'i king of Kōsala. | Son

---

## *The contemporary Later Guptas of Magadha*, c. 500—575 A. D.

1. Kumāragupta (II)

|

2. Harṣagupta

|

3. Jivitagupta

|

4. Kumāragupta III.

|

5. Damōdarasēna.
(Defeated the Maukhari king Is'anavarman and died on the battlefield.)

|

6. Ādityasēna.
(*Apasaḍ Stone Inscription.*)

## *The Traikūṭakas or the Kaḷacuris of Trikūṭa.*

*

1. Rudradāsa[1]
(*Year* 118+249)=367 A. D.

*

2. Indradatta, or Indravarman.[2]

3. Rudragaṇa[3]

4 Dahrasēna[4]
(*As'vamēdhayājin*:)
*Year* 207. *c.* 450—470 A. D.

Vyāghrasēna (*Years* 241, 245)[5]
(*c.* 490—498 A. D.)

*

Uttaragaṇa[6]
*c.* 520 A. D.

*Davana Dhrubhaṭa.*[8]

Pratāpas'īla
*c.* 530 A. D.

*
*

Sankaragaṇa.[7]

Buddharāja, *c.* 590 A. D.
(Conquered by the Western Cāḷukya king Maṅgalēs'a.)

1 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII, p. 215f. Also K. P. Jayaswal: *History of India.* Dr. Jayaswal criticises Kielhorn and Fleet who call the epoch of the Traikūṭakas, the Kaḷacuri or Cēdi era and prefers to describe it as the Vākāṭaka era. But I do not agree with him.

2 Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji: *Proceedings of the Aryan Section of the VII International Congress of Orientalists*, p. 222. The name is found on a Traikūṭaka coin.

3 *Cave Temple Inscriptions of Western India*. P. 57f. Same as Kanhēri plates of Vyāghrasēna.

4 *E. I.*, X, p. 51.

5 *E. I.*, XI, p. 219f.

6 *E. I.*, XXII, p. 93f.

7 *E I.*, IX, pp. 296ff.

8 This prince did not ascend the throne.

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